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The Authors contain'd in this Volume, see over Leaf.

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Vol. III.

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L O N D O N :

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**P** Age 1. Column 1. Line 5. *for*, Chile begins at the 25th Degree beyond the Tropic of Capricorn, *read*, Chile begins at the 25th Degree of South Latitude. P.2.c.1.1.52. *for*, Pallionate, *r.* partial. P.5.c.1.1.ult. *for*, a Cast, *r.* a Race. P.5.c.2.1.17. *for*, Complexion, *r.* Constitution. *Ibid.* 19. *for*, Heart-burning, *r.* the Falling-Sickness. P.8.c.1.1.2. *for*, scent, *r.* colour'd. P.9.c.2.1.2. *for*, Peps, *r.* Pefos, and observe, that a Pefo is about the value of 8 *r.* *Ibid.* in fine, *for*, not proper *for* Peru, *r.* which do not grow in Peru. P.10.c.2.1.10. and in very many other Places, *for*, Legumes, *r.* Pullie. P.34.c.1.1.41. *for*, Artichoke Card, *r.* Cardoone, or Thistle. P.35.c.1.1.20. *for*, Chalk, *r.* Lime. P.35.c.1.1.44. *for*, Gangrejos, *r.* Crabs, and *for* Camarous, *r.* Praunes. *Ibid.* c.2.1.1. *for*, Langostas, *r.* Lobsters. *Ibid.* 1.23. *for*, tho' paid for them, *r.* tho' they were hid'd. P.37.c.2.1.43. *for*, Garzas, *r.* Herons. P.39.c.1.1.42. *for*, a Panache, *r.* a Plume. *Ibid.* c.2.1.37. *for*, Regalillo's *for* the Hands, *r.* Muffs. P.43.c.1.1.25. *for*, Coiques, *r.* Cur-Dogs. P.49.c.1.1.29. *for*, Airones, *r.* Heron's Feathers. *Ibid.* c.2.1.27. *for*, Paxaro Carpintero, *r.* Wood-Pecker. P.53.c.1.1.23. *for*, they run, *r.* they pass'd by it and run. *Ibid.* 1.59. *for*, that under the Tropic, *r.* that when the Sun came to the Tropic. P.54.c.1.1.41. *for*, Pezebu, *r.* Zebu. P.55.c.1.1.10. *for*, and now where there are any, *r.* and no where any. P.62.c.1.1.38. *for*, All this Continent is call'd the *Escombradas*, are Plains without hindrance. *r.* All that lies within these Bounds are open Plains reaching so far that. P.73.c.1.1.46. *for*, Panache, *r.* a Plume. P.79.c.2.1.51. *for*, where there was no Day with them, tho' the Sun was in the Tropic of Cancer, and by consequence made our Summer, *r.* where there is a continual Night, without any appearance of Day, when the Sun coming to the Tropic of Cancer, makes our Summer, and on the contrary, when he draws near the Tropic of Capricorn there is continual Day, without any Shadow of Night. P.80.c.1.1.6. *for*, tho' it was our June or July, *r.* it being then June, or July, which is the Depth of their Winter, and a perpetual Night, without seeing the Sun one Hour in a Day. P.81.c.2.1.53. *dele*, though. P.96.c.1.1.50. *for*, a Regalo, *r.* a Present. P.101.c.1.1.12. *for*, Cedro, *r.* Cetrón. P.104.c.2.1.21. *for*, Cienaga, *r.* Bog. P.106.c.1.1. *penult.* *for*, to the Pinna's, &c. as far as went up, *r.* to the Port of Pinna's (the last discover'd by Balboa, and after him by *Pasqual de Andagoya*) and went up. P.107.c.2.1.51. *for*, as far as, *r.* as far as a. P.117.c.1.1.2. *for*, Aronze, *r.* Brats. *Ibid.* 1.5. *for*, Company of Morenos, *r.* the Brotherhood of the Tawny-Moors. P.134.c.2.1.6. *fill the Cajma with these Words*; a Pot full P.138. Chap.12. c.1.1.9. *for*, founded the, *r.* founded among the.

AN  
Historical Relation  
OF THE  
KINGDOM  
OF  
CHILE,

BY  
ALONSO DE OVALLE

OF THE  
Company of JESUS,

A Native of *St. Jago* of *Chile*, and *Procurator* at  
*Rome* for that Place.

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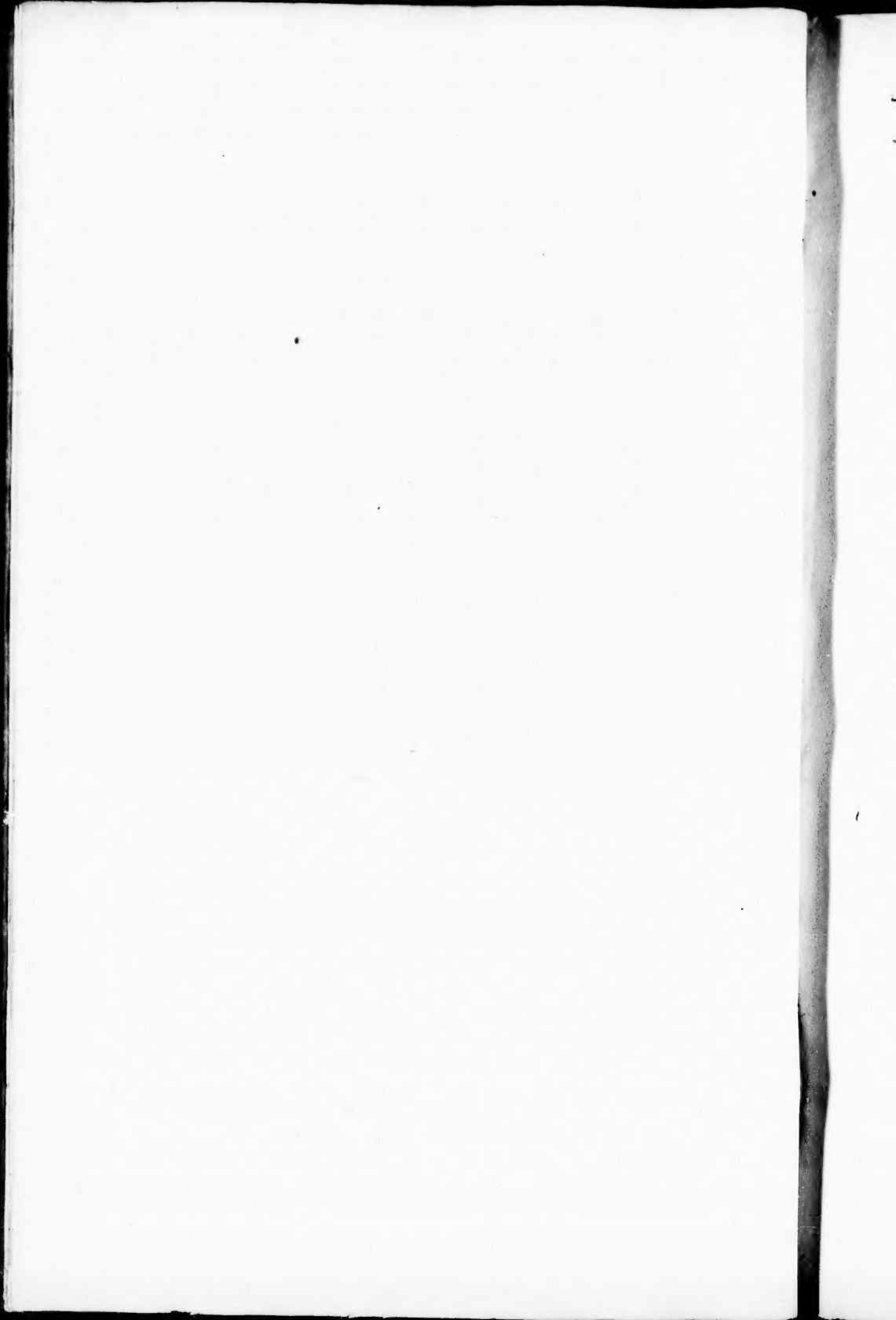
Printed at *Rome* by *Francisco Cavallo*, 1649. with  
Licence of his Superiors.

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Translated out of *Spanish* into *English*.

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Printed for *A. and J. Churchill* at the *Black-Swan* in  
*Pater-Noster-Row*. 1703.





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T H E

# Tranflator's Preface.

**W**hen the Translation of the History of Chile was first undertaken, it was more out of Consideration of making that part of the World, so remote from ours, better known as to the Geographical part, the Natural History, and the first Settlements of the Spaniards, than to enter into a distinct Narrative of the Events of that Invasion, which contain little Instruction, being between a People of great Arts and Abilities on one side, and another of great Natural Courage, and no culture of the Mind or Body, on the other. The Case was so extravagantly unequal between them, when the odds of Guns, Armor, Horses and Discipline, are weighed against Nakedness, Anarchy, Panick Terrors and Simplicity, that it seems a kind of Prodigy that the love of Liberty and a Stock of Natural unpolish'd Bravery, should hold a Contest with Arm'd Avarice, spirited by Superstitious Zeal, for almost a whole Century.

The Natural History of Chile is so admirably perform'd, that it may be a Model for most Relations of that kind; for there are Exact Descriptions of all the Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Plants, Minerals, Coasts, Rivers, Bays, and Inhabitants of the Country, that can be wish'd for. There is, besides, an Excellent Account of the Climate, the Seasons, the Winds, the manner of living both of the Indians and the Spaniards. The Description of the Great Cordillera or Chain of Mountains which runs for almost a Thousand Leagues in a Paralel Line with the South-Sea, and divides Chile from the Ultra-Mountain Provinces, is so accurate, that nothing of that kind can be more so: The Narrative of the Manner of Travelling through those vast Plains of Cuyo and Tucuman, as far as Buenos Ayres, and the River of Plata; the Topographical Description of the Streights of Magellan, with all its Bays, Ports, and its whole Navigation, are of great Instruction, as well as very Entertaining.

In all this the Jesuit, who was the Author of this History, must be confess'd to have deserv'd the Character of a Candid Inquisitive Philosopher; and in what he has perform'd besides, about the Settlements of the Spaniards, he is very particular, especially in his Description of the City of St. Jago de Chile, where any one may

## The Translator's Preface.

See the Progress of Priestcraft in that New World, by the vast Riches of the Convents, Monasteries and Nunneries: But above all the Instructive Chapters of this Treatise, there is one about the Methods of Driving a Trade between Europe and Chile to and from the Philippines and East-India's, which contains Secrets of Commerce and Navigation, which I wonder how they were Published, and 'tis possible may ere it be long be publish'd by the Spaniards and other Nations, if the Navigation of the Mexican Gulph becomes so troublesome, as it is like to be made by the Natural Powers of Europe, who seem to have chose those Seas for the Scene of all their Maritime Power to exert it self in.

There is a Digression about the first Discovery of the Islands and Continent of America by Columbus, and a Progressive Narration of all the other Discoveries, as they were made, and by whom, which is very Curious; but as it is borrowed from other Writers, the Author can challenge no other Merit than that of a Judicious Compiler.

All that needs to be added to this Preface, is to let the World know, that the Translation was first Encourag'd by the Royal-Society, of which the Translator has the Honour to be a Member; and that it was Two Summers Work, that it might be the less subject to Errors; and to prevent them, that worthy Encourager of all Natural Knowledge, as well as of his own Profession, in which he Excels, Dr. Hans Sloane, has contributed very obligingly some of his Care and Attention, as well as to the Edition by Mr. Awnsham and John Churchill, who are publishing a most Curious Collection of Tracts of this Nature, Collected by them with great Expence, and Admirable Choice, of which this Tract will be one.

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THE

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T H E

## Authors Preface.

**B**Eing come from the Kingdom of Chile into Europe, I observ'd, that there was so little known of the Parts I came from, that in many Places the very Name of Chile had not been heard of. This made me think my self oblig'd to satisfy, in some measure, the Desire of many Curious Persons, who press'd me to Communicate to the World a thing so worthy of its Knowledge. But I found myself in great Difficulty how to comply with their pressing Instances, being destitute of all the Materials requisite for such a Work, and at such a distance from the Place that could furnish them, that I despair'd of giving a just Satisfaction: However, in Obedience to those whose Commands I cannot but Respect, I resolv'd to write this Account; more to comply with my Duty, and give some Information of those remote Regions, than to pretend to a Perfect and Exact History; which this Relation, in all its parts (I confess) comes very short of. The Reader then being thus prepar'd, will, I hope, have a regard to the little help I could have in this Work, at such a distance as Rome and Chile are from one another; and by his Prudence and Goodness excuse any thing that may seem less finish'd in this Work; particularly since there is hopes of a General History of Chile, which cannot be long before it is finish'd.

It has not  
yet ap-  
pear'd in  
the World

In the mean time the First and Second Books of this Relation will shew the Natural State of the Kingdom of Chile, both as to its Climate and Product; The Third will describe the Qualities of its First Inhabitants; The Fourth and Fifth will describe the first Entrance of the Spaniards into it, and the Conquest of it by them; The Sixth will contain the various Events of the War, caus'd by the noble Resistance made by the Araucano's; The Seventh will shew the first Means of Peace attempted by Father Lewis de Valdivia of the Company of Jesus, in order to facilitate the Preaching of the Holy Gospel, and the Glorious Death of his Holy Companions; The last Book, which is also the largest of all, will contain the first Means of Planting the Christian Faith, and its Propagation among the Indians, which was particularly compass'd, and is still carried on by the Missions and Ministry of our Company; all which Endeavours of theirs I explain and distinguish

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## The Author's Preface.

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*stinguisb under Six Heads, shewing the necessity of the Spiritual help that those new Christians lie under, both as to Preaching and Informing them in Matters of the Christian Faith.*

*I must give here Five Advertisements; The first, That in what I have seen my self, I have not departed from the truth in any thing I have Writ: As to what I relate by hearsay, or by Authority from other Writers, I report it with the same candour as I heard and read it, without adding or diminishing any thing of the truth; and though all those I Cite in this Work are worthy to be believ'd, yet the least to be suspected of Partiality are such Foreign Writers who Extol and Commend this Kingdom of Chile with such repeated Encomiums. My Second Advertisement is, That considering the Kingdom of Chile was the last part of South-America that was discover'd, and the nearest to the Antartick Pole, I could not Treat of its Discovery with good grounds, without touching a little upon the Neighbouring Kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, which were as a Passage to it; and if I have enlarg'd now and then on the Praises and Description of those Parts, it was, because I thought it might not be disagreeable to the Reader; in which, if I am mistaken, he has only to skip some Chapters of the Fourth Book, and go directly to those which Treat of the first Entrance of Don Diego de Almagro into Chile Thirdly, I must take notice, that though I do sometimes, in speaking of the Land of Chile, report some Particularities which seem Trifles, and not so proper for History; I do not relate them as singular and proper to that Country alone, but rather to shew the Uniformity both of Nature and Customs, as to Life and Religion, in all those Parts; and some things are mention'd to encourage those new Countreys to drive on the Advancement of Religion, Politeness, Learning, and good Morals.*

*Fourthly, I must take notice, that since I do not here make a General History of Chile, I have not had occasion to mention all the Illustrious Men and Noble Commanders and Soldiers who have flourish'd in those Parts from the beginning of the Conquest: I only therefore take notice of such as I find nam'd in the Authors whom I cite; and they too not making it their Business to Write a distinct History of Chile, but only to relate some particular Event, and so mention only some part of the Government of some Governours, or their Wars, cannot be exact in the Account of all those who have in different Times and Occasions acted in those Wars; and by this Salvo I cover the Honour of all our Gallant Commanders and Soldiers of Chile, whose Actions I omit, though they are worthy to be graven in Marble*

or

## The Author's Preface.

or Bronze, only for this Reason. And though I own, that I am not Ignorant of many who have flourish'd in my time and before it, yet I have not so distinct an Information as would be necessary to give them their due Commendations, and set their Actions in that Light which their Valour deserves; therefore the General History of Chile will perform that part. Perhaps even before that, this Work of mine may excite some Body to employ their Talent in making a particular Book of their Elogiums and Praises, which cannot fail of being well receiv'd in the World, since so many Noble and Illustrious Families of Europe will be concern'd in it.

Lastly, I advertise, That though the principal Motive of my Writing this Relation was to Publish the Spiritual Ministry of our Company in the Conversion of Souls in this Kingdom of Chile; yet I could not but Treat first of the Land and Inhabitants, as being the Object and Subject of their Endeavours; and I have been forc'd to be more diffuse in it, than I would have been about a place already known to the World by any History or Relations made of it. For this Reason I have Employed Six Books in the Description of the Land, and the Valorous fierce Disposition of its Inhabitants, that the Force and Efficacy of the Divine Grace might shine out the more in the beginnings of the Conversions of that untractable Nation, mention'd in my Two last Books, which are almost as comprehensive as my Six first; which were divided into so many, only to answer the diversity of Matter which they contain.

Thus I have inform'd my Reader of this Work, in which he will find variety of Entertainment: Some Things will answer the Curiosity of those who delight in knowing Natural Causes; Others will be mov'd and incited to Valiant Actions, by the Examples of those perform'd here. Those likewise who love Historical Relations, will be pleas'd, since here is an Epitome of the Discovery of the best part of the India's, according to the Order of Times, and Persons concern'd in the Conquests and Discoveries of so many Kingdoms. And, lastly, the Pious Disposition of Devout Minds, will be elevated to Praise God for the Signal Favours which the Queen of Heaven has bestowed on the Kingdom of Chile in particular; and adore the Lord of all things, for having in little more than One Century made his Name known, and his Worship introduc'd among so many Heathen Nations, even to bring the Untam'd and Powerful Araucano's upon their Knees to him, after so many years stubborn resisting the entrance of the Gospel. I cannot desire my Reader to express any Acknowledgments

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## The Author's Preface.

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*ments for this Work of mine, because I do not judge it deserves so great a Reward ; but I hope he may with Indulgence excuse its Faults, and make me some allowance for the little helps I have had in Writing. I have endeavour'd to please all, but particularly to shew how the Kingdom of Christ may be advan'd in that new World, if the Apostolical Zeal of the Evangelical Workmen will employ it self in this great Harvest of so extended a Gentilism and new Christianity.*

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## To the Reader.

**T**HE first Six Books being the only ones that contain the Historical and Natural Accounts, they alone are Translated ; and some Chapters, even out of them, omitted, for their tedious Superstitious Narratives.

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**T H E**



# The First Book.

## OF THE Nature and Properties OF THE KINGDOM OF CHILE.

### CHAP. I.

*Of the Situation, Climate, and Division of the Kingdom of Chile.*

**T**HE Kingdom of *Chile*, which is the uttermost Bounds of *South-America*, and has the Kingdom of *Peru* to the North; Situation. begins at the 25th Degree beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn*, towards the *Antarctic-Pole*, and is extended in length Five hundred Leagues as far as the Streights of *Magellan*, and its opposite Land call'd *La Tierra del Fuego*, which reaches to the 55th Degree. The Breadth of *Chile* is various, for it may be said to extend itself 150 Leagues East and West, because though that which is properly call'd *Chile* is not in many places above 20 or 30 Leagues Broad, which is generally its extent from the Sea to the famous *Cordillera Nevada*, or Chain of Mountains cover'd with Snow (of which we shall speak in its proper place); yet in the Division of the Bounds of the several Governments of *America*, the King added to *Chile* those vast Plains of *Cuyo*, which runs in length as far as *Chile* does, and are above twice as broad.

The Opposite part of the World to this Kingdom is the Meridian that passes between the Island *Tuprabana* of the *Ancients*; which is *Zeilon*, and *Cape Comorin*, beginning at 26 Degrees North of the Equinoctial Line. The Inhabitants are properly Antipodes to those of *Chile*; and those who Inhabit the Countreys that reach from 37 Degrees to 44 of the most Westerly parts of *New Guinea*, would be also Diametrically Antipodes to the Inhabitants of *Castile*, but 'tis yet uncertain whether that part of the World is Land or Water, but this is certain, that it falls out in the Division of *Castile*, and is opposite to it, and is West from *Chile* 1700 Leagues.

This Kingdom is Comprehended in the Climate Third, Fourth, and Fifth Climate: in that part of it which is in the Third Climate, the longest day is 13 Hours; and in the Fifth Climate, the day at longest is about 14 Hours, and something more, quite contrary to *Europe*, as being opposite

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*Ovalle*. 1646. site to it, but not Diametrically, for the longest day in *Chile* is *St. Lucius*, and the shortest *St. Barnaby's*; the Sun is always there towards the North, and the Shadows to the South.

This is the Situation of the Kingdom of *Chile*, which borders upon the North with the Province of *Aracama*, and the rich Mines of Silver of *Potosi*, where the Kingdom of *Peru* begins; and on the South it has the great Sea to the Pole, and the Islands discover'd in it. *Abraham Ortelius* was of Opinion, that there was on this South side of the Kingdom of *Chile*, a Land which was contiguous with *New Guinea*; and this Opinion lasted till we were undeceiv'd by those who having pass'd by the Straight of *St. Vincent*, otherwise call'd the Straight of *Le Maire*, went round that South Land call'd the *Tierra del Fuego*, and return'd to the North Sea by the Straights of *Magellan*; proving evidently the said Land to be an Island entirely separated from any other Land; as I shall shew further in its proper place.

*Chile* has on the East *Tucuman*, and *Buenos Ayres*, and to the North East *Paraguay* and *Brazil*; to the West it has the South-Sea, which, according to the Opinion of *Antonio de Herrera*, is all that is comprehended between *Chile* and *China*, and begins at the *Golden Chersonesus*, or the Island of *Sumatra*, and that Sea is in breadth, East and West, Two thousand and seven hundred Leagues.

Division.

According to what has been said, we may divide this Kingdom into Three Parts; The First and Principal is that which is comprehended between the *Cordillera Nevada*, and the South-Sea, which is properly call'd *Chile*. The Second contains the Islands which are sow'd up and down upon its Coast as far as the Straights of *Magellan*. The Third contains the Province of *Cuyo*, which is on the other side of the Snowy Mountains call'd the *Cordillera Nevada*, and run in length all along as far as the Straights, and in breadth extends to the Confines of *Tucuman*.

To begin then with that part which is most properly call'd *Chile*; I confess I had rather the Description of it had fallen to the Lot of some Stranger who had seen it; for then the danger of passing for too Passionate for ones own Country (to which are expos'd all those who Write of it) would have been more easily avoided, and such a one might with less Apprehension Enlarge upon the Excellent Properties which God has been pleas'd to Endow it with. The common Opi-

nion of all those who have come from *Europe* to it, is, that its Soil and its Climate exceed all others they have seen; though perhaps in that they only make a Return for the Kind Welcome they all meet with in those Parts. As for my part, all I can say, is, that though it be like *Europe* in every thing, except in the Opposition of the Seasons, which are transpos'd, it being Spring and Summer in the one, when it is Autumn and Winter in the other; yet it has some Properties which do really singularize it, and deserve the Praises given it by Travellers; for, first, neither the Heat nor the Cold are so excessive as in *Europe*, particularly as far as the 45th Degree of Latitude, for from thence to the Pole the rigorous and excessive Cold begins.

The Situation accidental of the Land of *Chile*, must be the cause of this Temperature of the Air; for being cover'd on the East by the high Mountains of the *Cordillera*, which are all so prodigiously elevated; it receives the fresh and cooling Breezes from the Sea; and the Tides which penetrate as far as the foot of the Mountains, joining with the coolness of the Snow, with which they are cover'd, refresh the Air so, that about Four a Clock in the Afternoon the Heat is no ways troublesome. Nay, if one is in the Shade, one may say, that in no hour of the day the Sun is insupportable, especially from 36 Degrees or thereabouts, neither day nor night the Heat can be complain'd of; which is the cause, that at the Town of the *Conception*, which is in that Situation, the Covering for Beds is the same Winter and Summer, neither of those Seasons being any ways troublesome.

Another good Quality of this Country *Chile* free is, to be free from Lightning; for though sometimes Thunder is heard, 'tis at a great distance up in the Mountain. Neither does there fall any Hail in the Spring or Summer; or are those Storms of Thunder and Lightning seen here, which in other Parts make the Bells be rung out, and the Clouds to be Exorciz'd; neither are there so many Cloudy Days in Winter as in other Parts; but most commonly after the Rain has lasted Two or Three Days, the Heavens clear up, and look as if the Sky had been wash'd, without the least Cloud, in a very short time after the Rain; for as soon as ever the Northwind, which brings the Cloudy Weather, ceases, the South succeeds, and in a few Hours drives away the Rain; or if it be in the Night-time, the Dew falls, and the Sun rises brighter than ever.

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And all  
Poisonous  
Creatures.

This Country is yet to be valued upon another Propriety of it, which is, that it is free from Poisonous Creatures, such as Vipers and Snakes, Scorpions or Toads; so that one may venture to sit under a Tree, or lie down and rowl on the Ground, without fear of being bit by them. Neither are there Tygers, Panthers, or any other Mischievous Animals; except some Lyons of a small Kind, which sometimes do harm to the Flocks of Sheep or Goats, but never to Men, whom they fly from; and this is not only in the Cultivated Land, where Men are frequent, but in the Woods and Solitude, and in the thickest Groves, of which there are some to close with Trees, that one can hardly break through them a-foot. I heard a Fryar of ours, who was an Excellent Builder, say, that having gone for Three Months together in Woods, where there was no sign of any ones having pass'd before, to find out Trees proper for the Timber of the Church of St. *Jago*, he had never met with the least Poisonous Creature, that could either cause a Nauseous Idea, or a Dangerous Effect.

No Bugs  
will live  
there.

There is another most Wonderful Singularity of this same Country, which is, that not only it does not breed, but will not suffer any *Punaizes* or Bugs to live in it: which is the more to be admir'd, that on the other side the Mountains they swarm; I never saw one in it alive, for sometimes there are some in the Goods and Furniture of People who come from the Province of *Cuyo*, but as soon as they feel the Air of *Chile* they dye. The Experience that was made of this, by one that was either Curious or Malicious enough, was Wonderful, for coming from *Cuyo* to *Chile*, he brought some of those Creatures with him, well put up in a Box, and such Food provided for them as to keep them alive; but no sooner were they come to the Valley of *Aconcagua*, which is the first Valley coming down from the Mountains, but they all died, not so much as one remaining alive.

I do not say any thing here of the Mines of Gold, nor of those Excellent Waters, which running from them, are Cordial and Healthy; nor of the abundance of Provisions for Life, nor of the Physical Plants, nor of many other rare Qualities in which this Country exceeds others; as well to avoid Confusion, as because those things will be better shew'd when we come to Treat of each of them in particular in their proper place.

The Climate and  
Soil of  
Chile  
is like those  
of Europe.

In all other things the Land of *Chile* is so like *Europe*, both in Climate and Soil,

that there is very small or no difference; and it is very remarkable, that in such variety of Discoveries made in *America*, none is so conformable in every thing with the *European* Constitution, as this Tract of *Chile*; for in most of the Places between the Tropicks, as *Brasil*, *Cartagena*, *Panama*, *Portobello*, and those Coasts in that Situation, the Heats are violent and continual all the year; and in some other Places, such as *Peru*, the Cold is as excessive; in some they have a Winter without Rain, and have their Rain in Summer when their Heat is highest; others there are, where they have neither Wine, Oyl, nor Wheat of their own Product; and though in some they may have these Productions, yet the other Fruits of *Europe* do not take with them; but *Chile* has, just as *Europe*, its Four Seasons, of Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; it does not Rain in Summer but in Winter; and all the Product of *Europe* agrees with their Soil.

Ovalle.  
1646.

One thing is much to be admir'd, and that is, that the Land of *Cuyo*, that of *Incuman*, and *Buenos Ayres*, being all in the same Latitude with *Chile*, are nevertheless so different in Climate from it and from *Europe*; for though in those Parts it freezes exceedingly, so as to freeze Water within Doors, and that their Cattle, if left abroad, dye with Cold, yet there does not fall a drop of Rain all the Winter, and the Sun Shines out so bright and clear that not a Cloud is to be seen; but in the Spring they have such abundance of Rain, that it would drown the whole Country, if the Showers lasted as long as in *Europe* or in *Chile*; for when the Rain lasts but an hour and a half, the Streets are full of Streams in the Towns, and the Carts are up to their Axeltrees, though they are very high in those Parts, and all the Country is as it were a Sea; there fall likewise at that time Thunder-Stones and Hail as big as a Hens Egg, may as Geese Eggs, and sometimes as big as Oltriches; as I my self have seen.

Several  
Lands in  
the same  
Latitude  
with  
Chile, yet  
it is much  
different  
in Climate  
from that  
and  
Europe.

All these Storms and Varieties of Weather form themselves in the high Mountains that are a kind of Wall to the Kingdom of *Chile*, and they never come so far down as to Invade its Territories, but stop at them like a *Barricado*; for in *Chile* the Weather is always steady and constant, without sudden Changes, all the Spring, Summer, and Autumn; in Winter indeed there are degrees of Heat and Cold, as there is a difference in the length and shortness of the days, according to the degrees of the Latitude and Course of the

Tempera-  
ture of the  
Air.

Chile free  
from Light-  
ning;

**W** *Sun, which causes the same Variation as in Europe, though in opposite Months.*

**1646.** From hence it follows, as Authors do observe, and Experience teaches, that there must be, and is, a great Resemblance between the Animals and other Productions of *Chile* and those of *Europe*: As a proof of this, I have seen several Gentlemen that came to *Chile* from other Parts of *America*, either as Commanders, or for other Employments which are in the King's Disposal, incredibly overjoy'd at

*A great Resemblance between the Animals and other Productions of Chile, and those of Europe.*

this Conformity with *Europe*; for they think themselves as it were in their Native Country, the Air, the Provisions of both so like in their Qualities; the Meats are more nourishing than in hotter Climates; and when those who have been either born or bred in those hot Countries come to *Chile*, they are forced to abstain, and keep a watch upon their Appetites, till their Stomachs are used by little and little to the Strength of the Food of that Country, and can digest it.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the four Seasons of the Year, and particularly of the Winter and Spring: With a Description of some Flowers and Medicinal Plants.*

*The four Seasons.*

**T**HE four Seasons of the Year, which are in *Europe* the *Spring*, the *Summer*, the *Autumn*, and the *Winter*, are with the same Duration of Time enjoyed in *Chile*, though not exactly under the same Names at the same time; for the *Spring* begins about the middle of the *European August*, and lasts to the middle of *November*; then begins the *Summer*, which holds to the middle of *February*; which is followed by the *Autumn*, which lasts to the middle of *May*; and then the *Winter* enters, and makes all the Trees bare of their Leaves, and the Earth cover'd with white Frosts; (which nevertheless dissolve about two hours after Sun-rise, except in some cloudy days that the Icicles last from one day to another) the *Winter* ends again about the middle of *August*: 'Tis very seldom that the Snow falls in the Valleys or low Grounds, though so great a quantity is upon the Mountains, that it fills up sometimes all the hollow places to the height of several Pikes, and there remains as it were in Wells and Reservatories to provide, as it does in due time, so many Springs and Rivers with Water, so fertilizing the Valleys and Plains, that they produce infinite Crops of all sorts in the *Autumn*, and Enrich the Kingdom. But notwithstanding that it seldom Snows in the Valleys and Plains, yet it is so cold in them, that few Parts of *Europe* are colder; which proceeds not only from the degree of Elevation this Land is in, but also from its neighbourhood to those vast Mountains called the *Cordillera*, who send out such sharp and piercing Wind, that sometimes they are insupportable: Therefore the Sea-coast is much more temperate and warm; but in return much more exposed to vehement Tempests of Winds, than the

*Winter.*

Inland Parts, where these Storms are in some measure spent before they reach them, and so cannot whip them and torment them as they do the Sea-coasts.

For some Protection against these sharp cold Winds, God Almighty has placed several great Clusters of Thorn-bushes, which thrive so well, that it is the ordinary Fewel of all the Countries about the Town of *St. Jago*, and the Valleys near it: It is a Plant not unlike an Oak, though more durable; the heart of the Wood is red, and incorruptible: Of it they make Coals for the Furnace, and other Shop-uses. In other Parts the true Oak serves for the same purpose, as in the Territory of the City of *Concepcion*, where there are very large Woods of them, which are so thick, that though they have already served for the Uses of the Natives so many Years, yet when they are enter'd they can hardly be pass'd in the middle; and this within half a league of the City; for further up in the Country there are Forests, where no Man ever set his foot.

Though these Oaks, as also the Fruit-Trees, lose their Leaves in *Winter*, yet there are Wild-Trees which do not, tho' all covered with Ice and Snow, and the Cold is so far from injuring them, that when the Sun melts the Frost, they look brighter and more beautiful: As soon as the first Rains come, the Fields begin to be clothed in green, and the Earth is covered in twenty or thirty days with Grass; amongst which Nature produces a sort of yellow Flower in such abundance, that the Plains and Valleys look like Carpets of green and yellow.

These first Rains seem to prepare the Earth for its ornamental Dress of Flowers with the *Spring*, which begins about the middle

*Thorn-bushes in abundance, affording plenty of Fewel.*

*Ever Green.*

*Plains*

*Mountain*

*Chapel of St. Jago*

Description  
of some  
Flowers,

middle of *August*; and they last till *December*, that the *Hearts* come in, and that with such variety and abundance of so many kinds, that the *Fields* look as if they had been painted, producing a most delightful Object. I remember once as I was travelling, I saw so great a diversity of these *Flowers*, some *Scarlet*, others *Blue*, *Yellow*, *Red*, *Straw-colour*, *Purple*, &c. that I was mov'd to tell them, and I told in a short time *Two* and *forty* sorts, so admirable was their variety; and yet I do not reckon among these the cultivated ones in *Gardens*, nor those that were brought from *Europe*; such as *Carnations*, *Roses*, *Stock-Gillyflowers*, *Orange*, *Lillies*, *Poppies*, *Lupins*, &c. I only speak of those that grow wild, which are so odoriferous and sweet scented, that 'tis out of them that they distil a Water called *Aqua d'Angeles*, or, *Angels Water*: The smell of these *Flowers* is perceived sweetest at the rising and setting of the *Sun*; which mingled with the scent emitted by the *Herbs*, which are very aromattick, produce a most admirable *Perfume*, and for that reason they put the *Sprouts* and *Tops* of them among the *Flowers*, which make the *Angel Water*.

It is scarce possible to express the force with which the *Earth* puts forth these *Plants*, which is so great, that in many places 'tis hard to distinguish the cultivated from the uncultivated *Lands*: One would think at first that all had been plowed and sowed alike; and with the continuance of the *Rains*, the *Grass* runs up so strong, and grows so intricate, that a *Horse* can hardly break through it, it coming in most places to the *Saddle-girths*.

Plants, &c. Mustard seed, Turneps, Mint, Fennel, Trefoil, and other *Plants* which I see are sowed and cultivated in *Europe*, for the just Esteem that is made of them, do all grow wild in *Chile*, without serving to the use of life at all, otherwise than by the *Cattle's* feeding on them, which they may do for several leagues together. The *Mustard Plant* thrives so mightily, that it is as big as one's *Arm*, and so high and thick, that it looks like a *Tree*. I have travelled many leagues through *Mustard Groves*, which were taller than *Horse* and *Man*; and the *Birds* build their *Nests* in them, as the *Gospel* mentions in these words, *Ira ut volucres caeli ventiant & habitent in ramis ejus*; so that the *Birds* of the *Air* come and lodge in the *Branches* thereof.

Character  
of the Ma-  
chis, or  
Indian  
Doctors

There are many *Plants* of great virtue in *Physick*, and known only to the *Indians* called *Machis*, who are a cast of

Men that are their *Doctors*: These *Plants* they conceal carefully and particularly from the *Spaniards*, to whom if they communicate the knowledge of one or two, it is a great mark of their *Friendship*; but the knowledge of the rest they reserve, and it passes from *Father* to *Son*. These *Machis* or *Doctors* are not only esteemed by the *Indians*, but by the *Spaniards* themselves, who have recourse to them in their greatest *Extremities*, when the *Di-physic* presses most: They find wonderful Effects from the Application of these *Sim-ples*, which they use in a lesser Dose with the *Spaniards* than with the *Indians*, who are of a more robust Nature and stronger Complexion.

I saw one of our *Order* much troubled with the *Heart-burning* and *Swooning fits*, so as he was forced to have always some body in his *Company*, or else he might have fallen down *Stairs*, or otherwise killed himself: He had used all the *Remedies* that the *Learning* of *Physicians* and the *Charity* of *Religious Men* could suggest, but without any Effect at all; nay he was worse and worse every day. Our *Fathers* learned at last, that about twelve leagues off from that *Place* there lived an *Indian Machi*; they sent for him, and being come, and having heard the *Relation* of his *Distemper*, he gave him as much of a certain *Herb* in *Wine* as the bigness of a *Nail*, and it had so great an Effect, that it took away the *Distemper* as if he had taken it away with his hand, the *Person* being never troubled with it more all the time I knew him.

I have seen many other *Cures* performed by these *Machis*, particularly in cases of *Poyson*; for in that sort of *Distemper* they are very eminent. I shall mention but one Instance of a *Gentleman* who had been pining away for several years, and often at death's door: Once being in extreme danger, he heard of a famous *Machi* who lived a great way off, but was a *She Doctor*, (for there are *Women* amongst them eminent in the *Art*): He procured by *Presents* to have her sent for, and having promised her a considerable *Reward*, besides what he gave her in hand, which he was well able to perform, being very *Rich* and *Powerful*, she began to apply her *Remedies*, which were *Herbs*; and one day when she saw his *Body* prepared to part with the *Poyson*, she caused a great *Silver Volder* to be set in the middle of the *Room*, and there, in the presence of many *People*, the *Gentleman* having first been very sick in his *Stomach*, he cast up the *Poyson* which had

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Two Re-  
marks, &c.  
Cures per-  
formed by  
the Ma-  
chis.

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had been given him many years before, wrap'd up in Hair, which came up with it, and he was perfectly well after this, as he himself related to me.

Though, as I have said, the *Indians* are so close in keeping secret the Herbs they use; yet many of them persuaded by Reason, and induc'd by Friendship, do Communicate something; and Time and Experience has discover'd so many more, that if I should mention them all, I should be forc'd to make a Book on purpose of them; therefore I shall only mention Three that I have more present in my Memory, the Effects of which are prodigious.

Description  
of some  
Medicinal  
Herbs.

The first shall be the famous Plant call'd *Quinchamali*, which rises not a Foot above the Ground, and its Branches spread like a Nolegay, and end in little Flowers at the Points, which both in colour and shape are not unlike the Saffron call'd *Romi*. They pull up the Herb, and boil it entire with its Root, Leaves and Flowers, in fair Water, which is given to the Patient to drink hot; amongst other Effects it produces, one is to dissolve all Coagulated Blood in the Body, and that very quickly; so that an *Indian* feeling himself Wounded, takes it immediately to hinder the Blood that could not come out at the Wound from congealing inwardly, and so prevents all Impostumation and the Corruption of the rest.

There happened in our College of St. *Fago* an Accident which gave Proof of this admirable Herb; which was, That an *Indian* belonging to us being gone to the Great Place to see the Bull-feast, a Bull, to his great misfortune, catch'd him up, and told him in the Air, and left him almost dead on the Ground; he was brought to our House, and the Physician being call'd, said, he was a Dead Man, and nothing could save him; but however he told the Father that has Care of the Sick, that it would cost but little to give him the *Quinchamali*, and wrap him up warm, and left him alone some hours; it was done accordingly, and after some time the Father resorting to the place where they had laid him, to see if he were dead, he was found not only alive, but out of danger, and the Sheet all full of Blood, which the Herb had caus'd him to void through the Pores of his Body, so as he remain'd perfectly well in a little time.

The Second Herb is that which we *Spaniards* call *Albaquilla*, and the *Indians*

*Culen*, because its Leaves are like the Leaves of Sweet Basil: It grows in Bushes, so high that they seem to be Trees; the Leaves are very fragrant, and sweet like Honey; being bruise'd, it is applied to the Wound outwardly, and some drops of its Juice are to be poured also into the Wound, after which most admirable Effects of its Efficacy are seen.

I was told by Captain *Sebastian Garcia Carrezo*, the Founder of our Novitiate House of *Bucaleno*, that as he was Travelling with a Dog in his Company, which he lov'd extremely, some Wild Monkeys that live in the Mountains fell upon him, and so Worried him among them by biting him some on one side and some on the other; that they left him full of Wounds, and particularly with one large one in his Throat; his Master came up at last, and found him without sign of Life; he was much troubled for the loss of his Dog, and lighted to see what he could do for him. This *Albaquilla* is an Herb that grows every where in the Fields, and the Gentleman at a venture gathering three or four Handfulls of it, bruized them between two Stones, and poured the Juice into the Dogs Wounds, and into the great one of his Throat he thrust a Handfull of it, and so left him without hopes of Life: but it fell out wonderfully, that after a few Leagues Travelling on, turning back to look at something, he saw his Dog following at a distance, who was so well cur'd that he liv'd many years after.

The Third Herb that I can remember is like a Knot of fine Hair, and which is not commonly met with: This is an admirable Herb in Fevers and Plurisies; it is boil'd in Water, and drunk; it purifies and cleanses the Blood, expelling that which is bad, and so the Sick Body remains perfectly cur'd, as I my self have had the Experience of it.

There are several other Plants, some of which cure the Pains of the Liver, others dissolve the Stone in the Bladder, and break it to pieces; some are excellent for the Sciatica and other Infirmities; all which if I were to relate in particular, I should make a new *Dioscorides* or Herbal, which is not my intention. We will therefore leave the Flowers and Herbs of the Spring, the Harmony of the Singing of Birds, which rejoices the Mornings, and the serene and quiet days of this Season, to draw near the Summer, which will afford us Matter of Discourse.



CHAP. III.

Of the Summer and Autumn, and their Products.

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Summer.

THE Summer begins in the middle of November, and lasts to the middle of February, so that the greatest Heats are at Christmas, and we are forc'd to have recourse to our Faith to consider the Child God trembling with cold in the Manger; for when we rise to Sing *Matins*, particularly in *Cuyo*, and *Tucuman*, where the Heats are excessive, we are ready to melt with Heat. In *Chile* the Heats are not so excessive, because the Country is more temperate, but still the Weather is not so cold as it was in *Bethlem*. About this time the Fruits begin to ripen, which are in great variety; and there are but few of those of *Europe* that are wanting; for as soon as any of them are brought, either in Stone, Seed or Plant, they take, and 'tis wonderful to see how they thrive. I remember about Thirty years ago there were no Cherries, there coming by chance a little Tree from *Spain*, from which all the Curious began to multiply them in their Gardens, (it being both a rarity and a valuable Fruit) in a small time they were so encreased, that they were banish'd from the Gardens to the Fields, because they produc'd so many young Plants from their Roots, that they took up all the Ground about them.

Description  
of Fruits.

Of the Fruits of *Peru*, *Mexico*, and all the Continent of *America*, not one will grow in *Chile*, and the reason is the opposition of the Climate of *Chile*; nay, though they bring either Plant, Seed, or Setting, they never thrive; for those Countreys are within the Tropicks, and *Chile* is out of them; for which Reason also the Fruits of *Europe* take so well in *Chile*; such as Pears, Abricots, Figs, Peaches, Quinces, &c. which bear Infinitely; and if there is not Care taken to lessen their number when little, it is impossible for the Boughs to bear the weight of the Fruit, so that they are fain to prop them up with Forks when they grow near ripe.

The Fruit that exceeds all the rest for bearing, is the Apple of all Kinds, of which there are prodigious Orchards, and of these, though they lessen the number, yet the others encrease so much in weight, that the Trees are brought down to the Ground; so that there are many Windfalls, filling all the Ground about them, and the very Rivers on which they stand, and stopping the Course of the Water.

All the Crops of Oats, Wheat, Maiz, Grain, and all other Garden Product, begin to be cut in December, and so on to March, and they seldom produce less than Twenty or Thirty for One; nay, some a Hundred for One, and the Maiz 400 for One; and 'tis very seldom that there is any scarcity of Grain, but it is very cheap most commonly.

As for the Fruit of the Gardens, it is never or rarely sold but any body may without hindrance step into a Garden or Orchard, and eat what they will; only the Strawberries, which they call *Frutilla*, are sold; for though I have seen them grow wild for miles together, yet being cultivated they are sold very dear: They are very different from those I have seen here in *Rome*, as well in the Taste as in the Smell; and as for their Size, they grow to be as big as Pears, most commonly Red, but in the Territory of the Conception there are of them White and Yellow.

About this time also the Herbs that fatten the Cattle grow ripe, and then they begin to kill them with great Profit, it being the chiefest Riches of the Country, by reason of the Tallow and Hides which are sent for *Peru*. They kill Thousands of Cows, Sheep, Goats, and the Flesh being so cheap that it is not worth saving, they throw it away into the Sea or Rivers that it may not infect the Air; only they Salt the Tongues and Loins of the Cows, which they send for *Peru* as Presents to their Friends; and they who are able, and understand it, send likewise some Dried Salt Flesh for the King's Forces, or keep it to feed their own Slaves or Servants.

Autumn begins about the middle of February, so Lent proves the most delicious time of the year; for besides Lobsters, Oysters, Crabs, and other sorts of Shell-Fish and Sea-Fish of all kinds, they fish in the Ponds and Rivers for Trouts, *Vagres*, *Pejerages*, and other very choice River-Fish of several kinds; and at the same time there is a great Plenty of Legumes, and Garden-product; as Gourds, all sorts of Fruit, particularly Quinces, which are as big as one's head, and another kind called *Lucuma*, of which they make so many Dishes, that the mortification of salting is hardly perceived.

*Ovalle.* In the end of *Autumn* they begin to gather the *Olives* and the *Grapes*, and this lasts the Months of *May* and *June*.

1646. The *Wines* are most noble and generous, and fam'd by the Authors who write of this Country: There is such Plenty of them, that the Plenty is a grievance, there being no vent for such Quantities: It kills the *Indians*, because when they drink, 'tis without measure, till they fall down; and it being very strong, it burns up their inward Parts: The best kind is the *Muscatch*. I have seen some that look like Water, but their Operation is very different in the Stomach, which they warm like Brandy.

There are *White Wines* also very much valued; as those of the *Grapes*, called

*Uba Torronica*, and *Albilla*: The red and deep scent are made of the ordinary red *Grape*, and the *Grape* called *Mollar*. The Bunches of *Grapes* are so large, that they cause Admiration; particularly I remember one, which, because of its monstrous bigness, was by its Owner (a Gentleman) offered to our Lady's Shrine: It was so big as to fill a Basket, and to feed the whole Convent of *Friers* for that Meal, and they are pretty numerous: The Branches of the *Vines* are by consequence very big, and the Trunk or Body of them is in some places as thick as a Man's Body, and no man can encompass with extended Arms the heads of them when they are in full bloom.

#### CHAP. IV.

Of the Natural Riches of the Kingdom of *Chile*; which are its Mines of Gold, and other Metals; as also of the Indujrious Management of its other Product.

Two sorts of Riches.

THE Riches of *Chile* are of two sorts: First, Those which Nature has bestowed on it without the help of humane Industry; and, secondly, Those which have been produced and invented by the Inhabitants to improve and enjoy its Fertility. To the first kind belong its Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Quick-Silver, and Lead, with which Heaven has enriched it. Of the Copper of *Chile* are made all the Great Guns for *Peru* and the neighbouring Kingdoms, in the Garrisons of which there are always Stores; particularly on the Coasts: All the Bells of the Churches and Utensils for Families are of this Metal; so that since the working of these Mines, no Copper has come from *Spain*; for the *Indies* are sufficiently supplied by them with all they can want.

Little

Lead, and less Quick-Silver.

There is little Lead work'd, because there is little use of it; Quick-Silver less, because the Mines are but newly discovered; and as they were going to work them, the Obstacle to those of *Guancablica* in *Peru* was removed, and so there was no need of working those of *Chile*: Those of Silver likewise lie unwrought, because the Golden Mines are of less Charge, and so every body has turned their Industry towards them: They are so many, and so rich, that from the Confines of *Peru* to the extreamest Parts of this Kingdom, as far as the Streights of *Magellan*, there is no part of the Country but they discover them, which made Father *Gregory of Leon* in his Map of *Chile* say,

That this Country ought rather to have been called a Plate of Gold, than to go about to reckon up its Golden Mines, which are innumerable.

All the Authors who have writ of this Country, do mightily Enlarge upon its Riches, and the same is done by all those who have Navigated the Streights of *Magellan*; *Antonio de Herrera*, in his General History of the *Indies*, says, That in all the *West-Indies*, no Gold is so fine as that of *Valdivia* in *Chile*, except the famous Mine of *Carabaya*; and that when those Mines were first work'd, (which was before those *Indians* who are now at Peace with us, were at War) an *Indian* among them did use to get from them every day 20 or 30 *Pesos* of Gold, which comes to near 500 *Reals* of Plate, and was a Wonderful Gain.

And the already cited *John* and *Theo. Great dore de Brye* say, That when the *Nodales* Plenty of passed the Streights of *St. Vincent*, other Gold, wise called Streights of *La Maire*, there came some *Indians* from the Country called *La Tierra del fuego*, who exchanged with the *Spaniards* a piece of Gold of a foot and a half long, and as broad, for Cissors, Knives, Needles, and other Things of little value; for they do not value it as we do. Other Authors say, That most of the Gold that was laid up in the *Incas* Treasure, was brought to him from *Chile*; though having never subjected the *Araucanos*, he could not have that quantity which this rich Country would else have afforded.

But

But what need I weary my self in Citations of People abroad, when those who live in the Country of *Chile*, and see it every day, are the best Testimony of the great Riches that the *Spaniards* have drawn from these Mines; which was so great, that I have heard the old Men say, that in their Feasts and Entertainments they us'd to put Gold Dust in their Salt-fellers instead of Salt; and that when they swept the House, the Servants would often find grains of Gold in the Sweepings, which they would wash out, for the *Indians* being the Persons that brought it to their Lords, they would often let some fall.

Gold more  
plenty than  
Silver.

I have said before, that it was much more easie to get Gold than Silver out of the Mines, because this last costs much Pains, first to dig it from the hard Rock, then to beat it in the Mills to powder, which Mills are chargeable; as is also the Quick-silver necessary to be us'd to make the Silver unite, and all the rest of the Operations requir'd to refine it; but the advantage of getting Gold has no other Trouble in it, then to carry the Earth in which it is found to the Water, and there wash it in Mills on purpose, with a Stream which carries off the Earth, and the Gold as being heavieft goes to the bottom.

'Tis true, that sometimes they follow the Gold Vein through Rocks and hard Places, where it grows thinner and thinner, till at last the Profit that arises is very small; yet they persist to follow it in hopes it will grow larger, and end at last in that which they call *Bolsa*, which is, when coming to a softer and easier part of the Rock, the Vein enlarges so, that one of these Hits is enough to Enrich a Family for all their Lives. There is now less Gold found then formerly, by reason of the War the *Spaniards* have had with the Nation of *Araucanos*, but still some is found, particularly in *Coquimbo*, where, in the Winter when it Rains much, is the great Harvest of Gold; for by the Rain the Mountains are wash'd away, and the Gold is easier to come at. There is likewise some Gold in the Territory of the *Concepcion*; in which I was told by a Captain who enter'd into our Society, that there was not above half a League from the Town a Pond or Standing Water which is not deeper then half the height of a Man, and that when the *Indians* have nothing to spend, they send their Wives to this Pond, and they going in feel out with their Toes the Grains of Gold, and as soon as they have found them they stoop and take them up; they

do this till they have got to the value of Two or Three *Reps* of Gold, and then they seek no longer, but go Home, and do not return for any more as long as that lasts, for they are not a Covetous People, but are content to Enjoy without laying up.

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I brought with me to *Italy* one of these Grains thus found, of a pretty reasonable bigness, and sending it at *Sevill* to be touch'd, without either putting it in the Fire, or using other Proofs, it was allowed to be of Twenty three Carats, which is a very remarkable thing. Now that the Peace is made, and the Warlike *Indians* quiet, the *Spaniards* may return to search for the Gold of *Valdivia* and other Mines thereabouts, which will extremely encrease the Riches of the Country.

As for the Product made by the Industry of the Inhabitants, it consists particularly in the Breed of their Cattle of all Kinds, as I have observ'd above; sending the Tallow, Hides, and Dryed Flesh, for *Lima*, where having first retain'd the necessary Proportion for themselves, which is about Twenty thousand Quintals of Tallow every year for that City, and Hides accordingly, they distribute the rest all over *Peru*; the Hides particularly are carried up to *Potosi*, and all that Inland Tract of Mines, where most of their Cloathing comes from *Chile*; they are also carried to *Panama*, *Cartagena*, and the rest of that Continent; some of this Trade extends it self likewise to *Tucuman* and *Buenos Aires*, and from thence to *Brazil*.

Breeding of  
Cattle the  
chief Pro-  
duct of  
Chile.

The Second Product is the Cordage, and Tackling, with which all the Ships of the *South Seas* are furnish'd from *Chile*; as also the Match for Fire-Arms, with which all the Kings Garrisons along the Coast are provided from those parts; for the Hemp which makes the first Material of all these Provisions, grows no where in the *West-Indies* but in *Chile*: There is also Packthread Exported, and other smaller Cordage.

Cordage,  
Tackling  
for Ships,  
and Match  
for Fire-  
Arms.

The Third Product is Mules, which are sent to *Potosi* through the Desert of *Araucania*.

Mules.

The 4th Product is the Coco-Nuts, which are the Fruit of the Palm-Trees, and do not indeed proceed from Industry, but grow wild in the Mountains without any Cultivation, so thick, that I have seen several leagues of this Tree. Almonds likewise, and the Product of Gardens, which are not proper for *Peru*, are carried thither with great Profit, so as to be able to set up a young Beginner. When I

Almonds.

C

came

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1646.

Great Encouragement to Merchants.

came to *Lima*, I observed that the Annual feed which had been bought at *Chile* for two Pieces of Eight, was sold there for twenty, and the Cummin-feed bought at twenty, was sold for fourscore; which makes Merchants very willing to Trade to those Parts, as hoping to grow Rich in a small time; and this encreases the Riches of *Chile*, by drawing every day thither Men with good Stocks. The Gains made this way are to be considerable, that a Man who has about Forty thousand Crowns to employ in Land, Flocks and Slaves to take care of them, may every year have a Revenue of Ten or Twelve thousand Crowns, which is a Gain of Twenty five per Cent. very Lawful, and without any Trouble to one's Conscience, or Subjection to the Dangers of the Seas; for those who will run the Hazards of that Element, gain much more; for the Merchants, by many Commodities, get a hundred, and two hundred, nay three hundred per Cent. in a Navigation of about three weeks, which is the time usually Employed from *Chile* to *Lima*, without any fear of Pirates, all those Seas being entirely the King of *Spain's*, and so free from those Robbers; besides, 'tis very seldom that any Storms are felt in that Voyage, or at least not any that endanger the loss of the Ships: The greatest Danger proceeds from the Covetousness of the Owners and Merchants, who trusting to the Peaceableness of those Seas, and that they sail all the way from *Chile* to *Lima* before the Wind, they load up to the Mid-mast: 'Tis not Exaggeration, because I have seen them go out of the Port with Provisions for the Voyage and other Necessaries as high as the Ropes that hold the Masts; and though the King's Officers are present to hinder the Ships from being overloaded, yet generally they are so deep in the Water, that they are but just above it; and with all these, there are many Goods left behind in the Magazines of the Port; for the Land is so Productive of every thing, that the only Misfortune of it is to want a Vent for its Product, which is enough to supply another *Lima* or another *Potosi*, if there were one.

'Tis upon this Foundation that 'tis affirmed generally, That no Country in all *America* has a more solid Establishment than *Chile*; for in Proportion to the Encrease of Inhabitants in *Peru*, *Chile* must encrease too in Riches, since it is able to supply any great Consumption, and yet have enough of its own in all the kinds of Corn, Wine, Fleish, Oil, Salt, Fruits, Legumes, Wooll, Flax, Hides, Tallow, Chamois, Leather, Ropes, Wood and Timber, Medicinal Remedies, Pitch, Fish of all kinds, Metals of all sorts, and Amber: There wants Silk, and 'tis to be wished that it may never get thither, but for Ornament to the Altars; for it is already the Beggering of the Country, by reason of the great Expence in Rich Clothes; particularly by the Women, who are not outdone in this, even by the bravest Ladies of *Madrid*, or other Parts; but yet the Land is so proper for Silk Worms, that if any one carries the Seed of them there, I am perswaded it will take with great abundance, the Mulberry-Trees being there already as full grown and in as great beauty as in *Spain*.

The Wax likewise comes from *Europe*, though there are Bees who make both Honey and Wax. Pepper and other *East-India* Spices come from abroad, tho' there is a kind of Spice which supplies the want of them very well; and the Authors above cited say, That in the Streights of *Magellan* there is good Cinnamon, and that on those Coasts there grow Trees of a most fragrant Smell in their Bark, and which have a Taste like Pepper, but of a more quick Savour; as it shall be made out when we treat of that Streight.

In the whole Kingdom the Herbage *herbage*, and the Fishing are in common; as also *Fishing*, the Hunting, and the Woods as for *Hunting*, *Wood* for *Fuel*, and *Salt Mines*, all in common. There is no Imposition on Trade through all the Kingdom, every one being free to transport what Goods he pleases either within or without the Kingdom.

## CHAP. V.

### Of the Famous Cordillera of Chile.

Description of the Cordillera.

THE Cordillera, or high Mountains of *Chile*, are a Prodigy of Nature, and without Parallel in the World: 'Tis a

Chain of high Mountains, which run from North to South from the Province of *Quito*, and the new Kingdom of *Granada*, to *Chile*, above

above a thousand *Castilian* Leagues, according to *Antonio de Herrera* in his Third Tome, *Decade* the 5th; to which adding the length of the Kingdom of *Chile* to the Straights of *Magellan*, it will make in all little less than 1500 Leagues: The remotest part of *Chile* is not above 20 or 30 Leagues from the Sea. These Mountains are Forty Leagues broad, with many Precipices, and Intermediate Valleys, which are habitable till one comes to the Tropicks, but not beyond them, because of the perpetual Snows with which they are always cover'd.

*Antonio de Herrera* already cited, puts Two Chains of Mountain, one much lower, cover'd with Woods and handlom Groves, because the Air is more temperate near it; the other much higher, which by reason of the Intense Cold, has not so much as a Bush on it, the Mountains being so bare that there is neither Plant nor Grass on them; but he says, that on both these sorts of Mountains there are several Animals, which because of the Singularity of their Kinds, I shall here describe some of them.

Description  
of several  
Animals.

Hogs.

One of the most remarkable is a Species of Hogs that have their Navel in their Back upon the Back bone, they go in Herds, and each Herd has its Leader, who is known from them all, because when they march none dares go before him, all the rest follow in great order: No Hunter dares fall on these Herds till he has kill'd this Captain or Leader; for as long as they see him, they will keep together, and shew so much Courage in their own Defence, that they appear Invincible; but as soon as they see him kill'd, they are broke, and run for it, giving up the day till they choose another Captain.

Their way of Eating is also admirable; they divide themselves into Two Bodies, one half of them goes to certain Trees which are in a County call'd *Los Quixos*, in the Province of *Quito*, and are like the Cinnamon Trees, these they shake to bring down the Flowers which the other half feeds on, and when they have eat enough, they go and relieve the other half of the Flock, and make the Flowers fall for them, and so return the service to their Companions that they have receiv'd from them.

Monkeys.

There are many sorts of Monkeys, who differ mightily in their Shapes, Colour, and Bigness, and other Properties; some are Merry, some Melancholy and Sad, these Whistle, the others Chatter, some are Nimble, others Lazy, some Cowards, others Stout and Courageous, but yet

when one threatens them they get away as fast as they can. Their Food is Fruit and Birds Eggs, and any Game they can catch in the Mountains; they are very much afraid of Water, and if they happen to Wet or Dirty themselves, they grow dejected and sad. There are also great variety of Parrots.

The Wild Goats are numerous; they are call'd *Vicunna's*, and have so fine Hair, that it seems as soft as Silk to the touch: This is us'd to make the fine Hats so much valued in *Europe*. There are likewise a sort of Sheep of that Country they call *Quawacos*, which are like Camels, but a good deal less, of whose Wool they make Wastcoats, which are Woven in *Peru*, and are more valued than if they were of Silk, for their Softness and the fineness of their Colours.

The same Author says moreover, that through this Chain of Mountains there went Two Highways, in which the *Inca's* shew'd their great Power; one of them goes by the Mountain all Pav'd for Nine hundred Leagues, from *Posito* to *Chile*; it was Five and twenty Foot broad; and at every Four Leagues were Noble Buildings, and to this day there are the Places call'd *Tambo's*, which answer our Inns, where every thing necessary is to be found by Travellers; and that which was most admirable, at each half League there were Couriers and Posts who were designed for the Conveniency of Passengers, that they might send their Letters and Advices where they were requisite. The other Way, which was also of Twenty five Foot broad, went by the Plain at the foot of the Mountains, with the same Proportion and Beauty of Inns, and Palaces at every Four Leagues, which were enclosed with high Walls; as also Streams and Rivolets running through this Way, brought thither by Art for the Refreshment and Recreation of Travellers.

This is what *Antonio de Herrera*, and other Authors who Treat of the *Indies*, do tell us about this famous *Cordillera*; now I shall relate what I my self have seen, and do know about it.

And First, I must suppose, that though these Two Highways run separate and distinct through all *Peru* and *Quito*, yet they must grow nearer each other as they rise higher in the Mountain; for when they come to *Chile*, they are no longer Two, but One; this is clearly found by Experience in those who cross the *Cordillera* to go from *Chile* to *Cuyo*, as I have done several times that I have pass'd this

Ovalle.  
1646.

Herbage,  
Fishing,  
Hunting,  
Woods for  
Fuel, and  
Salt Mines,  
all in com-  
mon.

Mountain,  
Ovalle.  
1646.

and never could see this division, but always continual and perpetual Mountains, which serve for Walls and Fortifications on each side to one which rises in the middle infinitely higher than the rest, and is that which most properly is called the *Cordillera*. I am also persuaded, that the two Ways above-mentioned came but to the Boundaries of *Chile*, and ended in those of *Peru*. I have indeed in passing the *Cordillera* met with great old Walls of Stone on the top of it, which they call the *Inga's*; which they say were Encampments, (though not his, for he never came to *Chile*) but of his Generals and Armies sent to Conquer the Country; and 'tis not impossible but the said two Ways might be continued on to these Buildings; but it was not practicable that it could be with that Perfection as in that part of the Mountain contained within the Tropicks, where, because the Hills are more tractable, such Ways might be made as they describe, but not in the Mountains of *Chile*, which are one upon another so thick, that 'tis with great difficulty that a single Mule can go in the Paths of it; and the *Cordillera* grows rougher and rougher the more it draws nearer the Pole, so that it appears to be above the Compass of humane Power to open a Way through it, so curious and finely contrived as it is represented. It was not necessary that the *Inga* should use so much Art and Industry to make Admirable that which is already so much so, as this Mountain is in its whole Course through the Kingdom of *Chile*, as it shall be shewed when we discourse in particular of its several Parts and Properties. For, first, Supposing what we have said of its running 1500 leagues in length and 40 in diameter, its Wonderful Height makes it astonishing. The Ascent is so prodigious, that we employ three or four days in arriving to the top of it, and as many more in the Descent; that is, speaking properly, and only of the Mountain, for otherwise it may be affirmed, that one begins to mount even from the Sea-side, because all the way, which is about forty leagues, is nothing but an extended Shelving Coast, for which reason the Rivers run with such force, that their Streams are like Mill-Streams, particularly near their heads.

Sudden  
change of  
Air.

When we come to ascend the highest point of the Mountain, we feel an Air so piercing and subtle, that 'tis with much difficulty we can breathe; which obliges us to fetch our Breath quick and strong, and to open our Mouths wider than ordinary; ap-

plying to them likewise our Handkerchiefs to condense our Breath, and break the extreme Coldness of the Air, and so make it more proportionable to the Temperament, which the Heart requires, not to be suffocated: This I have experienced every time that I have passed this mighty Mountain.

Don Antonio de Herrera says, That those who pass it in *Peru* suffer great Reachings and Vomiting, because no one thing produces so great an Alteration at once, as a sudden change of Air; and that of the Mountain being so Unproportion'd to common Respiration, produces in those who pass over it those admirable and painful Effects. He says moreover, That those who have endeavoured to dive into the Causes of them, do find, that as that Mountain is one of the highest in the World, the Air of it is so extreme subtle and fine, that it discomposes the Temperament of the Animal, as has been said. 'Tis true, that in that part of the *Cordillera* in *Peru*, which they call *Pariacaca*, there may be a Concurrence of other Causes and Disposition of the Climate, to which may be attributed some of these Effects; for if they were to be attributed only to the height of the Mountain, we that pass it in *Chile* ought to find those Inconveniencies as much, or more, because the Mountain is highest without comparison; and yet I never endured those Reachings or Vomiting, nor have seen any of those Motions in others, but only the difficulty of Breathing, which I have mentioned.

Others experience other Effects, which I have often heard them relate; for the Exhalations and other Meteors (which from the Earth seem so high in the Air, that sometimes we take them for Stars) are there under the feet of the Mules, fighting them, and buzzing about their Ears: We go through the Mountains treading as it were upon Clouds; sometimes we see the Earth without any opposition to our sight, and when we look up, we cannot see the Heavens for Clouds, but when we are ascended to the highest of the Mountain, we can no longer see the Earth for the Clouds below, but the Heavens are clear and bright, and the Sun bright, and shining out without any impediment to hinder us from seeing its light and beauty.

The Iris, or Rainbow, which upon the Earth we see crossing the Heavens, we see it from this height extended under our Feet; whereas those on the lower Parts see it over their Heads; nor is it a less Wonder, that while we travel over those Hills,

Rainbow.



Hills, which are dry and free from wet, we may see, as I have done often, the Clouds discharge themselves, and overflow the Earth with great force; and at the same time that I was contemplating at a distance, Tempests and Storms falling in the Valleys and deep Places, as I lifted up my Eyes to Heaven, I could not but admire the Serenity over my Head, there being not so much as a Cloud to be seen to trouble or discompose that Beautiful Prospect.

Snow.

The second thing which makes this Mountain admirable, is, the prodigious Snow which falls upon it in Winter, which is so great, that though these Mountains are so high and broad, there is no part of them uncovered with Snow, being in many places several Pikes deep: I am not informed how it is in the highest part of all, which is most properly call'd the *Cordillera*, because this being so very high, that 'tis thought to surpass the middle Region of the Air, its Point alone may perhaps be uncovered; at least when I pass'd

it, which has been sometimes in the beginning of Winter, I have not seen a crum of Snow; when a little below, both at the coming up and going down, it was so thick, as our Mules sunk in without being able to go forward.

But that which I have observed, is, That after a glut of Rain which has lasted two or three days, and the Mountain appears clear, (for all the time it Rains 'tis covered with Clouds) it seems white from top to bottom, and is a most Beautiful Sight; for the Air is so serene in those Parts, that when a Storm is over, the Heavens are so bright, even in the midst of Winter, that there is not a Cloud to be seen in them for many days; then the Sun shining upon that prodigious quantity of Snow, and those Coasts and white Shelfings all covered with extended Woods, produces a Prospect, which, even we that are born there, and see it every year, cannot forbear admiring, and draws from us Praises to the Great Creator for the wonderful Beauty of his Works.

*Ovalle.*  
1646.

*The Cordillera white from top to bottom after a glut of Rain.*

# CHAP. VI.

## Of the Vulcano's, and the Mines of Gold and Silver of the Cordillera.

*Vulcano's*

There are in this *Cordillera*, or Chain of Mountains, sixteen *Vulcanos*, which in several times have broke out, and caused Effects no less Admirable than Terrible and Astonishing to all the Country: Amongst the rest, that which happened in the year 1640. is worthy to be remembered; It broke out in the Enemy's Country, in the Territory of the *Cacique Aliante*, burning with so much force, that the Mountain cleaving in two, sent forth Pieces of Rock all on fire, with so horrible a Noise, that it was heard many leagues off just like the going off of Cannon: In all that Territory the Women miscarried for fear; as shall be related more particularly in its proper place, in the Account I shall give of the Subjection of all that Country to our Catholick King, being mov'd thereunto by this and other Prodiges.

The first of these *Vulcano's* is called the *Vulcano of Copiapo*, and is in about 26 Degrees Altitude of the Pole, about the Confines of *Chile* and *Peru*; in Thirty Degrees is that of *Copimbo*, in Thirty one and a half that of *La Ligua*, in Thirty five that of *Peteroa*, in Thirty six and a half that of *Chilan*, in Thirty seven and a quarter that of *Antuco*; This is followed

by that of *Notuco* in Thirty eight and a half; that of *Villarica* is in Thirty nine and Three quarters; near this is another, whose Name I know not, in Forty and a quarter; and in Forty one is that of *Oorno*; and near that, in less than a quarter of a Degree, that of *Guanabuca*; and in a little more than Forty two Degrees that of *Quebucabi*; and last of all are two more, one without a Name, in Forty four, and that of *St. Clement*, which is in Forty five and a half.

These are the known *Vulcano's* of *Chile*; We have no knowledge of others, which may be as far as the *Tierra del Fuego*, because till this time our Discoveries have not gone so far; but there is no doubt but there are some, as they are to be found before one comes to *Chile*, in the Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Quito*, *Diego Ordones de Salvo*, in the Third Book and Eighteenth Chapter of his Voyage through the whole World, mentions among the rest one that is near the fall of the River in the Valley of *Cola*, and says, It is on a Mountain in the Form of a Sugar-Loaf, like that of *La Plata* in *Potosi*, and that in Winter it throws out so much Smoke and Ashes, that it burns up all the Grass within two leagues round about it.

He

Exhalations and other Meteors.

Rainbow.

He likewise mentions another in the  
*Ovalle*. Entrance of the Province of *los Quixos*,  
 1646. near the Town of *Atispa*; and speaks of  
 another which broke out near *Quito*, in a  
 Mountain called the *Punta*, and he affirms,  
 That the Ashes lie two leagues and a half  
 from the Mountain, and he has seen them  
 lie on the House above four Foot deep in  
 the neareff Places to the Mountain.

Lastly, He tells of that of *Ariquipa*,  
 which buried the Vineyards, and had al-  
 most overwhelmed the City: To this day  
 there are seen the Effects of that Defola-  
 tion, which ruined many Families, by  
 destroying their Houses and Possessions;  
 At the same time he observes, That the  
 Earthquakes which before were frequent,  
 ceased from that time, and this perhaps  
 may be the reason why the Earthquakes  
 in *Chile* have always been considerably less  
 than those of *Peru*, because *Chile* has more  
 breathing Holes for the Vapours to ex-  
 hale by.

There is no room for doubting of the  
 immense Riches which these Mountains  
 enclose in their Bowels; for 'tis a certain  
 Argument and Proof of it to see only the  
 Mineral Riches of *Chile*, which are as it  
 were Indices of what may be contained in  
 those Rocks, as the Rivers which fertilize  
 the Country are a Proof of the unex-  
 hausted Fountains contained in the Rocks  
 and Precipices.

I think there may be two Causes as-  
 signed, why these Riches do not manifest  
 themselves, nor appear more; The first  
 is that General State Reason, and inviola-  
 ble Maxim among the *Indians*, to conceal  
 and not discover them to any other Na-  
 tion: This they observe so punctually,  
 that it is among them a Capital Crime,  
 punishable with Death, to break Silence  
 in this Matter, which they make Sacred  
 and Indispensable; and if any one among  
 them, either out of Interest, Negligence,  
 or any other Motive of Conveniency, dis-  
 covers any thing of this kind, his Death  
 is Infalible, and no Power on Earth can  
 save him.

I remember on this Subject, that some  
 Gentlemen having, by Presents, Insinua-  
 tions, and Flatteries, come to the know-  
 ledge of some Treasure by the means of  
 an *Indian*, and prevailed with him at last  
 to guide them to some very rich Mines in  
 a remote Mountain; he begg'd earnestly  
 of them to be secret, or otherwise he was  
 a dead Man, let them take never so much  
 care of him: They promised him accord-  
 ingly, and so they set out, and he brought  
 them through horrid Rocks and Precipi-  
 ces, where it look'd as if never Man had

set his Foot, nor scarce any living Animal.  
 Every day they met with certain Marks  
 which the *Indian* had told them of be-  
 fore-hand: First, after so many days they  
 discovered a Red Mountain, and then at  
 certain distance from that a Black one on  
 the Left Hand; then a Valley which be-  
 gan from a Monstrous high Mountain or  
 Rock; then at so many Leagues a Moun-  
 tain of Chalk: All which Signs the Guide  
 went showing them, verifying thereby the  
 Relation he had given them before-hand,  
 and comforting them up to endure the  
 Hardship, by the Hopes of fulfilling at  
 last their Expectation, and seeing their  
 Labour Rewarded.

Their Provisions failed them, and they  
 were forced to come back to provide more  
 to pursue their Enterprize: The *Indian*  
 was always in fear of being discovered,  
 knowing that he run in that no less a Ha-  
 zard than that of his Life. They returned  
 then to a Town, and to secure their *In-  
 dian* from his fright of being discovered,  
 they locked him up in a Room very safe;  
 but the night before they were to set out  
 again, without ever being able to discover  
 how it was done, (for there was no Signs  
 by the Door of any body's going in that  
 way;) as they went to call the *Indian* in  
 the morning, they found him Strangled;  
 by which means, being deprived of their In-  
 tent, and having lost the Hopes of satisfying  
 their Desire, they returned to their own  
 Homes, though with a Resolution to try  
 again, being encouraged by so much as  
 they had already discovered.

The other Reason to be assigned for  
 not seeking after these Mines, is the great  
 Plenty of every thing necessary for Life;  
 so that Hunger, which is the Prompter of  
 Covetous Desires, being wanting, there  
 are few that care to run a Hazard, and  
 lose their Conveniencies at home, to go  
 through impracticable Defarts upon search  
 after hidden Treasure; particularly find-  
 ing already so much in the Valleys bot-  
 toms, Rivers, and Fountains; nay even  
 these Mines in the Low Countries are not  
 wrought, because the Profit of other Pro-  
 ducts is easier. 'Tis probable that People  
 will encrease, for every day there is a  
 new Addition; and there then being more  
 Consumers, the Product of the Land  
 will be dearer, and Provisions not being  
 so cheap as now, Men will be more In-  
 genious and Industrious to seek for Sufte-  
 nance under Ground, by the Mines and  
 Treasures hid there by Providence.

These few years last past have given be-  
 ginning to a Discovery of some Golden  
 Mines, and Silver ones, on each side of  
 the

The Con-  
 cealing of  
 Treasure  
 from all  
 Foreign  
 Nations, is  
 a Maxim  
 of State  
 among the  
 Indians.

A remark-  
 able Rela-  
 tion of a  
 Journey  
 undertaken  
 in Search  
 of some  
 rich Mines.

Disco-  
 very  
 of se-  
 veral  
 Mines

Past nu-  
 ber of Fo-  
 rains,  
 Springs,  
 Brooks,  
 Rivers.

the *Cordillera*: For as I passed over it once, I remember that the Sight discovers a black Mountain at a distance, whose top shines as if it were covered with Silver; and it is a common Tradition that it contains it, and great Treasures besides, in its Bowels; but they are at present useless, for the Reasons alledged, and because one half of the year the Mountain is covered with Snow, and so not only uninhabitable, but impenetrable.

Discovery  
of several  
very rich  
Mines.

They write me word, That on the side of the Province of *Cuyo*, they have begun to discover other very rich Mines, which being below the roughest part of the Mountain, may be wrought all the year round, and with great Conveniency of the Miners, and other necessary Workmen, because Carts may come to the very Situation of the Mine, which is of Consideration for the Price of the Metal: They speak of it with great Expectation, by reason of the good Proofs they have already had in the Assaying of it in small quantities.

Besides the Mines of Gold, and Silver,

and Brass, and Lead, which are work'd in *Coquimbo*, and those of Quick Silver which have been discovered within these few years in *Lamache*, which is a Valley in *Chile*. I do not know of any others of any other sort in this *Cordillera*: I am verily persuaded there are some of Christal; for, considering the Nature of the Place, I cannot think there is one any where more proper. Being in the Valley of *Rancagua*, I heard one of our Nation tell an *Indian*, that upwards in the Mountain he had found a great deal of Christal: He hearing this, out of Curiosity went up to see what it was, and I heard him tell, That after having gone over several Rocks, he saw on the top of a Precipice a great Opening, and that drawing near to it, he saw a profound Cave, and in the bottom of it a great Plank or Table of Christal, which appeared to him of the finest sort; but wanting help and Instruments to get it out, he returned with only this Information, and some little pieces of a Christal Stone which he found on the top.

Ovalle.  
1646.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of the Fountains, Rivers, and Brooks, of the Cordillera.*

Past num-  
ber of Foun-  
tains,  
Springs,  
Brooks, and  
Rivers.

THAT which contributes not a little to the Admiration we have for this great Chain of Mountains, is, the vast number of Fountains, Springs, Brooks, and Rivers, which we meet with ever and anon when we go over it; they are so numerous, that 'tis a thing rather to be seen than related, though the Travellers reap but little benefit by the Curious Observation of them; for by them the Ways are the most broken and troublesome that 'tis possible to imagine: They last about eight days Journey. One must suppose too, that the Summer is pretty well enter'd, for in Winter they are absolutely impassable, and in the Spring not without evident danger of ones Life; because one Travels all the way on a Path so narrow, that there is but just room for a Mule's Feet: On one side are prodigious Precipices, which have at the bottom a furious and profound River, and on the other hand huge Rocks, and some part of them standing out so, that if the Mule's Loading, (as it often happens, and I have seen it) touches part of them, it throws down the Mule head-long, and sends her rowling down till she comes to the River at the bottom, which carries her away to

the Sea without stopping, except it happen upon some turning of the River to get it on Shoar; where, though the Lading may be saved, yet not the Mule's Life, because it is impossible almost to get her up again.

In many places one is forced to light, and even a Man on foot is not very safe; because some of the Coasts are so straight and slippery, that it frights one to walk on them: The Ascents and Descents of the Hills are so steep, that when from below one looks at those who are above, they look like Figures, and for my part I thought it a Temerity, if not an Impossibility, to venture to get up to them.

The Brooks and Rivers which cross the Ways every step are so violent, that there is no Head so strong, but it turns to look on their Current; which is so swift, that if it comes up to the Mule's Saddle, there is no passing without evident danger of ones Life; for these Streams coming from on high, have the Strength of a Mill-Stream, carrying along with them loose Stones, which overturn a loaded Mule as it were a Chicken; so that 'tis necessary sometimes to stay two or three days till the Sun does not shine; for then these

Rapid Ri-  
vers.

Brooks

Brooks are lower, because there is less  
*Ovalle.* Snow melted; and for this reason 'tis al-  
 1646. ways best to pass early in the morning,  
 they having had all the night to run lower.

*The great  
 Variety of  
 Waters,  
 very di-  
 versing.*

It was necessary for an Allay of the  
 Dangers, and Irksomeness of these Ways,  
 that God should temper the Rigour of  
 the Sufferings, by the Variety and Diver-  
 sion which so many Waters give in their  
 Rise and Course: some are to be seen  
 breaking out from almost an imperceptible  
 Height, and meeting with no interme-  
 diate Object, the whole Mass of Water,  
 which is usually very great, dissolves it self  
 by the way into so many Drops, which  
 make a lovely Prospect, like so much  
 Pearl falling, and being mingled by the  
 force of the Air, which drives them a-  
 cross one upon the other, it seems a Chain  
 hanging from its first Issue to the Earth;  
 where, taking another Shape, it becomes  
 a running Brook, and unites with the Cur-  
 rent of the chief River which runs in the  
 middle.

I saw others, which, before they got to  
 the Earth, divided into two Branches, form-  
 ing like a thick Shower in the midst of  
 the way, or Atomes in the Sun-beams;  
 but 'tis impossible to paint all the Variety  
 of Objects produced by these several Mo-  
 tions and Compositions of Streams and  
 Fountains: I cannot leave them without  
 mentioning one called the *Eyes of Water*,  
 which is very remarkable; 'tis in the last  
*Mesa* but one, at the foot of the Mountain.  
 I called it *Mesa*, because Providence has,  
 for the Relief of Travellers, disposed at  
 some Leagues distance little Valleys and  
 agreeable Plains, which ease the Travel-  
 lers in this most tedious and long Ascent.

*Los Ojos  
 de Agua,*

This Valley is environed with a Wall  
 of most prodigious high Rocks; it may  
 be a Mile or thereabouts in its Diameter,  
 and is all the year round full of Greens,  
 Odoriferous Plants and Flowers, which  
 make it a Picture of Paradise: In the  
 midst of it springs up this Fountain, or  
 Fountains, because the Springs of Water  
 are many that rise from the Ground all  
 about, leaping with great force into the  
 Air, which in a little space all unite, and  
 make two great Bodies, each of them full  
 of Water as clear as Crystal. These two  
 Heads begin a kind of Combat a little be-  
 low, and mingling in their Course with  
 one another, as if some Ingenious Artist  
 had ordered it, make a great many Turn-  
 ings and Windings, sometimes far from  
 one another, and sometimes united through  
 the whole Valley; till at the end of it,  
 joining together, they fall into one Can-  
 al, which empties it self into the prin-

cipal River, composed by many of these  
 Rivolets.

One Property of all these Chrystal or Springs.  
 Streams, is extream Coolness, which they *The Waters  
 never lose; no, not when the Sun shines  
 out most in the heat of the day: It is  
 such, that no body can drink half a Cup  
 full of it without resting or taking Breath;  
 and though all these Springs have this qua-  
 lity, yet none in so intence a degree as  
 this Fountain of Los Ojos de agua; of which,  
 though the Weather be never so hot, 'tis  
 not possible to drink above two or three  
 Sups, and one can hardly endure to hold  
 the Water in ones hand above a Minute.  
 Behind one of those high Mountains  
 which is to the East of this Fountain,  
 there is a great Lake or Pond, so deep  
 and clear, that it appears as if it were of  
 Azure; and there is a Tradition, That  
 the last of the *Inca's* Kings of Peru, caused  
 vast Quantities of Treasure to be thrown  
 into it, when he saw that he could not  
 redeem himself, nor save his Life by them;  
 though it seems hard to believe they should  
 go so far to do a thing they might have  
 executed much nearer home. The Wa-  
 ters of this Lake have no Issue, being en-  
 vironed on all sides with very high Rocks,  
 and therefore 'tis thought that it comes  
 under Ground to those Fountains called  
 the *Ojos de agua*, and empties it self by  
 them.*

I cannot pass over in silence another  
 Fountain which is at the foot of the *Cor-  
 dillera* on the other side towards *Cuyo*.  
 There is a River called the *Rio de Men-  
 doza*, which comes down from the East,  
 not inferior to that of *Aconagua* in *Chile*,  
 which runs to the West into the South  
 Sea. Into these two Rivers are emptied  
 most of the little Streams of the Moun-  
 tain; that of *Mendoza* meeting in its way  
 with a Chalky Mountain, bores it quite  
 through, and leaves a Bridge broad en-  
 ough for three or four Carts to pass a-  
 breast. Under this Bridge is a great Ta-  
 ble of Rock, over which run five different  
 Streams of Water, proceeding from so  
 many Fountains; which Water is extream  
 hot, and very good for many Distempers:  
 The Stones over which it runs are of a  
 Green like Emerald. The Vault of this  
 Bridge surpasses in Beauty all that humane  
 Art can produce; for there hangs down  
 from it several Icicles in shapes of Flowers,  
 and Pendants of a Stone like Salt; for the  
 Humidity which penetrates from above  
 makes it congeal like Points of Diamonds,  
 and other Figures which adorn this Vault;  
 through which there falls perpetually a  
 quantity of great Drops as big as Pease,  
 some

*Rio de  
 Mendoza.*

some, and others as big as Yolks of Eggs; which falling upon the Stone Table I have mentioned, are turned into Stones of several Shapes and Colours, of no small Value.

The In-  
ga's  
Bridge.

There is another Bridge on the other side, call'd the *Inga's* Bridge, either because he caus'd it to be built, or because (as is more probable) his Generals were the first Discoverers of it, and pass'd over it; for it is not possible that any Humane Art could make so bold an Attempt as has been brought to pass by the Author of Nature in this place. This Bridge is form'd by a most prodigious high Rock, which is cloven in two as if it had been saw'd down, only cover'd on top; it is hollow to the very River, which is large and rapid, and yet the noise of it is no more heard on the top than if it were a little Brook, which is a strong Argument of the great distance there is between the top and the bottom of the Mountain; for the opening not being above Eagle Foot over, it being easie to leap from one side to the other, it would be thought, that a great River being so streightned as

to go through it, should make a very great noise in passing such a streight place with so much force; and if the noise does not reach the Ear, 'tis because of the great distance. I my self have gone to the side of this Bridge, and look'd down (though with great horreur, for it strikes a shivering into one to contemplate such a depth, than which I have not seen a more terrible one) I not only did not hear any noise, but that great River appear'd a little Brook hardly to be discern'd.

These are the Entertainments for the Eye in passing this part of the *Cordillera*: As for the many others which may be met with in so vast an Extent, who can relate them? I believe there are those who know much more than what I have here describ'd, which is only what I have seen; but from so little 'tis easie to infer more, for if only the Rise of Two Rivers have afforded such Matter of Admiration, what may not be produced in the Birth and Course of so many others, as we shall describe in the following Chapter?

Ovalle.  
1646.

# CHAP. VIII.

*Of the Vast Number of Rivers which take their Rise in this Mountain, and Empty themselves into the Sea.*

THE Great Author of Nature has founded the best part of the Beauty and Fecundity of the Fields of *Chile* in this Range of Mountains call'd the *Cordillera*, in which, as in a Bank that can never break, he has deposited his Treasure and Riches, by assuring the annual Tribute of so many Brooks and ample Rivers which are to fertilize the Earth; for neither can the Country maintain its Fertility without such Moisture, nor such a Moisture maintain it self all the year without such quantities of Snow as are laid up in the deep Hollows of it in the Winter, to feed in the Summer the many Rivers that are deriv'd from it.

Who can demonstrate the number of them at their Rise? But one may guess at the prodigious Quantity of Snow which supplies them; for though it cannot be seen all in a Mass, because its Reservatories are impenetrable, yet its Effects do manifest it; for besides the feeding of innumerable Rivers which run to the East, and empty themselves into the North Sea, and supplying prodigious Lakes in the Province of *Cuyo*, those which run to the

West, and enter the South Sea (not reckoning what may be by the Streights of *Magellan* and the *Tierra del Fuego*) are above Fifty, which may be well multiplied by four a-piece more which they receive, and so make Two hundred, which arrive at the Sea so full and deep, that some of them have Water enough for the Navigation of the Gallions and Ships of great Burden; which is the more to be admir'd, because their Course is so short, the most extended of them not passing Thirty Leagues in length.

The first River of this Kingdom, be-  
ginning from the Confines of *Peru* about the 25th Degree of Latitude, is the River call'd the *Salt River*, which comes from the *Cordillera*, running through a deep Valley: Its Waters are so salt, that they cannot be drunk; and when sometimes Horses, deceiv'd by its pure clear colours, happen to drink of them, they are turn'd into Salt by the heat of the Sun, so that the Bodies seem of Pearl, they beginning to petrify by the Tail.

The next to this, is the River of *Copapo*, *Copapo*.  
in 26 Degrees; it runs Twenty Leagues  
from

*Ovalle* from East to West, and makes a Bay at its entrance into the Sea, which serves for a Harbour for Ships. In 28 Degrees the River of *Guasco* does the same, and forms a Port.

*Coquimbo*.

After this comes the River of *Coquimbo* in 30 Degrees, whose Port is a Noble Bay, adorn'd on the Shore with fresh and beautiful Miries, and other Trees, which continue within Land as far as the Town, and make a noble and pleasant Grove, which outdoes all the Contrivances of Art. There are Fish'd in this Coast Tunny Fish, *Albacores*, and many sorts of Excellent Fish, as also Oylters, and great variety of Shell fish.

*Tongoy and Limari*.

The next to the River of *Coquimbo* are those of *Tongoy* and *Limari*, about 30 Degrees and a half East: And then in 31 Degrees the River of *Chuapa* empties it self into the Sea. Upon that Coast there is found a sort of delicate Shell-fish, which they call *Jacus*.

*Langatoma, La Liga, and Aconcagua*.

Between the One and thirtieth Degree and the Two and thirtieth, the Rivers *Langatoma* and *La Liga* enter the Sea; and about Thirty three Degrees that of *Aconcagua*, which is the great River which comes down, as we have said, by the way of the *Cordillera*. This is a very deep River, and though it runs through the large Valleys of *Curimón*, *Aconcagua*, *Quilbra*, and *Concon*, which being cultivated with all kinds of Products, particularly Wheat, Flax, Hemp, &c. and by consequence well Water'd, yet this River arrives at the Sea as full and deep as if they had not drained it by the way to fertilize their Fields.

*Maypo*.

About Thirty three and a half, follows the famous River *Maypo*, which I cannot tell whether it be more famous for its good qualities, or for the danger and difficulty of passing it; many having been drowned in it, and every day miscarrying by it. It is of so rapid a Current, and sometimes swells so high, that no Bridge can resist its fury, but it is carried away by it; for which reason at this day it has no other but one of many Cables joyn'd together, and lying a-cross from one side to the other. Its Waters are ordinarily thick, and it enters the Sea with so much force, that it makes its way in it distinct for a good while: Its Waters are perfectly known from those of the Sea by a Circle they make; they are besides very cold, and yet it quenches Thirst but ill, for it is brackish, which makes the Flesh of the Sheep which feed near it to be Excellent in Taste. There are Fish'd here also most Excellent Fish, particularly Trouts Esteem'd all over the Country.

There falls into this River, among others, that of *St. Jago*, otherwise call'd *St. Jago or Mapuche*. The River of *Mapuche*, which is divided into several Streams, to Water the District of that City; and it does it sometimes more than we could wish, when it overflows: Not far from the City, it hides it self under Ground, leaving a Bridge of Two or Three Leagues over it, while it maintains a silent Course underneath; at the end of this Space it comes out in Bubbles among a Grove of Cherry Trees, with its Waters as clear and purified as Chrystal, so that though it seems to hide it self, and dye, it is only to spring up again more beautiful and stately, being of a stronger Current, before it is again spread and diffus'd to fertilize the Fields. At this place of its second Birth there stands an ancient and illustrious Convent of *St. Francis*, which because it is within sight of a vast Forrest of Trees is call'd *St. Francis of the Mountain*, in which there have been from time to time most Holy Men of the First Founders in that Province, and who Employ themselves in the Worship of God, and help of their Neighbours, with great Zeal and Reputation of their Order.

The River of *Poangué*, which falls like *Poangué* wife into *Maypo*, runs also many Leagues under Ground: This cannot rise with more advantages than at its first Fountain; for its Waters are at the very Source so clear, delicate and sweet, that they cannot be mended; it has not its Original like all the rest from Snow Water, but from Minerals of Gold, through whose Veins it makes its way, as if it had an Aqueduct of that Precious Metal; its Course is border'd on each side with most beautiful Trees, which contribute to make its Waters wholesome; They are indeed of themselves a Remedy, for they help Digestion so visibly, that if any one has exceeded and eat more than his Stomach can well embrace, one Draught of this Water will relieve him, so that he shall be Hungry again in a little time: Neither is it useless under Ground; for while it is there, it communicates it self to the whole Valley by Subterranean Conduits; the Effect of which is visible, for though in the Summer it does not Rain a drop, and the Valley has no other Watering, yet it brings as seasonable a Crop, and as relishing Fruit, as any other that has the help of Rain and other Irrigations; neither have I seen any where larger or more delicious Melons, nor more abounding and well grown Maiz, than in this Valley.

There



De Coli-  
na and  
Lampa,  
make the  
famous  
Lake of  
Cudaguc.

There are Two other Rivers which fall into *Maypo*, which are call'd *De Colina* and *Lampa*; which uniting together about Ten or Twelve Leagues from their first rise, make the famous Lake of *Cudaguc*, so profound and deep, that great Ships might swim in it: This Lake is about Two Leagues long, all bordered with delicate Willow Trees, and other Greens, which keep their Freshness and Greenness all the year round; and, that nothing may be wanting to its Agreeableness, it is full of excellent Trouts and *Vagres*, which sometimes are so plentiful, that they are easily catch'd; and this uses to be one of the greatest Diversions of the Citizens of the City of *St. Jago*. There are other Lakes; as those of *Aculco*, which empty themselves into this River of *Maypo* on the contrary side to that of the Clear River: There are also bred in it Smelts of above a Foot long; the very Name in *Spanish* declaring their Excellency, it signifying a Royal Fish: Some years there is such Plenty of them, that the whole City may keep *Lent* with them alone, without buying any other Fish from the Sea; which, though it is very good, yet it never attains to the Delicacy of the River Fish, which is so sweet and healthy, that it is used to be given to the Sick and Convalescent.

Rapel,  
Cachapo-  
al, and  
Tinguitica.

Malla and  
Chambaronigo.

Delora,  
Teno, Pe-  
terroa, and  
Metaqui-  
to.

The Maul.

After *Maypo*, is the River of *Rapel*, not at all inferior to the other; it enters the Sea about the 34th Degree, and as many Minutes; about four or five Leagues before the two famous Rivers of *Cachapoal* and *Tinguitica* join together, and are no less in Debt to Mankind for the many People they have swallowed, than that of *Maypo*. Among others which encrease their rapid Current, are the Rivers *Mallua* and *Chambaronigo*: On the Banks of this the Order of the *Redemption* has a Convent for the Instruction and Edification of all that Country. The *Jesuites* have also a Novitiate, who have for Neighbours a Monastery of *St. Dominick*: The Lands thereabouts are extream Fertile, have excellent Pastures for the Fattening of Cattle, and are much valued all over the Country. In Thirty four degrees and Three quarters is the River *Delora*, which receives those of *Teno*, *Peterroa*, and *Metaquito*, whose Stream is so rapid, that many perish in it. These Rivers water most rich Lands, and a delicious Country for the Breeding and Feeding of all sorts of Cattle, and indeed there is not a foot of Ground unemployed in them.

The Great *Maul* appears at Thirty five degrees, and it makes the Limits of

the Archbishoprick and Jurisdiction of the City of *St. Jago*: All that was enclosed between this and *Rapel*, *Cachapoal*, and *Tinguitica*, was call'd by the Natural Indians *Promocoes*; that is, a Place of Dancing and Delight, to express the Pleasantry of that Country. They were not out in this Character at all: I remember once, that Travelling in this Country, when I came to a Farm of any *Spaniard*, he would entertain me with nothing but the Praises of it, and that with so many Particulars, that I could not imagine it could be outdone by any in the World; but when I came to another Farm, the Master of it would relate to me such admirable Properties of his, that the first seem'd but ordinary to me. Thus I found every one so in love with the Spot he lived on, that I could not but admire the whole, and have a great Idea of the Excellency and Temperament of this Land, as well as of its Provisions. Partridge are abounding, and all manner of Game; and as for Fish, there are such quantities of Smelts and Trouts, that they take them when they will, being as sure almost to catch them, as if they had them in Ponds at home. I have heard them often say, That when they were fat down to Table, if any one long'd for a fresh Trout, they had no more to do, than to send and catch one; which they would have ready dress'd before they rise from the Table. The River *Maul* receives the clear River, and that of *Cauquenes*; and though it be as deep again as either of them, yet it is less dangerous for Passengers, and fewer People are drowned in it; because near the Sea, by the Yard for building of Ships, it spreads it self, and makes a large Passage, where the King has a Ferry for the Conveniency of Passengers. The *Austrian* Friars have also a Convent here, and take care of the *Spaniards*, and their Black and Indian Servants, who People all the Banks of this River, and are numerous, living in separate Farms all along the Country: These they call *Esfancia's*.

Now we enter the Jurisdiction of the City of the *Conception*, where the Governor resides, and there is a Garrison of the *Conception* Militia: The Bishoprick of the City of *on*. *Imperial* begins also at this River, which has for next and immediate Neighbour the Peaceable and Noble River of *Itata*, three times as large and as deep as the *Maul*, and enters the Sea at about Thirty six degrees; its Course is among Rocks, and so is less useful to the Land, because it cannot water it: They pass it upon Rafts, and there are also Fords in some Places.

D;


About


Ovalle.  
1646.


Promo-  
coes.

Cauque-  
nes.

Itati.

 About the middle of its Course, the Furious Torrent called *Nuble* joins it: This wathes the Walls of the City of *St. Bartholomew of Chillan*, an ancient Garrison of the *Spaniards*, and a singular Proof of their Bravery and Fidelity.

 Immediately next to this River is the spacious and agreeable Bay of the *Conception*, into which the slow and silent River *Andalien* empties its self at Thirty six degrees and Three quarters. There is another small River which passes through the middle of the City, having first precipitated it self from a high Rock, and affording Matter to the Industry of the Inhabitants, for all sorts of Water-works among Pleasant Groves of Laurels and Mirtles, and other Odoriferous Plants which adorn its Banks; and as it falls from so high, it invites the Industrious Planters to contrive Mills for the Sustainance of the City; of which there are already a great many.

 Two leagues further from this Bay, in the Thirty seventh degree, the so much Celebrated *Biobio* enters the Sea: It is the Powerfulest River of all *Chile*; it has at its Entrance two or three miles in breadth, more or less, according as it swells or shrinks, which is a great deal, considering its short Course; but that is not the chief thing which makes it Famous, and deserve so much Praises; it is its Wholesome Waters; for, (besides the particular Excellency they may acquire by passing through Veins of Gold, which nevertheless many other Rivers of this Country have too,) it has a singular Advantage by a small River which falls into it; which River taking its Rise and Course among *Sarsaparilla* Roots, communicates to the other its Virtue and good Qualities, and makes it a Cure for many Infirmities. There is a Tradition, That at the Source of this River there were most rich Mines, work'd before ever the *Spaniards* came into these Parts. Upon this Information, Don *Alonso de Sotomayor*, President of the Country, sent a Band of Soldiers to view them; as they did; tho as they came back they were laid wait for by the *Indians*, our Enemies, and had a smart Engagement with them, and had much ado to escape with their Lives. This *Indian* People does always as much as they can hide from the *Europeans* the Treasures and Riches of their Country; as it has been said already.

This River is the Bounds which divides the *Spaniards* and our *Indian* Friends from the *Indian* Enemies; in Winter the River overflows so, that all the Fords are unpat-

table, and so the Soldiers may take some Repose till the Spring, that they are to begin their Inroads again. The Enemy on his side has no Garrison, nor Place of Strength; for they trust to their Mountains, to which they can retire at any time; but the *Spaniards* have many Garrisons all along the River, with which they bridle and keep in awe the Potent Rage of their proud Enemy; who alone has given them more Trouble than all the rest of *America*.

Their Chief Forts, besides the Cities of the *Conception* and *Chillan*, are those of *Arauco* and *St. Philip*, in which there are generally about 1600 Natural *Spaniards*, besides the *Indian* Allies, who are numerous. The first of these is upon the Seaside, and the other nearer the *Cordillera*: There are others between on each side of the River, and some pretty far into the Enemy's Country: I can name Nine of these Forts; which are, that of *St. Angel*, of the *Nativity*, of *St. Ann*, of *St. Rosendo*, of *Good Hope*, of *Talmacabuida*, of *St. Peter*, of *Colcura*, and that of *Levo*. These are all provided with Great Guns, and a sufficient number of Soldiers, and at such proportionable distances from each other, that they can soon receive Notice of what is necessary to be known from the first to the last by the Cannon-shot; according as it may have been concerted beforehand.

The Company of *Jesuit* has here two Recidencies, one in *Arauco*, and the other in the Fort of *Good Hope*; from whence they also make their Attempts, not against the Bodies, but to save the Souls of their Enemies, Engaging with Hell it self, and obtaining over it Daily and Glorious Victories; as it shall be told in its proper place; for now we must follow the Description already begun of the Rivers of *Chile*.

After *Biobio* follow four others much inferior to it; they are, the Rivers of *Colcura*, *Arauco*, *Lavapie*, and *Levo*, which empties it self near the Thirty eighth degree; and a little further, that of *Ralemo*, which a little from its Source is called *Coypo*, in near Thirty nine degrees. The Pleasant and Peaceful River of the *Imperial* enters the Sea, having first incorporated with its Stream the River called the *Ladies River*, because of the Delicacy of its Waters and quiet Current. More above, River nearer it. Source, it receives the two Rivers of *Curarava* and *Eyow*, which, before they meet to enter the River *Imperial*, form the much Celebrated Lake of *Puren*; a most Unconquerable Fortrefs of the *Indians*, *Lake of*

Descri  
of the  
over  
Vald



*Indians*, who are more secure in it, than the *Spaniards* in any of theirs.

About half a Degree beyond the River *Cauren*, which is the same as the *Imperial*, the River *Tolten* pays its Tribute to the Sea, and is deep enough for great Ships.

Tolten.

About eight leagues further the River *Queule* does the same; which, though small, yet receives Barks in it, and is about nine leagues upon a North and South Line from the famous River of *Valdivia*.

*Ovalle*.  
1646.  
Queule.

## CHAP. IX.

### Of the Famous Port and River of Valdivia.

**T**HE River and Port of *Valdivia*, never enough commended by Foreign Writers, and no less admired by those who have seen it, had its Name from *Pedro de Valdivia*, first Governor and Conqueror of *Chile*: It is as it were in the center of the whole Kingdom, at almost Forty degrees Latitude South-West from *Seville* in *Spain*; upon a plain Map One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy leagues, measured by the Heavens. The Sun is five Hours and a third part of an Hour in going from the Meridian of *Seville* to the Meridian of *Valdivia*; so that when it is Noon at *Seville*, 'tis in *Valdivia* six a Clock and forty Minutes in the Morning. Its longest Day is of fourteen Hours, or thereabouts.

Description  
of the Ri-  
ver of  
Valdivia.

This River has its Opening to the North, and because of the depth of its Waters, great Ships can go up to the very City, which is two or three leagues from the Sea; when they are there, they can lie so near the Shoar, as with a Plank to go in and out, and take in and unlade their Cargo without the help of Boats. There is just over-against the City a fine Island called the *Island of Constantine*, with two little ones, one before, and the other behind the Island: The River is Navigable on both sides the Island; but because the South Branch has more depth, the great Ships come in that way, and the lesser by the North Branch.

There are two high Points of Land, like Rocks, which mark the Entrance of this River; the biggest is to the North, and is called *Benifacio's Hill*; the South is lesser, and is called *Gongalo's Hill*. When one is entered some way up the River, there is another freighter Passage, which is the Key of the Port, or rather Ports, because there are many Harbours within: This Entrance has also two Hills, which come so near each other, that I have heard a Captain, who was sent to found the River, relate, That in the middle he was within Musket-shot of either Hill; the South one is called *Morro de los Manganos*,

and the opposite *Morro de Niera*; so that according to this Account there might be an Iron Chain laid from the one to the other, with which, and two Forts raised on each side, the Entrance would be made impenetrable.

As soon as this Straight is passed, there is on the South-side a noble Port; for though all the River may be called so, for the quietness of its Water, yet this is more advantageously situated, by being covered with the Mountains of the Land: 'Tis called the Port of the *Corral*; it forms a Bay capable of receiving great Fleets. When you have passed this Port, there appears the first Island, between which, and the Land on the South-side, there are many Shoals and Sands; wherefore the Ships take the North side, and go between this Island and the great one, and then follow their Course up to the City, the Channel of the great Island; the lesser Vessels may keep the other side of the Island.

Besides all these good Qualities, this Port has other Advantages from the Land by the Fertility of the Country, which produces Corn, and Fruits of all kinds, except Grapes, which do not ripen here so well as in other Parts of *Chile*, from which Wine is brought to these Parts; but it has great Plenty of Beef and Mutton, Fowls and Venison; it has also Wood for the building of Shipping; and that which is above all, it has the richest Mines of the finest Gold in *Chile*; and in all *America* there is none comes up to it but the Gold of *Carabaya*.

This is the Account of *Antonio de Herrera*: He adds, That there was an *Indian* who had every day a Revenue of 25 or 30 *Peſos* of Gold; which being observed by the Governor *Valdivia*, he sent the *Adelantado Hieronimo de Alderete* to *Spain*, to inform his Catholic Majesty of the great Riches of the Kingdom of *Chile*, that his Majesty might make the more esteem of it, and to invite Foreigners to come and People the Country, and help him to Conquer it: He sent some *Spaniards*

niards by Land, whose Stirrups, Breast-plates, and all that use to be of Iron about a Horse, were of fine Gold; and that not satisfied with this, he had resolv'd to go in Person to inform his Majesty, and obtain from him the Confirmation of his Government; to which end he employed 20000 *Indians* to bring him Gold, designing to embark and sail through the Straights of *Magellan*, if Death had not prevented him.

1552.

This City was founded by the Governor *Valdivia* in the Year 1552. upon a high rising, but plain side of a Hill, and above the rest of the Country.

*Recloma,*  
a famous  
Indian  
Lady.

The Famous Indian Lady *Recloma* was very Instrumental in helping towards its Conquest and Foundation: The Story was thus; The Spanish Forces were come to this River, Conquering the Country all the way before them; but here the *Indians* not being willing to let Foreigners settle in their Country, took up Arms, and making the River serve for their Defence, hinder'd the Progress of *Valdivia*, and gave him great Trouble: But he being a Man of great Courage, was not daunted by this Resistance, but endeavour'd to pass the River to Engage the Enemy.

Upon this Occasion this Brave Indian Lady, either inspired by Heaven, or touched by Compassion of so much Blood as must be shed on both sides in the Encounter, offered the Governor, That she alone would gain him the Victory, without any other Force than that of her Eloquence and Courageous Mind. *Stay here, says she, and go no further, for I will put all this Province into thy Hands, and will make thee this day Lord of all that thy Eyes can discover: Stay for my return here, and do not suffer any of thy Soldiers to pass on a step further.* The Governor promised to do so, and upon his word, and promise of good Treatment to the *Indians* who should submit to his God and his King, she threw her self into the Water, and in the presence of them all swam the River: When she was landed she desired Audience of the General of the *Indians*; to whom she delivered her Message with so much force of Eloquence, that they submitting to her Reasons, promised to accept of what Terms should be given them: With this the Famous *Recloma* returned to the *Spaniards*, singing Victory, laying at their Feet the richest Prize they could wish, and such a one, as after much time, Expence and Blood shed in the Conquest of it, they would have thought themselves well paid to be Masters of such a Country; whose Golden Mines they presently began to

work: By which means the City encreased so fast, that if the Devil had not troubled the Peace, and caus'd the Rebellion of the *Indians*, which ruin'd it, it had been one of the first and best Cities of the *Indies*.

The *Hollanders*, our Enemies, are well informed of the Nature of the Country, and the Excellency of the Port, and do all they can to get Possession of it; but our Saviour, who by his Grace has hitherto preserv'd those Countries free from Herefie and its Corruption, will not permit that this Hydra of Hell shall infect that Air with its Venomous Breath, nor breed a Contagion in the Purity of its Faith, which is propagated so sincere and true in the Hearts of those new Christians.

This has been proved by the Success of a Fleet of theirs in the year 1643. when these Rebellious Pirates pass'd the Straights of *Magellan*, with a Design to settle at *Valdivia*; for though in effect they did People the Place, having first pass'd by the Islands of *Chiloe*, where our Company has so many Glorious Missions; in which they threw down the Altars and the Crosses, and committed other Enormities proper to their Impiety and Obstinacy; yet at last they came off no Laughers, but had reason to lament rather. The same befel another of their Generals called *Antonio Sivaestro*, many of his Fleet being taken Prisoners, and Thirty of them hung up by the Feet; as is related by their own Authors, *John and Theodore de Brye*.

But in this second Occasion, they paid yet more severely for their Attempt; for in the very same Island where they had committed all these Disorders, God took the Life of the General, punishing his unhappy Soul with the due Chastisement of such an Undertaking; they lost the Ship which carried their Provisions, their Ammunition, 30 Pieces of Artillery, all the Brick and Lime, and other Materials for building three Forts, which they had Orders to raise in the River of *Valdivia*, and on the Island of *Constantine* in that River; and having afterwards got to *Valdivia*, and begun to People, their new General, whose Name was *Elvis Aramans*, was forced to shut up all his People in the Island of *Constantine*, because they run from him continually, and forsook him; besides the Prisoners made in the Islands of *Chiloe*, and others destroyed by us and the Warlike *Indians*.

In short, God having espous'd this Cause as his own, they were torment'd with

with Hunger; and before the *Spaniards*, who were on their way, could come up to them, their own Diseases and Losses obliged them to weigh Anchor, and be gone: This was their wisest course; for if they had staid till the Fleet from *Peru* had come up to them, and the Land Forces from *Chile* had attacked them, they had not gone off so well; for the Marquis of *Misera* being so good a Soldier himself, and so zealous for God and his King, immediately, upon the first News of their arrival, had set out Ten Sail, which he provided with Powder and Ammunition, and dispatched them to give Advice along the Coast; then he prepared a Navy, which was to be of 16 Gallions and Ships, and 4000 *Spaniards*, resolving to go in Person, or at least to send his Son.

The Governor of *Chile*, the Marquis of *Baydes*, with his accustomed vigilancy and readiness in Things where the Service of God and the King are concerned, and as a Captain of that Valour and Experience which he showed in *Flanders*, was ready to enter by Land, after having provided all the Ports of the Kingdom with the Army kept on foot by his Majesty; so that if the *Hollander* had had yet more Force than he had, being so hard pressed both by Sea and Land, he must either have relinquished the Port, or perished there for ever.

It has been seen in this Occasion, that one Man is as good as many in the Defence of the Cause of God and their Country, against any Invader whatsoever, every one despising all Dangers on such an Account; but particularly Colonel *de Villa nueva Soberal* signalized himself at this time; for being General of the Kingdom, and Governor of the Country of *Arauco*, he ventured himself in a small Bark in the midst of Winter, to sollicite at *Lima* the necessary Succours, and assist the Vice-Roy for a more quick Dispatch of all Things.

He took with him Father *Domingo Lazo*, of the Company of *Jesús*, that he might inform him as an Eye-witness of all

that had passed; he being at that time employed in *Chilo* in the Apostolical Missions when the *Hollanders* landed: He nevertheless with undaunted Courage embarked in the midst of the Winter in a tempestuous Sea, as it is at that time; and without apprehension of all those Dangers, and of being made a Prisoner by the *Hollanders*, who lay in his way, and could scarce be avoided, he arrived at the City of the *Conception*, where he gave an Account of all that had happened; by which means the Country was immediately prepared, and in Arms for their Defence.

There is another Action which ought not to be concealed, as well because it shows the great Prudence of the Marquis *de Baydes*, as the Courage of 20 *Spanish* Soldiers: It being uncertain whether the Enemy were still at *Valdivia*, or whether he had abandoned it, they offered to go in a Boat up the River, as they did by the Governor's Command, and without being terrified by the manifest Danger they exposed themselves to, they went as high as the Town, and having discovered the ill Condition of the Enemy, and his Design of leaving the Place, they returned with that Advice: This moved the General not to attack them, as was at first resolved; but it did not hinder his Intention of Peopling the Place, (as I believe is done by last Summer); for I have Advice from *Panama*, That there is a Garrison of 600 *Spaniards* left there; to which our *Indian* Friends being joined, (and the Coast *Indians* are so) that *Polt* will be henceforward inexpugnable, and by it the South Sea will be secured; for it being already so dangerous to sail through the Straights, and so easy for us who are at home to defend this *Polt* of *Valdivia*, and having all the Land to friend to receive Succours both from the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who are so Friendly, that their *Caciques* sent to offer their Assistance of their own accord against the *Hollanders*, I say it will be very hard henceforward for any one to give us any Disturbance.

Ovalle.  
1646.

Ovalle.  
1646.

## CHAP. X.

*A Continuation of the Description of the Rivers of Chile, and particularly of those which run to the East, and of the Difference between the one and the other side of the Great Cordillera.*

Chalbin.

THE River next to that of *Valdivia* is that which is call'd *Chalbin*; it is deep, and capable of Great Vessels. From this River to a place call'd the *Punta de Galera*, 'tis about Two Leagues; and from this to *Rio Buco*, Seven, into which fall Five Rivers more, and one which is beyond the Bounds of *Valdivia*.

Rio Chico.

After this, is the *Rio Chico*, which comes from a Lake at the foot of the *Cordillera*; in which Lake are Baths to Cure Leprosy and other Infirmities. Next to this, is the

De la Ballena.

*Rio de la Ballena*, which is close to the Cape of that Name, so call'd because of a Whale of prodigious bigness which died upon that Coast. After this, you come to the *Archipelago* of Islands, into which falls the River call'd *De los Rabudos*, because of an Indian Nation of that Name, so call'd because 'tis said they are born with Tails, as *Father Gregory of Leon* describes them in his Map: More on to the South is the River *De los Coronados*, nam'd so by the Company of a Ship which put in there on the day of the *Forty Martyrs* so call'd.

The River De los Coronados.

De la Esperanza.

After these, there are many Rivers all along the Coast; the first is call'd *De la Esperanza*, or of Hope, because of the Wishes, that one day the Light of the Gospel may reach to those Parts by means of the Ministers of it. The second is call'd *Rio sin fundo*, or the River without a Bottom, because of the great depth of it. The third is call'd the *Gallegos*, from a Spaniard of that Name who sail'd along those Coasts, and like another *learius*, gave his Name to one of them by being drown'd in the Sea hard by it, at a Cape which has the same Name; then follow the Rivers *De los Martyres*, and *De los Apostoles*; and immediately after them Two others; the first has no Name, the second is call'd *De los Gigantes*, or of the *Gyants*, because here they were begun to be seen, and they reach all along the

De los Martyres, and De los Apostoles. De los Gigantes.

De la Campana.

*Streights*. The famous River call'd *De la Campana*, enters at a place nam'd *El Ancon sin salida*; This Name was given to the River, because its Two Arms seem to form the shape of a Bell. There are Two Rivers more before you come to the

De los Pajaros.

*Streights*, to wit, that *De los Pajaros*, or

of Birds, by reason of the vast quantity of them that were upon it in that part which comes towards the *Streights*; and the other, of *St. Victorian*, call'd so from the opening, to which the same Saint gives its Name. As for the other Rivers which run among the Islands, and those which empty themselves into the *Streights*, they are many, and shall be describ'd in their proper places.

Hitherto we have describ'd the Rivers of most renown of this long extended Kingdom, which run from East to West, and empty themselves into the *South Sea*: Those which run from the opposite part of the *Cordillera*, towards the North Sea, are not so well known, because those Parts are less inhabited, at least by such as can give us a good account of them. The most remarkable of them are those of *St. John*, and of *Mendoga*, which are very large Rivers, and empty themselves into the famous Lake of *Guanacache*.

The Governour *Hieronimo Lewis de Cabrera*, a Gentleman of great Valour and Merit, met with several great Rivers in his Passage over those vast Plains call'd the *Pampas*, where, as at Sea, People are fain to Travel by the Compass, not to lose themselves; he was in quest of a Nation call'd the *Cessates*, of whom we shall Treat hereafter in its proper place. They were forc'd to pass many great Rivers, and without doubt there are many more as far as the Pole.

Nevertheless I am persuaded that these Rivers do not equal those which run opposite, and enter the Sea on the Coast of *Chile*; and this may be clearly gather'd from the difference which may be observ'd in passing the *Cordillera* between each side of the Mountain, which is so great that they seem Two different Worlds, the East and West Parts; and one would think Heaven had put these Mountains to divide them as a Wall, and keep off from the West all the Storms and ill Weather of the East, where are the Provinces of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, not to disturb the Serenity and Tranquility of *Chile* and the Western Parts. Any one that Travels to the top of the high Chain of Mountains, may experience this clearly; for there he discovers both Horizons, when

St. Villoriam.

The Rivers of St. John and Mendoga.

Ovalle.  
 1646.

when he looks to the East, all is cover'd with gross Vapours, which seem to hinder the Light, and shadow all the Country; and at the same time looking West, the Heaven is so Chrystalline and bright, that it causes Pleasure and Joy to look on it. The East side is full of a cloudy thick Air, which engenders Storms and Hail, with horrible Thunders and Lightnings, which fright all the Inhabitants: On the other side, in the West, there is not a Cloud to be seen, but clear and bright, as if in the Heavens themselves there were such a Partition as the *Cordillera* to divide the Climates, as that upon Earth does produce a difference in the Trees, Plants and Animals on each side.

The vast difference between the Countries on the East, and those on the West side of the Cordillera, considered.

A Curious Observer Contemplating once from this height this so remarkable difference, said, That Nature in the Fabric of this part of the World seem'd to have turn'd her Back upon the Eastern Provinces, and look'd with her Face only upon *Chile*, giving Blessings with both Hands to this last, and leaving the other as it were disinherited, and grieving at the Preeminencies of its Elder Brother. In going down to the Eastward there are fewer Fountains and Rivers, and thole muddy, the Face of the Land melancholy, without so much as one green Tree to recreate the Sight, nor any pleasant Verdure; and when at last there is some, as in the Valley of *Uspallata*, the Heats begin to be so intolerable that all things seem afflicting and unkind: On the other side, when we go to the West, 'tis quite contrary; for as soon as we begin to descend, we meet with lovely Springs, the Trees are green, the Groves frequent and pleasant, and the little Valleys, which are like so many resting places in that great Staircase, where Passengers take Breath, and are refresh'd with the Verdure and Flowers of them, the Air still grows purer and purer, and the more they come down the more they leave behind them all the Inclemencies of the Climate of the other side, enjoying the advantages of the Temperate *Clima*; for from the very foot of the Mountains one feels the mildness of the Sea Air, and one is rejoyc'd with the Harmony of the Birds, and other delightful Objects, so as to forget the trouble and danger of the Way one has pass'd.

There is the same difference in the very Land at the foot of the Mountains; for on the East side there are few Foun-

tains, the Land is barren, and little cultivated, neither are there Flocks of any Kind either fed or bred, so that the Fields look like a useless barren Ground; except it be that the thinness of the People has not as yet been given way to try the fertility of the Earth; for the Plains below these are extremely fertile, where they are cultivated, but at present there is nothing but Thorns and barren Dryness in those Parts.

'Tis not so to the West, where Fountains break out continually, which in the Winter are temperate, and in the Summer as cold as Ice, and that so much the more as the Weather grows hotter and hotter: These Springs do so fertilize the Fields at the foot of the Mountains, that they keep the Earth fresh and green all the year, though it be but a Parch, for most of the Ground is Woody, and there is such variety of Wild Trees, that one would think they were Arbours and Groves planted by the Hand of Man; many of these are loaded with Fruits of the Country, of which the *Indians* make Excellent Drinks, and some of them are very good to eat. The Valleys are full of Odoriferous Beautiful Flowers, brought forth by Nature, without any Humane Industry; there are also among them most extraordinary Physical Plants of a beautiful Aspect. The little Hills and Plains afford excellent Pasture for all sorts of Cattle and Flocks; there are also admirable Valleys for Planting of Olives and Almond Trees, and all sorts of Fruit Trees. At the lower part, about a League in the Plain, there are Vineyards, of which are made Excellent Wines, particularly Moscatells, which are in great esteem.

There are likewise in this descent of the Mountain admirable Pastures, where great Flocks are bred, and do encrease wonderfully; their Flesh is extrem savory, and the Milk of the Goats is so fat, that by only boiling and stirring it gently over the Fire, I have seen it grow as thick as if Flower had been put into it; and yet in other Parts this Milk is of its Nature very thin: This may be said particularly of the young She-Goats; and the Milk thus boil'd has a sweetness and delicacy which passes ordinary Milk, even with the things that are put in to mend it; all which are Arguments of the great Substance and Nourishment of that Land.

Excellent Pastures.

Ovalle.  
1646.

## C H A P. XI.

## Of the Effects produced by the great Snow of the Cordillera.

Great  
Snows.

With the first Rains of the Winter, which are about the middle of May, the *Cordillera* begins to be cover'd with Snow, and to put on as it were a white Armour, to hinder its being pass'd, not only by Men, but even by Animals and Birds, which are so driven out of it by the rigour of that Season, that there is not one remaining in it.

Intolerable  
Cold.

Even the *Silguero's* and *Sorfales*, Birds which of their own Nature are so hot, that in the very beginning of the Summer they take to the Mountain; as soon as they perceive that the Winter draws near, come in Flocks down to avoid its rigour in the Mountains; and then it is that the taking of them is easie, and that as soon as the Cold pinches, the Ground being almost cover'd with them, it proves the Season of most Pleasure for the Youth of the Country, who going out, take so many of them either with Glue or Nets, that they carry Loads of them home, reserving those of the finest Colours to put in Cages, for their Harmony is very sweet. The *Cordillera* is shut up five or six Months in the year, so that till *October* or *November*, it cannot be pass'd without manifest danger of ones Life; and in the midst of Winter not at all, because all the Paths and Ways are cover'd with Snow to the height of many yards; and if any one should be rash enough to attempt it, he would after a little going sink in every where, so that he would not be able to go a Step forward nor backward, as has happened to several, who either for some very pressing Concern and Interest, or flying from a Death which threatened them for their Crimes, have found it in these Desarts more certainly than perhaps they would have done in the Prisons where they fear'd it.

These are bury'd, not in Sepulchres whitened on the outside, nor under Cold Marble, but in the very Bosom of Frost and Snow, which preserves them without being Imbalm'd, and yet keeps them as Incorruptible and dry, for so they have been found after many years; for such is the Cold of those Mountains, that it dries up all the Moisture that can cause Corruption in Dead Bodies, and so preserves them.

This so Insuperable difficulty of passing the *Cordillera*, is less at the entrance than the end of the Winter, because the Drifts of Snow are not then so violent as to shut up the Ways entirely; so in those Seasons

some do venture to pass, though never but with great danger, and upon urgent Occasions; if sometimes they are so lucky as to get off well, because they meet with a clear Sky, yet at other times it costs them dear, and always 'tis with infinite Labour that they get thorough.

I have seen others who escap'd with their Lives by God's Mercy, because the Storm catch'd them before they were too far engaged in the Mountain, and so they could yet make a retreat to the low Countries; others have been forc'd to open their Mules Bellies that they ride on, and hide themselves in them, and by that warmth, and other defence of Clothes, they make a shift to get over the Storm of Snow, if it does not last long, after which they gain the Plains on Foot, if they are not too far engaged, and so avoid the Danger, but not the long Sufferings which follow generally after such Adventures.

In short, every Body has some Story to tell of the Mountain, and complain of it; for some lose their Toes, others their Fingers, some their Sight, some are Benumm'd and Lam'd, and so remain all their Life with great Infirmities. And I do not wonder at all at this, because though one should pass without a Storm, yet the Cold is so terrible that it cannot but injure Nature extremely in that Season, since even in the midst of Summer, when we pass this Mountain, and in the lower part of it sweat with Heat, as soon as we come to pass the top we are forced to put on double Clothing, and prepare the Stomach with good warm things, to withstand the sharpness of the Cold, and the subtleness of the Air, which penetrates the Body through and through if it be not well cover'd.

Among the several times that I have pass'd this Mountain, one was in the beginning of *April*, when Autumn in those Parts is at an end, and the Winter begins to threaten; and I must own that the Cold was so intense, that it seem'd a different Species of Cold from all those I ever felt either in *India* or *Europe*; though even then it had not begun to Snow, the Cold was so fierce that it made ones Hands cleave, nay, it had an Effect upon the very Rocks, for I remember the Sun was reflected by them as by a Looking glass. When we come to Treat of the first Discovery of this Kingdom, I shall relate what was Endur'd by the *Adelantado Don Diego*.

Diego



*Diego de Almagro* with his Army, and by those who afterwards followed him, and passed this Mountain, in which they were so ill handled, that some were struck blind, others lame; some lost their Fingers without feeling it, because the excessive Cold took away all Sense; some were frozen to Death, and with them some Horses, whom six Months after some other Spaniards found so fresh and well preserv'd, that they eat of them; and to secure themselves from Cold, made a Defence of those dead Bodies; nay some got into them: About six years after, others going that way, found a Negro, who, at that time was frozen to death, leaning against the side of a Rock, with a lead Horse, and the Reins in his hand, tho' consumed with time. They who have a mind to know more Particulars, let them read *Don Antonio de Herrera*, Decade 5. Book 10. and Chap. 5. and also *Garcilasso de la Vega*, in his First Tome.

'Tis necessary to understand, that it is of this Cold of the Mountain that Authors speak, when they say, That the Cold of *Chile* is so severe, that the Rivers are frozen up, and Men frozen to death in the Fields; for this is only true of those

uninhabitable Mountains, where I believe at that Season the Rivers do not run, but are turned into Chrytal; and if any Springs do escape, they are very few, and that in the Valleys most secur'd and shelter'd; that appears by the Rivers which run in the plain Country, which are almost dried up in comparison of the quantity of Water that they carry with them in the Summer.

And thus the Truth of what Historians relate may be saved from Contradiction; for they not knowing the Country, make no distinction between the Mountain and the Plains, in which there never was seen any such Effect of Cold in any part of them; for the Sea Air, which is thick and moist, tempers the Sharpness of the Blasts from the *Cordillera*; and for this reason it is, that the Colds of the *Pampas* of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman* are so insupportable; as also those of *Buenos Aires*, which being at such a distance from both Seas, and not enjoying the Warmth of its Vapours, the Air in Summer is intolerably scorching, and in Winter so cold, and for want of Rain so dry, that 'tis common for Animals to be found dead in the Fields, as well as the Men too sometimes.

1646.

# CHAP. XII.

*Of the Fountains which rise in other Parts of Chile besides the Cordillera.*

Fountains of Chile.

**B**ESIDES the Rivers and Springs of the *Cordillera*, there are others which rise in the Plains and Valleys, which have admirable Proprieties: I shall mention some; for 'tis impossible to rehearse them all, nor can I remember but a few: First, That which rises at the foot of the high *Volcano* of *Villa Rica*, so Famous in that Kingdom for its terrible Effects, for which God Almighty makes himself to be Feared and Respected by Mankind; rises I say at the foot of this Mount, with such force, that it springs out of the Earth in two Sources, each as big as a Man, and sufficient to form alone a good Stream, and runs into a Lake which is made by its Waters.

Rio Chico.

In another Lake, out of which comes the River called *Rio Chico*, there rises also a Fountain of hot Water, most Efficacious for the Cure of Leprosies, and all Contagious Infirmities. There is another springs up in the *Miguel*, yet most admirable; for there are two Sources just by one another, the one of hot, the other of cold Water; the hot one is so hot, that no

one can endure his hand in it; the cold one is let in to temper the Bath which is made for the sick. The Baths of *Rancagua* are also very Famous, and like these; which, for being near *St. Jago*, and in the greatest Intercourse of the Kingdom, are very useful, and much frequented. There are others in other Parts, but not remembering them distinctly, I can say little of them. Among the Fountains, that of *Ramon* is very Famous, as well for the Goodness as Abundance of its Waters, which is such, that they alone are sufficient to water many Fields; it is about two Leagues Eastward of *St. Jago*, and in that District. There are many others, among which that of *Caren* is worth taking notice of; it springs in a Beautiful Meadow of about five or six Leagues in length, and affording a delicious Prospect; its Water is very sweet, and enters into the Meadow, the Earth of which is so porous, that whoever treads hard upon it, feels it shake under him; it is all the year green, and the Grass is a kind of small Trefoil called by the Inhabitants

Fountain of Ramon.

Caren.



*Ovalle*. *Caren*, and is pleasant to eat: neither ought I to pass over in silence another Fountain between these two, very plentifully furnished with delicate sweet Water, which is always so much the Cooler as the Weather is Hotter; it is call'd the

Mayten. Fountain of *Mayten*, by reason of a Tree of that Name which grows at the foot of a great square Table of live Rock where People use to go and eat their Collations; the Tree sheltering them all the while from the heat, for 'tis a Tree whose Leaves are green all the Year, something like a Mistle, but much larger, and without dispute of a more beautiful Green; by its foot runs this Fountain, whose Source is a little higher in a Valley, from whence it comes murmuring upon pebble Stones, and among pleasant Groves full of beautiful Herbs and Flowers.

The Trees, though wild, yet bear very savoury Fruits of that Soil, and in them are great variety of Birds, who, with their Harmony and sweet Notes, make the Entertainment more delightful for those that frequent the Place. 'Tis not the least part of their Enjoyment to discover at the end of these Woods a Prospect for many Leagues over Plains, which being of so great Extent, many of them lie uncultivated; so that among the Vineyards and Plowed Lands, the wild Uncultivated Part is so beautiful, particularly in the Spring, that one would think Art had help'd Nature. There are in one Place great spots of yellow Flowers which cover the Earth, so that for a great space nothing else is to be seen; then you have white, blue, filament Spots of the same Proportion, the green Meddows mingle in this with the Waters of the River

A delightful Prospect.

Mapocho.

*Mapocho*, which is seen from this distance sometimes entire in its bed, then divided into several Arms, and at last drained into the Fields of the Neighbour Grounds to fertilize them: The Prospect is terminated with several Farms, which are called *Chacras*, with their Churches; and in the midst of all, the City of *St. Jago*, the Capital of *Chile*, which being not above two Leagues off, and the Heavens so serene, the Towers of it are easily distinguished, and the Bells heard sometimes.

This District is full of a great many more Springs, all within the compass of a Mile of each other; and their Waters are Excellent and Healthy.

Conchalli

That which is to the North of the City of *St. Jago*, called *Conchalli*, is likewise highly commended; it springs in a little Valley called the *Salto* or *Leape*, because of the fall of the River *Mapocho*: This

River comes running in a Plain to a certain Place, where being divided (for it is the work of Industry) into two Branches, the greatest of which runs in its natural Channel, the lesser is derived to water this Valley, which towards the West is even, but towards the East the Land is so high through which the River runs, that it is two or three Mile from the bottom of the Valley to the high Grounds, from whence the River falls. It is precipitated with great noise, making lovely and various Cascades by the Rencontre of the Rocks and other obstacles, which by their streight Passages retard its course, till at last it comes entire to the Valley, and is divided into Cuts and Channels for the watering it, which is not ungrateful to make a more than ordinary return to those who cultivate it, not only in Corn, most excellent Wine, and most savoury Fruits of all kinds, but also it ripens them above a Month before any other Place thereabouts; and it is very remarkable, that this Valley being only half a League from the City, of *St. Jago*, the Figs rise to be ripe in it, when in the Gardens of the City, and all its Neighbourhood, they scarce begin to change colour: Therefore, as well for this as for the Game it affords, of Partridges on the Hills, and Wild Fowl in the Waters and Ponds of it, it is the greatest Entertainment all those Parts afford.

I shall not dilate upon more of these Fountains, which are so frequent; for if I were to mention them all, I should never have done; for since those alone of the *Conception*, *Arauco*, and the Country of the Limits upon the Warlike *Indians*, would require a large Treatise, besides those of the district of *St. Jago*; what would it be then in the Territories of the ancient Cities, which are yet farther in the Country? For it abounding extremely in Rivers, it is to be presumed that it must be so in Fountains and Springs; all which proceeds from the abundance of moisture of the *Cordillera*.

Of these Springs, the most agreeable for their good Waters are the farthest off from the *Cordillera*, because they are more purified by a long Motion, and refin'd by the good Qualities of the Earth they run through; particularly the Mineral Impregnations are singular. I cannot but mention one, which is in the Novitiate of the Company of the *Jesuits* of *Bucaleme*, whose Waters are not to be match'd, at least I never met with the like; for without drinking them one may discover by the touch their Nobleness, their Softness, being

being like that of New Butter; and they do make the Hands that are wash'd in them in a few days smooth, and thereby prove their vast difference from other Waters.

*A Medici-  
nal Foun-  
tain.*

This Fountain springs in a little Valley, very pleasant, under some Hills, about a League from the Sea; and it bubbles up between a white Sand, in which there is Gold, as if it had a Fire under it to make it boil. It is wonderful to observe, that if they throw any Bough or Flowers upon it, it seems to take it ill, and never is at rest till it has swallow'd it up, leaping up against it several times till it has made it its own, and hid it from our sight; and this it will do for a whole Evening, if they continue throwing Flowers or Branches of Trees into it, without any bodies being able to tell what becomes of them all.

The Effects that this Water causes in the Stomach are admirable; it helps to digest the Meat with more easiness; it de-

stroyes Crudities, dissolves Phlegms and gross Humours, and evidently prolongs Life, especially to Old Men: This was most particularly made clear in the Person of that famous Captain *Sebastian Garcia Carretto Chumazero*, the Founder of that Novitiate, who lived there many years, and came to be Ninety years old in good health, and so vigorous that he did to the last go on Horseback through the Woods and Mountains, as if he had been a young Man. I heard him say many times, that this Fountain was his Life, for as soon as he found himself any ways out of order, he sent immediately for the Water of it, and drinking it fresh from the Spring, he used to go to bed upon it, where falling asleep, he would after some time awake well disposed: this I have often been witness of. The old *Indians* thereabouts experienced the same, and did attribute their good state of Health to this Spring, without using any other Phytick or Remedies.

*Ovalle.  
1646.*

### CHAP. XIII.

*Of the Lakes of Chile, and the Salt that is gather'd from them.*

*Lakes.*

AFTER having treated of the Fountains and Rivers, it seems natural to treat of the Lakes and standing Waters, form'd out of them and by some Inundations of the Sea in Winter, when it fills them and leaves them provided for all the Summer. Those made by Rivers come first in rank; and I with my Memory would serve to place them here, with their several Qualities. Omitting then to repeat what we have said of those of *Aculco* and *Pudaguel*, which being near *St. Jago*, make the greatest diversion of its Inhabitants, we will begin with the Lake of *Tagataguas*, about fourteen Leagues from that City, and which once was more in esteem; for the Trouts catch'd there are of a larger size, and the Game for wild Fowl so much more diverting, that there is no comparison between these Waters and others. I do not describe here particularly the variety of wild Fowl, because I intend to do it when I treat of the variety of Birds of this Country: The Lakes of *Villa Rica* are of great renown, though I confess I know little of their Properties.

*Lake of  
Puren.*

The Lake of *Puren* has been famous, having been an Impregnable Fortrefs for the Warlike *Indians* our Enemies, by reason of the Disposition and Qualities of

its situation; for from thence they have for many years maintain'd a War with whole Armies of *Spaniards*, without being subdued; their advantage lay in this, that upon any Rout given them by us, they had here a most certain and safe Retreat, which when once they had recovered, they were out of all danger, for none could hurt them either by Sword or Fire.

The Sea-Lakes are also many, and of great Profit to their Owners; for the Fisheries in them are much more certain than in the Sea, for which reason they furnish the best part of the Lenten Fare, though the Sea affords a great deal too. Among the rest, the Lake of *Rapel* brings a great Revenue; it runs in length above two Leagues within the Land; in the Winter time the Sea is joined to it; for by its Storms it forces an Entrance, but it leaves it full of all sorts of Fish, which, with those that are bred there, furnish it for the whole Year, and enable it to supply all the Neighbouring Country; and that not only with Fish, but with Salt too in abundance: For about *January* the Communication ceasing between it and the Sea, when the Sun is at its hottest in that Climate, the Water is congeal'd so, that it has a Crust of a Foot or more thick, of a most excellent white Salt.

*Sea-Lakes*

*Lake of  
Rapel.*

This

*Ovalle.* This indeed does not happen every year; for it requires an extream Heat to do it, the Lake being deep, and the Climate there more enclining to Cold; but they provide themselves in one for many others; and the Salt-Pits made by hand seldom fail; for they not being of great Extent, the Water that is let into them turns to Salt with less heat, the Matter to be congealed being less in it self. And since we are mentioning Salt, I cannot omit to relate what I my self have seen in the Valley of *Lampa*, which is about three Leagues from *St. Jago*: and it is this; There grows there an Herb, not unlike to Sweet Basil, only its green is upon an Ash-colour, and not so gay; it rises about a foot above Ground: This Plant in the Summer is covered over with small Grains of Salt, like Pearl, which is congealed upon its Leaves, either from the Dew of the Night, or by some Vapour raised by the Sun from that Earth; or else the Nature of the Herb it self is such, as to sweat out this Humidity, which being afterwards congealed by the heat of the Sun, is turned into Salt. Let the Cause be what it will, the Effect is seen no where but in this Valley, and upon that Species of Herb, which is therefore much valued by the *Indians*, the Salt of it being more Savory, and of a finer Flavour than any other.

*Salt found on a Herb growing in the Valley of Lampa.*

I cannot tell whether *Johannes de Larc* means this in his Description of the New World; for having mentioned the Kingdom of *Chile*, to which he gives the Preference, for its excellent Proprieties, he says, That in that Kingdom, in some of its Valleys, there falls at certain times of the year a Dew so thick upon the Leaves of the Plants, that it is like Sugar, and serves, being kept some time, for the same use as Manna. *Antonio de Herrera* reports the same thing in his General History of the *West-Indies*; and, amongst other Commendations he gives this Noble Kingdom, he relates the same thing of this strange and admirable Dew. I say upon this, That I know not whether they allude to what I have reported of the Valley of *Lampa*, by my own sight, and have no knowledge of that other thing they mention; though one would think, such Authors should distinguish Things so different in their Effects and Savour, as Salt and Sugar. 'Tis possible, God may have done both, having been so wonderful liberal to that Country, where the Singularities are so many and wonderful; and it would therefore be no Wonder some of them should not be known; especially, considering, that we who are there employed for the Conversion of Souls, have not the time to search after Curiosities, and Secrets of Nature.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*Wherein is treated of the Sea of the Kingdom of Chile, and of the Etymology of its Name.*

*Sea of Chile.*

THE Fountains, Springs, Rivers, and Brooks, carry us along with them naturally to the Sea, where their Course ends, and where there is room for my Pen to exercise it self, if the Brevity of this Narration did not confine my flight: I must therefore be content to say something of this Element, that the nature of it may not be unknown as to this new World.

*Etymology of the Name of Chile.*

Beginning therefore with the Etymology of its Name; 'tis well known, that all commonly call it the *South Sea*, because it is towards the *Antartick* Pole, from whence generally the South Wind blows, in opposition to the *Tramontana*, or North, which reigns in the Ocean as far as the *Artick* Pole: But leaving these Disputes to the Schools, or rather to that Abyss of Divine Wisdom, *Qui profert Ventos de The-sauris suis*; 'tis a known Truth, That the

Effects which the Wind of the *Artick* Pole causes in its Jurisdiction towards the opposite part, the same is caused by the South Wind in its; *Motions* from the *Antartick* towards these Parts.

In *Chile* we look upon the South Wind *The South* as a favourable Wind, as in *Europe* the *Wind most* North is in the same Esteem. The North with us covers the Heavens with Clouds, *as Chile.* causes Tempests and Storms at Sea, and makes all the Land dark and sad. The South, on the contrary, clears the Sky, serenest the Air, and makes the Sea as calm as Milk: On the contrary, this same South Wind in the North Sea is Stormy, and covers the Heavens with Clouds, and raises those Tempests which do so endanger Ships; whereas the North, called there *Tramontana*, clears all again, and makes the fine Days.

From

*Remains on the vigat the Sea.*

From hence proceeds that in *America* the South Wind reigns in Summer, when the Sea is calm, and the North in Winter, when it is tempestuous; the North does most certainly bring with it the Rains, particularly from 36 Degrees to the Pole, and that so suddenly, that sometimes, in the moment the Wind comes to the North, the Rain falls, and most commonly 'tis within half an hour after its change; and when in those Parts in Winter the Sun is clear, and the Weather fair, 'tis when the South Wind overpowers the North; for the South in those Parts is cold and dry, and so drives away the Clouds, so as it happens sometimes that the Heavens are dark; and as soon as the Clouds are discharged, if the South appears a little the stronger, 'tis an infallible sign of calm Weather, which generally follows in a trice; for this Wind drives all the Clouds so before it, that when it blows, it does not leave one in the Sky.

The contrary of this is seen in *Europe*, where the South Winds bring humidity, and the North drives it away; the South relaxes the Body, and affects the Head; but the North strengthens the Body, purifies the Air, and dries up superfluous Humours. In short, these two Winds cause quite different Effects in *Europe* and in *America*; that we may call the *Europeans* Sons of the North, and those of *South America* Children of the South.

From this there follows another very notable and well known Difference, which is, That as to go from *Europe* to the *Indies*, the North is the proper Wind, and carries us before it, and by consequence is contrary to our Return; so in the South Sea, sailing from the Pole towards these Parts, the South is the favourable Wind, and contrary to our Return: From whence it proceeds, that the Voyage from *Spain* to *Carthage* being by the North Sea, and made in thirty, forty, and fifty days, the return to *Spain* uses to last fourscore, and a hundred, and more days: On the contrary, in the South Sea, where the Voyage from *Chile* to *Lima* is but of about a Fortnight, and as much more to *Panama*, or thereabouts; the Return only to *Lima* is of two Months, and from thence to *Chile* forty Days. The South Sea is also called the *Pacifick Sea*, to distinguish it from the North Sea, whose Storms and Tempests are so frequent; whereas in the South Sea they are rare; but in my Opinion the difference is for another reason, which I shall alledge here.

The most frequent Navigations of the South Sea are from *Pern* to *Panama*, and

from thence to *New Spain*, and the *Philippina's*; and those from *Pern* to *Chile* are less used; by which it appears, that the best part of the South Sea Navigations are between the Tropicks, and so the Sun has so much force, as to keep the Winds from being furious, and making such lasting Storms as those which are raised without the Tropicks, and in Parts nearer the Pole; for this reason the Sailors in these warm Climates, where there never is any Winter, called this Sea the *Pacifick Sea*, from the good Effects they experiment in it. The contrary of this is in the North Sea, where most of the Navigations are out of the Tropicks; where the Sun having less force, the Winter predominates, and raises mighty Storms. Now the *Europeans*, who first Navigated the South Sea, being such as were used to those Dangers to which the Navigators of the Northern Parts are most commonly exposed, when they found so quiet a Sea as that under the Line, and in those which particularly are the Seat of Commerce with *New Spain*, *Panama*, and *Pern*, they gave it the Name of *Pacifick*, without examining any further the Cause of the difference of the Effects, which they experienced in both Seas; but if they had try'd that very South Sea beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn*, they would not so easily have named it *Pacifick*.

I know that this Discourse will be approved by those who have had Experience of the Hardships which are suffered by the Navigators, from the 26th Degree of Latitude on the Coast of *Chile* to 53 Degrees; for there, as soon as the Winter begins, the Sea cannot be Navigated without manifest Danger, the Storms being no ways inferior to the greatest in the North Sea; and though at that Season it is not so dangerous for Ships to sail from *Chile* to *Lima*, because they every day get into a less Latitude, and so enjoy a quieter Sea; yet from *Pern* to *Chile* it is extrem dangerous, not only because they come into a greater Latitude, and go out further to Sea, to avoid the South Winds Opposition, but also because the Vapours of the Sea and Cold Mills of the Earth do raise such Fogs and dark Clouds, that they cover the Land so, that when they make their Port, they are in great danger of splitting upon the Rocks.


This which I say, is only of those Coasts of *Chile*, which are in the least Latitude; for from the City of the *Conception*, towards the Pole, even in Summer, they are dangerous; and the Ships which are bound for the Islands

*Ovalle*.  
1646.

Called also  
the Pacifick Sea

Remarks  
on the Navigation of  
the South Sea.

The South  
Wind most  
favourable  
at Chile.

 Islands of *Chiloe* have not above two or three Months in the Year to go in and out conveniently: or they neither go in nor out till the Year following: This is understood as far as 44 or 45 Degrees, in which this Archipelago of Islands is placed; for from thence to the Straights of *Magellan*, those may relate the Dangers who have experienced them, and passed those Straights: All that I know of it is, that they all have Matter enough to discourse of at their return.

So that we may say, that the Name of *Pacific* does not absolutely belong to the South Sea, according to its whole Extent, but only as to those Parts of greatest Intercourse, which, because they are within the Tropicks, are the freest from Storms; and yet it cannot be deny'd, that the South Sea has an advantage over the North Sea, even within the Tropicks; which is, that it is free from those great Sands which are so common in the North Sea, about *Carthagen*, *la Havana*. and other Islands; nay, even in the Canal of *Babam*, which indeed are so many, that let a Storm be but moderate, they make it still greater, and more dangerous, by shortening the Sea-room, and force the Sailors to be always heaving the Lead, or else to split upon the Rocks, which may be clearly seen and distinguished from the Ship's side.

I find likewise that the South Sea may be called *Pacific* for another Reason, which is, because of the extream Quiet it enjoys in its Navigation, without Disturbance from any of its Enemies, who are so frequent on all the Shores of the North

Sea; for there being no other Entrance into the South Sea but by the Straights of *Magellan* and *St. Vincent*, which are at such distance, and defended by Nature it self, the Enemies of our Quiet do not care to engage in so useless and dangerous a Design, with so manifest a Destruction, and so little Advantage, as hath happened already to some Hereticks who have attempted it; for having no Settlement, nor Landing place in all that vast Sea, they have been forced to sail to the *Philippina's*: Therefore the Ships of the South Sea are free from any fear of Enemies, and go and come without any Apprehension of Danger on that side. *Antonio de Herrera*, in the 5th Decade of his General History, Folio 319. relates the Motive that *Magellan* had to call this the *Pacific* Sea, and that is, because there is not in all that Element a more Spacious Career for the Winds and Tides; and because there reigns between the Tropicks so fleddy and strong a Levant, that in many days the Seamen need not hand their Sails, nor the Steersman his Helm, sailing through those vast Seas as if it were in a Canal, or River: And the same Author adds, That this Motion of this Wind proceeds from the Coule of the first *Moble*, which is proved by its perpetual Invariability, and the Encrease of its Vehemence, as it draws nearer the *Equinox*: Some dispute, whether it ought to be called a Wind, or an Impulse which the Air receives from Superior Orbs, communicated to them by the first Sphere. So far this Author.

## CHAPTER XV.

### Of the Sea-Coasts of Chile, and its Ports and Havens.

IT would be too great an Excursion beyond my purpose to mention all the Ports and Creeks along the Coast of *Chile*, for they are very numerous. *George Spilberg*, Admiral of a Fleet of six Sail, whose Names were, the *New Sun*, the *New Moon*, the *Hunter*, the *Pole-Star*, *Eolus*, and *Lucifer*, says, He observed 25 Ports in the Straights of *Magellan* alone, before he enter'd the South Sea; he commends them mightily, but particularly he is much pleas'd with the 25th: for he stay'd in it some time, and gave it his own Name: He calls it a Noble Port, by reason of its Safeness for Shipping, as also for the Pleasantness of the Fields;

which he says were all covered with Fruit; which I suppose were Strawberries, according to the Description he makes of them: He found there likewise abundance of excellent Oysters, at the Mouth of a River which beautify'd that Port extreamly, it falling into it from high Mountains. But this Retreat did not serve them long: for having seen some very fine coloured Birds, they pursued them on Shore, and hunted them; which they had no sooner begun to do, but they were assaulted by a Troop of *Indians*, *Spilberg* with Clubs in their Hands, and some of *assaulted* them were killed, and the rest forced to *by the Indians* retire to their Ships, and set Sail in haste, which

*Spilberg's*  
*Observation*  
 of  
 25 Ports  
 in the  
 Straights  
 of *Magellan*.

which is a great Mark of the Valour with which those People Engaged them; for though they had Fire-Arms, they could not withstand the Charge.

Part of Co-  
quimbo.

The most famous Port in all the Coast, besides that of *Valdivia*, which we have described already, is that of *Coquimbo*, mentioned in our Seventh Chapter; and it deserves all sorts of Commendation, as well for its lovely Bay, where Ships ride as safe as can be, as also for the Pleasantry of the Country about it; which is one of the most Delicious of all *Chile*. The Products of the Country are particularly Gold and Copper, which is carried from thence to *Peru*, for the making of Artillery, casting of Bells, and other Household Furniture.

Copapo,  
Gualco,  
and Pa-  
cudo.

The Ports also of *Copapo* and *Gualco* are esteemed, and more deservedly that of *Pacudo*, which is a private hidden Bay, where the Ships of *Peru* come to load with the Hides and Tallow of *Chuapa*; as also with Tar and Tackling for Ships, which is made in that Valley, and is whiter and better than any in *Chile*, by reason of the excellent Waters they make use of in its making.

Quintero.

The next good Port to these is that of *Quintero*, where the General of the Six Ships above-named landed; and it being a Place uninhabited, met with no Opposition, but refreshed his Men with a large Fishing which they made: They do so commend the Place, that they cannot sufficiently (they say) extol the Pleasantry of the Land, the Sweetness of the Water, the Security for Ships, and, in short, all sorts of Conveniencies for Humane Life; and after these many Encomiums, the Historian concludes thus; *Portus hic nulli secundus*, this Port yields to none; and yet this Port of *Quintero* is none of the famous ones of *Chile*; by which it may be inferred, that he was but little acquainted with the rest: He could not land in them, for he found them all Guarded by the Militia, who expected him; and, though coming to *Val Paraiso*, he had begun to land some Men, yet, upon Advice that the Horse of *St. Jago* were at hand to hinder the Descent, he took them on board again, and failing at midnight, cast Anchor at *Quintero*, where they watered, and cut Wood, the Admiral himself landing with many Soldiers to protect his Men; there they drew up a Trench, with a kind of Half-moon, to secure their Retreat against the Spaniards, who began to appear upon the Hills; but they did not stay for them, but Embarking again, followed their Courte towards

*Peru*, not landing any where else; but yet they commend the Land extremely.

After these, follows the Port of *Concepcion*, or *Quillota*, which serves to embark the Product of those Valleys; and hard by that, the Port of *Val Paraiso*, where are landed all the Goods brought for the City of *St. Jago*; from whence they are distributed all over its Territory, and as far as *Cayo* and *Tucuman*: This Port is every day more and more inhabited, and there is building a Convent of *Austrian* Friars; which will be of great Relief to the Souls of the Inhabitants, and of all those who go and come, who are not a few; for this is the Port of the greatest Commerce with *Peru*; 'tis distant from *St. Jago* 24 Leagues, all plain and good Way, fit for Carriages; and so all the Commodities of both Kingdoms are conveyed and exchanged by it.

Near the Port of *Val Paraiso* is that of *St. Antonio*, which is also very safe and good, and is at the Mouth of the River *Muyo*. There is a Mistake in Authors about this; for they place the Port of *Val Paraiso* at the Mouth of a River, which they make in their Maps to come from *St. Jago*; which is a very great Error, because, at *Val Paraiso*, there is no River of any note, but only Springs and Fountains, which rise out of the Rocks close by the Sea, which are most excellent Waters: There are also others of a colder Nature, with which the Ships fill their Provision; because they having more Body, they resist better at Sea against Corruption.

There are several other Ports between that and the *Concepcion*, in the Bays and Mouths of Rivers, but not much used, because they are not necessary: all those Valleys from *Maule* to *Quillota* sending their Commodities to *Val Paraiso*: I believe in time other Ports will be employed, because the Products of that Kingdom multiply apace, and to People will be willing to seek out the nearest Ports for embarking their Goods. All the Product from *Maule* upwards is carried to the Harbour of the *Concepcion*, which is the best Bay in all those Coasts; and it being a very large one, Providence placed at its Entrance the Island of *Quiriquina*; and under which, as under a Mole, Ships are secured in foul Weather. At the largest Entrance of this Bay is the Port of *La Herradura*, or *Horse shoe*, it being in that Form; and opposite to that is that of *St. Vincent*; and a little farther, that of *San Carlos*, called so for the Refreshment it afforded

Orville  
1646  
Concepcion,  
or Quillota,  
and  
Val Pa-  
raiso.

La Herradura,  
St Vincent,  
and  
San Carlos



**Ovalle.**  
1646. afforded to one of the Ships of the Bishop of *Palencia*, who, by Order of *Charles* the Fifth, passed the Straights of *Magellan* with six Sail, and having lost their *Patache*, were forced to the *Moluccas*.

Next to these, are the Ports of *Tirva* and *Quedal*, *La Baia Chica*, that of *Puralla*, the Port of *St. Cebrían*, that of *Santa Clara*, that of *St. Domingo*, *St. Ekevan*, *Los Reyes*, that of *Baixas*, that of the *Innocents*, and many others less considerable, as far as the Straights of *Magellan*.

Besides these Ports which we have mar-

ked upon the *Terra-Firma*, there are several others, well known in the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, *La Mocha*, *Santa Maria*, in the Islands of *Chiloe*, *Alsie*, where the most frequented are that of *Carchimpo*, and that called the *English Port*, because formerly an *English Ship* landed there, and the *Men and Ship*, with all its *Artillery*, were made *Prize*. There are also several other Ports in the Archipelago of *Chiloe*, which I forbear mentioning, because I have not a perfect Account of them.

## CHAP. XVI.

### Of the Fertility of the whole Coast of Chile.

**T**HE Abundance and Fertility of this Kingdom is not only perceived in its Valleys and Fields, but likewise in its whole Coast, even on the Rocks, where the Sea beats: It will be hard to make this appear by Particulars; because, though in other Parts of the World the Rocks produce Shell-Fish, yet I do not know that it is in such quantity, nor so large any where as in *Chile*, nor of so many different species. First, I will speak of that which is most Common and Intelligible; There grows along the Coast every where an Herb not unlike to Endive; they call it *Luche*, which they pull from the Rocks; it is gathered in the Spring, when 'tis most grown, and being dried in the Sun, 'tis made into Loaves, which are looked upon as a great Delicacy far from the Sea, particularly in *Peru*, *Cuyo*, and *Tucuman*; for it serves for many Sawces: It grows upon the tops of the Rocks, such as are above the Water. At the foot of the Rocks are found certain Roots, which bring forth a Trunk as thick as ones *Wriit*, called *Ulcucueste*: This they cut, and laying it before the Fire, they pare it like a Lettice, or Artichoke Card; but it has a much different Taste. From these Trunks shoot out certain long Cods of three or four Yards long, and some of about six or eight Fingers in breadth: These they call *Cochanyo*, and there are two sorts of them, which, though they resemble one another, yet the *Indians* make a great difference between them; reserving the good, which they cut and dry, and make Provision of them for *Lent*; the others they leave to the Sea, which heaps them up upon the Shoar, where they lie in Heaps, very useless. So much for the Herbs: Now let us speak of the Shell Sea Fish. The best of this

kind are *Oysters*, both great and small, so *Oysters*. much talked of by the *Hollanders* with great Commendations: They found them in the Straights of *Magellan*; but the greatest Plenty of them is on the Coast of *Cochimbo*, where they are very large and delicious; the lesser sort they call *Tacós*, very much valued too, and taken all along that Coast: But those of greatest Renown are the *Oysters* of *Chunpa*; in the great ones are bred Pearls, as the *Dutch* say; and, according to *John* and *Theodore de Brey*, they bought some of the *Indians* in the Straights very finely wrought.

That which they call *Choro's* is also a *Choro's*. fine sort of Shell-Fish, and in its Shell, as *Antonio de Herrera* says, there are Pearl very white: That sort which I have seen is not so big; but since they are to be found every where, there may be of all sorts of them; for they are caught in abundance, both little, middle size, and large ones; some as broad as my Hand: The Choicest of them are those which have the Fish of a yellow Colour, though the black ones are good too.

There is another Shell-Fish called *Manegues*, which is in two round Shells, such as serve for Models in Architecture; the Fish within is but coarse Meat, but of good Sustainance: In one kind of these, which is the little sort, in opening the Shell, which in the inside is like Mother of Pearl, when one takes out the Meat, one may see the Impression on the Shell of a Purple Colour, which represents the Image of the most Holy Virgin, with her Mantle and her Child in her Arms, which causes great Devotion and Comfort; and, though they all have this Impression, yet some have it so perfect, that it is Wonderful.



Loco's, or  
Af's Hoof.

A Fish they call *Loco's* may also be ranked among the Shell-Fish; they call them also *Af's Hoof*, because they are of that Shape: They are very Savory, but hard and indigest, for which reason they are to be eaten sparingly; though in the Dressing of them they macerate them between two Stones, to soften them. I should never have done, to go through all the kinds of Shell-Fish; aslikewise of Snails, which are also good to eat, and are produced on the Rocks: There are some cast up by the Sea, in such quantity, that Ship Loads may be had of them, of such variety of Figures and Colours, that I doubt not but the Curious in *Europe* would value them, and our Artists would make Curiosities of them; but they, for want of such Artificers, are good for nothing in the *Indies*, but to make Chalk of, by burning them in a Furnace; yet they are in such vast quantities, that the Shore is covered with them, and they make a fine Show.

Picos de  
Papagay-  
os.

The Shell-Fish called *Picos de Papagayos* are another kind, much esteemed; they are so called, because for their Shape and Bigness they are just like Parrots Heads; and as these Birds build their Nests on Shore in some hollow Rocks and Caves, so this Fish breeds in a kind of Stonework, hollow, like little Cells, where it grows till it come to be of the bigness of those Heads: They dress them in those very Nests, which serve for Pots, and when they are enough, take them out. They are excellent Meat.

Kerico's.

Those which they call *Kerico's*, though common in other Parts, yet I never saw them so large as in those Parts; and being taken in the Encrease of the Moon, they have very large Tongues, Fat, and of about two Fingers breadth.

The *Gangrejo's*, *Apavicora's*, and *Camarou's*, are likewise very good, and of several

sorts and sizes. The *Lampfish's*, and those of that kind, are likewise much esteemed; they breed under the Rocks and are Fished for, as all the rest, not with Nets, but only by the *Indians* going into the Sea up to their middle, and knocking them from the Rocks with Sticks in their Hands. So much for this kind of Eatables. There are others which live a little more in the Sea, which are of a Beautiful Form; some they call *Sea-Stars*; some the Sun; others the Moon; because they are of the Form of those Planets, as they are commonly painted: These may be eaten too; but they have one very singular Propriety, which is, to cure the Vice of Drunkenness, being reduced to Powder, and given in Wine to drink; and this is of so certain an Effect, that those, who before they took it had no greater Delight than drinking of Wine, did afterwards so abhor it, that they would not touch it, though paid for for them. This is a healthy Remedy, as well as sure, and therefore us'd by the *Negro's* to avoid taking another; which, though as certain, is very dangerous; which is, drinking the Sweat of a Horse mingled with Wine. They say, this puts those who take it in danger of losing some of their Senses; though I knew one, who being exceedingly given to Drunkenness, his Wife gave him this Remedy, without his knowledge, and it did him no other hurt than to make him hate Wine, so that he could not bear the Smell of it; but as I said, the *Negro's* use the Powder of the Star-Fish; and though I have observed, that with some it is not so efficacious, but they long for Wine again after a while; yet it is but to repeat the Remedy as soon as that ill Inclination prevails again; and this is commonly so practised upon the *Negro's*, who are much given to that Vice.

Ovalle.  
1646.  
Lango-  
sta's.

## CHAP. XVII.

### *Of the Various Kinds of Fish which are Fished on the Coast of Chile.*

*The Whale.* LET the Whale appear first, since by its bigness it is a kind of King of the Sea; and if where the King is, the Court is, we may give that Title to the Sea of *Chile*, where there is such store of Whales, that I know not any Place where they abound more; and they are accompanied by such a Court of little Fishes of all kinds, that those who have Navigated those Seas, cannot but mention it with Admiration. A-

mong the rest, *William Scer ten*, who came with a Fleet through the Straights, says, That they met with so many Whales near certain Islands, that they were forced to sail with great Care and Attention to avoid them; they being so many, that they were almost always in the Ships way, and endangered the loss of them, being so big, that they look'd like Rocks: They are all along the Coast of *Copapo*

F 2 and

*Ovalle.*  
1646. and *Guafo*, and are of no small Profit by the Ambergreece they cast on Shoar. The Journals of those who have past the *Straights* do mention much of this Amber floating on the Sea, and therefore no doubt but a great deal of it is on Shore; but it is lost, for the *Indians* having no value for it, know it not; and 'tis but within these Twelve years that the *Araucana's* minded it, by seeing some *Spanish* Soldiers look for it; they did so too, and found a great deal, and very good, on the Coast: Of the Grey sort, which is the best, they found great pieces of an Ash colour, with a nobler and more delicate smell; The ordinary sorts are yellow and black, and it has a quicker, though not so sweet a smell as the Grey. I have heard the People of those Parts say commonly, that the difference is very accidental, and that it depends only upon being more or less prepar'd by the Sunbeams; and Experience seems to confirm this thought; for I have observ'd that the black does in time grow white, by being expos'd to the Sun in a Box; but if it be laid open, so as both Sun and Rain come upon it, the Experiment will be more manifest; and as for the harshness of the smell, it may be remedied by Infusions in Rose Water; exposing it first to the Dews for Nine days, and then to the Fire, by which means it grows perfect.

Though 'tis known that Amber is a thing which the Whales cast from them, there is diversity of Opinion about the manner; because some think that this noble Product is form'd at the bottom of the Sea, or upon some Rocks, and that the Whales eat it for Food, and not being able to endure it in their Stomachs, because it is naturally extream hot, they get to the Shore to cast it up; Others say, it is the Whales Excrements: 'Tis not my Business to decide this Dispute. The other great advantage which the Whales are of to the Country, is the Oyl they afford after they are dead; and it is a great deal that one Whale will yield: It serves for various Uses of Life. We do not know that these Fishes dye of a violent death, because their vast Bulk defends them both from Men and all other Animals that may be their Enemies; but yet being subject to pay the common Debt of Nature, when they find themselves near Death, they draw near the Land, and are often cast on Shore by the Sea, which will not bear any Corruption in its Waters; and 'tis strange to see how they are thrown up in great numbers on those

Coasts. The Oyl is made by the heat of the Sun, and when the Weather has consum'd the Flesh, the Ribs and other Bones remain white; and the *Indians* make use of them for Seats; Much more Convenience and Curiosity might be afforded by them to other Workmen.

There are another sort of Fish which are found most on the Coast of *Coquimbo*, which are not so big as Whales, but yet are very large, and a good Fish to eat, which are the Tunny Fish, and the *Albacora's*, which the *Indians* kill with great dexterity: They go into the Sea a good way upon Floats of Seal Skins, well sewed together, and blown up like a Bladder; they carry with them a kind of Trident with sharp Tongues; this is fastened to a long, slender, but strong Rope; the *Indian* guides his Float near the Fish he chooses, and then darts it with his Trident; the Tunny, as soon as Wounded, goes out to Sea like Lightning; the *Indian* gives him Rope enough, and follows him the way that he runs till the Fish has spent it self by loss of Blood, and then the *Indian* draws in his Rope, and the Fish with it, either dead or dying, and lays it on his Float, with which he returns to Port with his Prey, rejoicing. There are many other sorts of Fishes; one of the most extraordinary is the Flying Fish, which fly with Wings, and follow a Ship like Birds. The Lyon Fish is also admirable; they are found in great quantities about the Streights of *Magellan*, near a Port call'd *Port Desire*; they are very good to eat, but very hard to take, for though they wound them with Shot in many places, yet if they do not hit them in the Head, or the Stomach, they do not yield; they are as big as a Colt, and have a Lyons Head, with a perfect Main; which the Females of them have not, neither are they above half as big as the Males, and have a thinner Skin. Those who have Sail'd through the *Straights*, talk much of these Sea Lyons, and do also mention many other sorts of Fishes which they took there, some of 16 Foot long, very favory and good to eat. *Antonio de Herrera* says, that there are Fishes taken in the Island of *Sancta Maria*, out of whose Eyes they take a sort of Course Pearl, which have a gloss like the true ones, and are worn by the Women; and if, as they are soft, they were a little hard, they would be better than Pearls.

The Sea Wolves, or Seals, which are found on all the Coast, are innumerable; I have seen whole Rocks cover'd with them; and they lay even one upon another,

ther, so as some of them rowled down into the Sea again, there not being room for so many: They are as big as Calves, and make a Noise like them.

*Antonio de Herrera*, in the Voyage of *Magellan*, says, that in the River of the *Croft*, in the *Straights*, they took one so large, that without his Head, Skin, and Fat, he weighed Nineteen *Castilian Arroba's*. The *Indians* take them for their Skins, which are very hard and strong, and some eat their Flefh. As to the plenty of the ordinary Fish of those Seas, the Authors already cited speak very advantageously of their Kinds, particularly *William Scov-ten*, who coming with his Fleet to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in 33 Degrees and 43 Minutes, the quantity of Fish they met with was so great, that in a very little time they catch'd a great quan-

ty of *Robalo's*, which is the best and most wholesome Fish of all those Parts: They did not take them with Nets, because they had not time to Land, but with Hooks at Sea, by the Ship's side, and that as fast as they could throw in and pull up.

What I my self have seen, is, in the great Lake of *Rapel*, all the sides of it cover'd with *Peterreyes*, by the vast quantity of them which came upon the Coast; as the Drovers of *Pilchards* by the Bay of the *Conception*, and in *Chiloe*; so that they take them with Blankets. I have seen the same Drovers of *Tunny Fish*, which come leaping over one another's Backs as if there were not room for them; and indeed that Climate being so favourable to Multiplication in all Animals on Shore, as shall be shew'd in its proper place, it cannot well be otherwise as to the Fishes.

*Ovalle.*  
1646.

CHAP. XVIII.  
Of the Birds of Chile.

THE Birds and Fishes seem to be Brothers of the same *Venter*; the Author of Nature having created them both out of the Element of Water; and therefore to dispatch all the Creatures of this Country, having Treated of the first, it seems that the Chain of an orderly Narration obliges us to say something of the others. To speak generally, it may be truly said of the Air of that Hemisphere, that it has a great Advantage over the Earth, though so fertile, so rich, and so delicious, as we have represented it; for though it is true that it now produces the Animals and Fruits of *Europe*, with such an Encrease as is wonderful, yet it cannot be denied, that before the *Spaniards* carried thither the Seeds and Animals, which are now so multiplied, (for they had them not in any sort, though perhaps others which supplied the want of them) the Air without being at all Enrich'd by the accession of Forreigners, has maintain'd always such an abundance of the Volatile Kind, that it needed no Supplies from *Europe*, but rather has many to make up any one Defect.

*The Eagle.* To begin with the King of them all, the Eagle: There are there abundance of them; those which are call'd Royal or Imperial, have been seen there only twice; first when the *Spaniards* first entred that Kingdom; and the second time, in the year 1640. when the *Araucanos* submitted their untam'd Necks to their God and the

King; they Interpreting this as one of the Signs of God Almighty's Will to incline them to take that Resolution, which they then took. As for the ordinary Eagles, who do not differ much from the others, they have always been and are still in the Country very common. There are likewise bred *Faulcons*, so large and strong, that for their Beauty they have been carried from thence, though so far, as a Present to the King of *Spain*; and they are commonly carried to *Peru*, particularly that Kind which are call'd *Primas*, or First, though those call'd Second are very large too; There are besides, all other Birds of Rapine and Prey; and of the Singing Birds, there are *Linots*, *Bulfinches*, *Nightingales*, *Blackbirds*, and many others, who form some a *Bals*, and some a *Tenor*, with all the other parts of a Harmony beyond belief, particularly in Summer under the Shades of Trees.

The Birds for Game are, *Garza's*, *Partridges*, *Wild Pigeons*, *Thrushes*, *Turtles*, *Parrots*, *Wild Ducks* of a Thousand sorts, some of one colour, and some of another; and all very good. The *Dome*, *Tame Fowl*, *stick Tame Fowls* are, *Hens*, *Ducks*, *Geese*, *Turkeys*; and that nothing may be wanting, *Swallows* in Summer, which go away in Winter, as they do in *Europe*, to warmer Climates; *Screech Owls*, and other Night Birds; as also *Bats*.

*Faulcons*  
*Birds of Prey.*  
*Singing-Birds.*  
*Birds of Game.*  
*Tame Fowl.*  
*Swallows.*  
*Owls and Bats.*

These

These are the Birds of the *European* Kind which are found in those parts, as well as I can remember; and there is hardly a Bird here in *Europe*, that I observe in the Fields, that I have not observ'd the like somewhere in *Chile*, with very little difference.

Who now can describe the variety of Native Birds of that Climate, who are in such variety and abundance, that People are fain to guard their Vineyards from them as soon as the Grapes begin to ripen; and yet 'tis impossible to hinder them from doing a great deal of Mischief, they being so nimble, and having so secure a Retreat, though all sorts of Inventions, such as Guns, Crossbows, Slings, Scare-crows, are put in use? so that if any are negligent, they may be sure to find their Vintage made to their Hand. And this Mischief is not only for their Vineyards, but likewise for all Seeds, which is fain to be watched after 'tis sowed till it sprouts; and as soon as the Wheat and Maiz begin to ripen, the Guards must be renewed, for there comes whole Armies of Birds to attack them, and do them as much mischief as if they were *Xerxes's* Armies.

Parrots.

In particular, the Parrots are so voracious and greedy, and have a Bill that cuts like a Razor; they come in Flocks of such an extent, that when they rise they cover the Air, and fill it with such a Confusion of Cries, that I cannot find any thing to compare it to. This kind of Birds is bred all over *Chile* in the Mountains, and in the *Cordillera*, and 'tis wonderful to see how exactly they come to an hour, as if they were call'd by a Bell, or had some notice where and when the Fruits are ripe and in season for them to enjoy them; they come down from the Mountains in the Evening; and the noise they make in flying, though they fly high, is such, that one would think them close by; they have a shrill clear Voice, and they fly all screaming at once, so that their noise is very loud; they are all green and yellow, and have a blue Circle about their Neck, and very good to Eat, particularly the young ones.

Those years which are to prove Rainy, as the Natives observe; as soon as the Weather grows cool, before the Winter begins, one may see every Evening, for

many Days, great quantities of Crows come down from the *Cordillera* into the Plains; they come about an hour before Sunset in Squadrons, forming a Triangle or Piramide; the Point of which is led by one single one, before whom none dares go; The figure they make is most regular, with great correspondency to each other, as if they were fixed in the Air, and immoveable, so equal and well concerted is their Flight.

There is likewise a Bird which we call *Taltale*, or *Taltale's* or *Gulinajo's*; it is a Duck, *Gulinajo's*. but has bigger Wings; they are either black or brown, and very voracious of Carrion. In the time of Slaughtering, which is every year in *Chile*, of most Beasts, there is a great deal of Flesh lost; then these Birds come, as if one had founded a Charge to them, and tall upon the Carrion with so much greediness, that having eaten their fill they cannot rise again, and are easily knock'd on the Head with Sticks; the Bones of their Legs are valued to make Scizers, and their Quils, which are as thick as ones Finger, serve for Harpicals and other Curiosities. Out of this Slaughtering time they dye with Hunger, but among all the ways they have of maintaining themselves, their way of Hunting young Goats and Lambs is admirable: They sit upon Trees, and from thence spy the Flocks of Sheep and Goats, watching till any young ones stray from the guard of its Dam, as they often do, either staying behind to feed, or climbing some Rock. This the *Taltale* quickly seeing, and that the young one is far from the defence either of the Shepherd or old one, it leaps upon it, and the first thing it does is to peck out its Eyes, and eat its Brains, which it does so quick, that though it cry, and the Shepherd or Mother come to its relief, 'tis too late. Very like to these are another sort of Bird, both as to bigness, colour, and shape, and its disposition to Prey; they call them *Peuques*, only they are something less, and of a nicer Dyet, being pleas'd with nothing but Hens or Chickens, which they take very dexterously; they are so bold and nimble, as to get into a Henroost, and carry away their Prey, even in presence of the Owners, without being stop'd or prevented.

## CHAP. XIX.

*The same Matter is pursued, and the Flying of Hawks Treated of.*

Amongst the great number of Birds which are bred in Lakes and Ponds, and on the Sea side, which are of great variety, none are more remarkable than the Birds call'd *Flamenco's*; they are White and Scarlet, bigger than Turkeys, but so long Legg'd that that they walk through a Lake with great gravity, the Water not touching their Feathers by a Foot or Two: The *Indians* delight in making Works of their White and Scarlet Feathers, for their Dances and their Feasts.

Flamenco's.

The Child Bird.

There is another Bird call'd the Child Bird, because it looks like a Swaddled Child, with its Arms at liberty; I have not seen them any where but at Sea; perhaps they are the same call'd *Pinguins*, of which frequent mention is made by those who pass the Straights of *Magellan*; they are generally painted in the Maps, and they say there are abundance of them in those Parts, and that they are good Meat.

There are other Birds which furnish the Tufts of Feathers, call'd *Airones*, which though so narrow, yet are so valued, that formerly every Feather was worth Two *Rials*; those which grow under their Wings are larger and better, though those on their Heads, which they wear as *Aigrettes*, are very fine: There are but few of this Kind of Birds, for they do not encrease so much as others: There are more of that Kind call'd *Gargola's*, which serve for Soldiers Feathers, and other Ornaments. There are many others of great variety of Colours, of which the *Indians* use to make their Ornaments call'd *Mallengues*, which are made for the Head like a Garland of most fine colours of Wooll, and in that they stick a *Pannache* of Feathers for their Dances and Days of Rejoicing.

The Birds call'd by the *Indians* *Voyca's*, are very famous among them, in whose Notes, at certain Times and Places, they find great Mysteries, Prognosticating by them either their own or their Children, or their Friends Death, or Sickness, or other Misfortune; and they remain with great Apprehension and Fear: The *Spaniards* call these Birds *Pechicolorado's*, that is mark'd on the Breast, because there is no Scarlet deeper, nor brighter, than the red on their Breast; The other Feathers

of their Wings and Body are brown. There are other very little ones, call'd *Pingueda's*, whose Body is not much bigger than an Almond; these live upon the Flowers; and that they may come at the Honey of them, Nature has given them a Bill, which when 'tis shut, is like a Needle to sow with, and for this reason they feed flying like Bees, from Flower to Flower, without lighting but very seldom on a Branch of it, and that very slightly: These Birds are of the greatest Beauty imaginable, for if they were made of Polish'd Gold, they could not shine brighter; They have a green mingled with this Gold colour: The Males are distinguish'd from the Females, in that they have on the Head a lively Orange colour, which is like Fire. Those on the other side of the *Cordillera* are yet more beautiful, because their Tail is also of the colour of their Head; and though they have so little a Body, their Tail is a Foot long, and Two Inches broad.

There is likewise a very odd Bird, to which the *Spaniards* have given the Name of *Paxaro Carpintero*, because though they are but little, they have so strong and sharp a Bill, that they form their Nests with it in the Trees, forming a hollow Place fit for them, as exactly as if they had an Instrument to do it: Of these I have seen but few; but there are great numbers of a Kind of Birds call'd *Condore's*, which are as White as Ermin; and of their Skins they make that which they call *Regalillo's* for the Hands, being of a very soft touch, and extrem warm; but the Bellies of the Buzzards are much more so, being admirable to make Stomachers to cover the Pit of the Stomach, and held Digestion.

I have not seen such variety of Birds on the other side of the *Cordillera*, and the cause, I believe, is the dryness of the Land, and the want of that shelter of Woods and Groves which are on *Chile* side; but in those Plains call'd the *Pampas*, there are *Francolins* to be found, which are a sort of Wild Hens, and as big, but much better Meat, and of a higher relish. There are likewise *Austriches* who are a mighty Bird, and very numerous there. They often find their Nests, and in them such a quantity of Eggs, as one Nest will feed a great Company;

Paxaro  
Carpintero's

Condore's

Austriches.

pany; one of them alone being beaten and dyed, makes a Pancake big enough to dine several People: Their Feathers are employed for Umbrello's to keep off the Sun, and other good Uses.

'Tis a pleasant Sight to see the taking of the *Francolins*: The *Indian*, with a string made at one end into a running Knot or Noose, at the other having a little piece of sharp Cane fastened to it, goes out to find them, which when he has done, he draws gently near, so as not to fright his Game; when he is at a due distance, he begins to go round the Bird, making with the Cane several Circles over his Head: The *Francolin* is of its own Nature a very fearful Bird, and simple, and dares not rise, because he thinks he is encompassed round, but goes into the middle of the Circle; where the *Indian* lessening still his Rounds, follows it, so that at last it tucks down upon the Ground, and lets the *Indian* put the Noose over its Head; which when he has done, touching it on the Wing with the sharp end of the Cane, the Bird flies up, and draws the Noose close, and so is catch'd, like the Fishes by an Angling-Rod.

'Tis not so easie to catch the *Austriches*; for though they do not flie, yet they have such large Wings, that though a Greyhound be very swift, if the Bird has Law of him, he will hardly overtake him; but if by chance he comes up with him by surprize, or otherwise, 'tis wonderful to see the Art the *Austrich* uses to avoid his Teeth; for when the Dog is just going to seize, the *Austrich* lets down one of his Wings, and fixes it to the Ground, covering with it its whole Body; the Greyhound thinking he has him sure, takes hold with open Mouth, but he fills it only with Feathers, and is cheated; for immediately the *Austrich*, before the Dog can clear his Mouth, sets a running, and gets a good length before him, and often escapes, if the Greyhound do not make extraordinary haste to overtake it.

This is a very Diverting Sport; but that which is used in *Chile* with *Faulcons* is much more so; not to flie Partridges, for that is a known Sport every where, but with another sort of Bird, which the *Indians* call *Qualeu*, from the Sound of its Note when it sings, which sounds so: These are as big as Hens, and have very large Wings, and upon their Wings they have in the joining place, provided by Nature for their Defence, certain sharp Points. The *Spaniards* call these Birds *Friers*, either because they always go two and two, or three and three, or because

the Colour and Order of their Feathers is so, that one would really think they have a Hood and a Crook.

For this Sport 'tis not enough to have one *Faulcon*, but there must be two, and these very well taught, and dexterous to assist one another. There uses to be very good Company to see the Engagement, as we may call it; for it is worth seeing. Coming then to the Place that these Birds haunt, which is generally some Meadow or Watery Ground; (for that they never forsake, their last Defence being in the Water, as soon as they are sprung) one at a time, the Sportsman flies one *Faulcon* at them, who, as if he minded not his Game, endeavours to get as high as he can, and get the Wind of his Prey, who at the same time does the same thing, and contends for Place with his Enemy, so that they both get almost out of sight; but at last the *Faulcon* having the better Wing prevails: When he has got Advantage enough over him, he comes down upon him like Lightning; but the *Qualeu* defends himself, either by avoiding the Blow, or by opposing the Armed Points of his Wings; upon which often the unwary *Hawk* is wounded in the Breast. When the Sportsman sees the Engagement last too long, fearing his *Hawk* may tire, or be balk'd before Victory declares for him, he looses his other *Faulcon* to help the first, who being fresh, soon joins his Companion, and both together fall upon the *Qualeu*, but not at the same time, lest they should hinder one another; one gives him a Blow, and then the other another, and so, though he make a good Defence, he is forced to yield, which he does by making away for the Water, where he has his last Retreat to defend his Life: Here he expects his Enemies upon his Back, with the Points of his Armed Wings turned towards them; the *Faulcon* despising the Danger, comes down with all his force, and seizing her with one Foot, tears her to pieces; but 'tis not without receiving sometimes dangerous Wounds: The Victory does not always cost so dear, for that is according to the Strength of the Contenders. I omit the shooting of Wild-Fowl in the Fens and Waters, which is nevertheless very Entertaining; as are likewise the *Indian* Ways with Nets, Nooses, Arrows, Night-Lights; nay, the manner of catching the *Faulcons* themselves is as diverting; 'tis done with fine Nets, in which they involve them, that they may not hurt their Wings.



This is sufficient about the Birds; and since we are in the Region of the Air, so near Heaven, let us say something of

It, before we come down to the Earth again.

Ovalle.  
1646.

## CHAP. XX.

*Of the Heaven, and Stars, which are proper to the Kingdom and Region of Chile.*

THIS the common Opinion of all those that have seen and dwelled in *Chile*, that its Soil, and Heaven, if they have their Equal, have not their Superior in the World; and though some say the Stars of the *Artick* Pole are larger than those of the *Antartick*, yet as to their Brightness and Beauty, and the Light they give, and as to their Numbers, with the Clearness of the Heavens where they are, there is none but must own the Advantage on the side of the *Antartick*. We may give, as a Natural Reason of this, the Temper of the Climate, both as to Air and Earth; for though there are in it so many Rivers, as we have observed, yet they being rapid, and swift in their Course, do not cause overmuch Humidity by their stay, but afford only what is necessary for its Fertility; and, of the two Extreams, the Country is rather dry than moist, particularly as far as 34 or 35 Degrees; as is manifestly made out by two Experiments: First, By the Facility with which all Wounds are Cured, which use to be much longer in wet Countries; and, secondly, 'Tis proved from the Habitations and Houses, where the best Apartments are reputed to be on the first Floor, they being looked upon in Summer for coolest, and in Winter for warmest; and, though they are watered every day in the year, and the Floors most commonly but of Earth, not at all upon Vaults, yet they are never unhealthy, and there is no need of Board-flooring or Mats, let the Winter be never so sharp. This is a convincing Argument, that the Country inclines to dryness rather than to humidity; from whence it follows, that the Sun raises fewer Vapours, and therefore the Air being clearer, the Brightness of the Stars is more conspicuous; and for this reason the Sun sets and rises to Glorious, casting out Resplendent Beams of Light; which is not so on the other side of the *Cordillera*; for there I have seen the Sun pretty high, and its whole Body visible, and yet no ways dazzling; the Vapours of the Earth taking away the Radiant Beauty of its Beams.

The Experience of this is yet more admirable to those who sail from *Peru* for *Chile*; for though they keep out a great way from Land, yet they know presently by the Horizon when they come to the height of *Chile*; for they begin to see it all disengaged from Clouds, and Serene, Guilded and Glorious, and its Beauty encreasing upon them every day as they gain more height towards the Pole: On the contrary, when they sail for the Line from *Chile*, the nearer they grow to the Tropick, that Light and Splendor grows duller and duller; so that in my Voyage for *Panama*, I saw all the Horizon muddy, sad and clouded, which continued till I got to the *Havanna*; where being in 18 Degrees North Latitude, the Horizon cleared up, and grew every day better and better, till we got to *Spain*.

So much for the Clearness and Beauty of the Heavens and Stars, which may be confirmed by all those who have seen the Place; but 'tis not so of the bigness of the Stars. The Astrologers pretend, That the Contemplation of them and their Measure belongs entirely to their Art, as understanding best the Disposition of the Celestial Sphere; but in my Judgment, they who can best speak of this Matter, are those who have seen both Poles; as is well observed by *John* and *Theodore de Brie*, in the Eighth and Ninth Part of their Twelve Curious Books; where they relate Variety of Histories, Observations, and Voyages, which have been in the North and South *America*, as far as the Straights of *Magellan*. They report then the Opinions of Learned Men, who, in sailing on the South Sea, observed what I shall here produce, translated faithfully from their Elegant Latin into our Vulgar Tongue, in these Words:

*The Learned of our Nation, who have sailed on the South Sea, do relate to us many Things of that Sky, and its Stars, as well of their Number, as Beauty and Bigness; and my Opinion is, That the Stars we see here, are no ways preferable to the Meridional ones; but rather do affirm, without dispute, That those Stars which are near the Antartick Pole*



are more in number, and brighter and bigger.

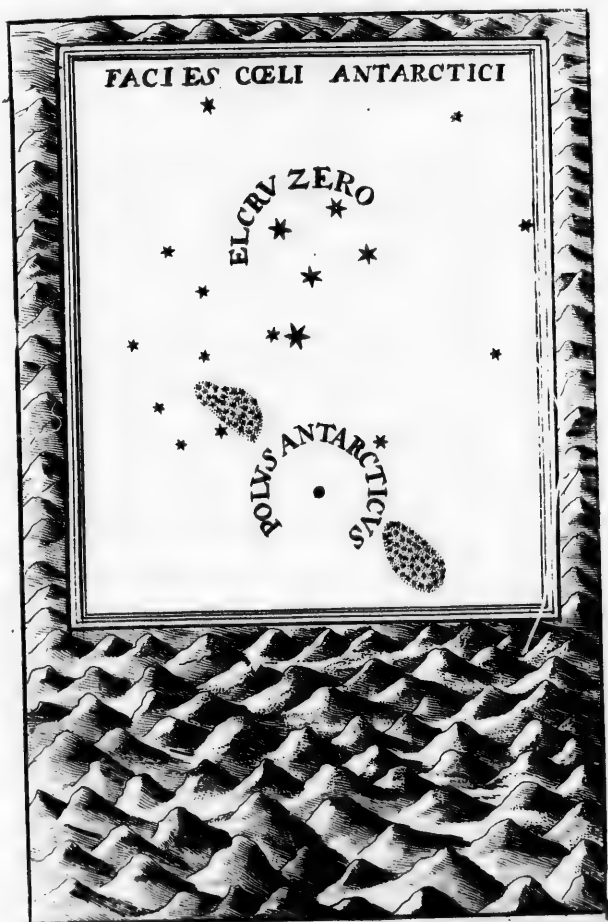
1646.

He adds, besides, speaking of the Stars of the Constellation of the *Cruzera*, that their Splendours and Beauty is extraordinary, and that the *Via lactea*, or *Milky-way*, is much brighter in these Parts. This is all from those Authors.

The 14.  
Constella-  
tions of the  
Hemisphere  
of Chile.

*Peter Theodore*, a most Skilful Pilot and Astronomer, relates in particular the Stars of that Hemisphere, and the fourteen Figures or Constellations they make: The first is the *Camelion*, which contains Ten

Stars; The second is the *Indian Aspick*, made up of Four Stars; The third is the *Flying Fish*, which is made up of Seven; The fourth, called the *Fish Dorado*, is composed of Five; The fifth is called the *Hydra*, and is of Fifteen: The *Bird Tomcan*, which is the sixth, has Eight Stars; and the *Phoenix*, which is the seventh, has Fourteen; The *Crane* has Thirteen, which is the eighth: In *Noah's Dove*, which is the ninth, there appear Eleven; The *Indian Sagittary*, which is the tenth, has Twelve; The *Peacock*, which is the



eleventh, is compos'd of Sixteen; The Bird of *Paradise*, otherwise call'd *Mauco-diata*, has Twelve: The thirteenth is the *Triangle*, and contains Five; and the last is the *Cruzero*, in which are Four, which make a Cross, with a little one close by it, which makes the foot of the Cross: And though this *Cruzero* is the Guide of those who sail in the South Sea, as the *Cynosura* is to those who navigate the North Sea, yet it is not immediately at the Pole, but 30 Degrees from it; but there being no Stars of that bigness near it, it is made use of for that Effect, but not for the Needle; for that, in either Sea, whether South or North Latitude, always turns to the North; though when one is in the South Sea, the whole Globe of the Earth, or the best part of it, is between them and the North, according to

the Circle that the *Cruzero* makes. The fix'd Point of the Pole seems to be between two, as it were great Clouds, tho' they are not such, but Clusters of Stars, not well distinguishable, such as compose the *Via lactea*, and they are always fixed without stirring; and when the Heavens are clear, they are brighter, and better seen: There are other Stars nearer these Clouds than the *Cruzero*, but not being so big, there is little notice taken of them, but only of the *Cruzero* Stars, which are indeed very beautiful, and shine with great liveliness. I suppose that those who have not seen them in their own Place and Situation, would be glad to see a Draught of them; which therefore I have placed in the foregoing Page, representing them as they are seen there.

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#### CHAP. XXI.

*Of the Animals, as well proper as new Comers to the Kingdom of Chile; and also of the Bezoar-Stones.*

TILL the *Spaniards* came to these *American* Parts, there never had been seen in them either Cows, Horses, Sheep, Hogs, House-Cats, nor Rabbits tame or wild, nor Dogs, except those called *Coxques*, but no Hounds, Greyhounds, nor other Dogs for Game either by Land or Water, no Mastiffs, nor little Dogs, which we call Lap-Dogs, no Goats nor Asses; but as soon as the *Spaniards* were settled in *Chile*, and found the Land so proper for the breed of Cattle and Flocks, they have encreased them to a degree of Superfluity; so that there is not only enough for the Support of Humane Life, but also for those Animals who are Carnivorous; for as we have seen above, in the Slaughtering time, much Flesh lies wast in the Fields, so that 'tis necessary to burn it, and throw it into Lakes and Rivers, to hinder its corrupting the Air. That which in other Parts is called a Calamity and Desolation of the Country, which is a Murrain among Cattel, in *Chile* is thought a necessary Purge of the too great Abundance of it. This may seem a Paradox, but yet is founded upon Experience; because the Cattel encreasing as it does, and the Land being so good, that it fattens them to a wonderful degree; (there being often taken out of one Cow a Hundred and fifty Pounds weight of Tallow, each Pound of Sixteen Ounces) there is enough to do to get a Vent for it. The

fame may be said of the Hides; for though *Peru*, where the best part of the Contumption is made, is so great, yet such is the Product of *Chile*, that it wants another *Peru* to consume it: For this reason 'tis a Gain to lose the Encrease of the Cattel; for then the Profit is more, with less Trouble, and cost of Servants. In the beginning of the Settlement in *Chile*, Don Antonio de Herrera says, That Horses were commonly sold for a Thousand Pieces of Eight a Horse; and Gareilasso says, That at first a Horse did not use to be sold in *Peru* at all, except upon the Death of the Owner, or upon his returning to *Spain*; and in that case they were sold for Four, Five, or Six Thousand Pieces of Eight a Horse: He says, he knew himself a Soldier who had an excellent Horse, and that a Negro going one day by with him in his Hand, a Gentleman who saw them sent to offer the Soldier Ten thousand Pieces of Eight for the Horse and Negro, which he refused with Contempt; but since that time Horses have multiplied so, that there being not People enough to feed and tend them, they are fallen extremely: The Cows too have encreased so as to cover the Fields; and 'tis a wonderful thing to see in those great Plains of *Tucuman* and *Buenos Aires* vast Herds of them feeding, without any other Master than the first that will take them, if he can.

I have seen in *Chile*, in the Territory of *Ovalle*. *St. Jago*, Horses all ready dress'd for War, sold for Two Crowns a piece, to supply the Army, and yet for Shape, Courage and good Qualities they yield to no *Neapolitan* Horse I ever saw; no, nor to the *Andalusians*, from whom they are descended; for they have had no reason to degenerate in so good a Land. The Cows too, which were at first out of all Price, I have seen sold for a Crown a piece, and the Calves for half a Crown; The Sheep, such as I have seen bought in Flocks for *Cuyo* and *Turman*, have been sold for Three Pence or Three half Pence a piece.

*Theodore* and *John de Brye* do mention some Author, who says, That Rats were likewise Strangers to *Chile*, and were carried thither by an *Antwerp* Ship that passed the Straights of *Magellan*: They must not mean the ordinary House-Rats and Mice, but those great ones which have a large Tail, and are about a Foot long; they are called *Pericotes*, and are very mischievous. This Ship without doubt took Port in some of those of *Chile*, where it left these Animals, so prejudicial and hard to destroy; for they resist the Cats, and 'tis a stout one that can kill them: But it is a wonderful thing to observe, that though in Sea-Towns the Magazines, Shops, and Warehouses, are full of them, yet they never go further into the Land, which they might easily do, by so much Carriage as the Commerce of those Parts requires: I believe the Air of the *Cordillera* does not agree with them, and so may have killed those which have been carried by chance with Goods; for I do not remember I ever saw one in *St. Jago*, nor in any Town far from the Sea-side.

Among the Animals that are proper to *Chile*, the first may be reckoned those which are called the Sheep of that Country; they are of the Shape of Camels, not so big, nor vast, and without the Bunch that Camels have; they are White, Black, Brown, and some are Ash-colour'd. The Authors above cited say, That anciently they served to Plow the Land in some Parts, before there were Oxen in it; nay, in the Relation of *George Spilberg* and his Fleet, 'tis said, the *Dutch* passing by the Island of *Mocha*, saw the *Indians* use them in that Work.

They are made use of at this time in some Parts for Carriage of Wine, Wheat, Maize, and other Provisions; and I remember to have seen them about Thirty Years ago serve to carry Water at *St. Jago* from the River to the Houses, for the

use of the Family; but now they are not at all employed there in this kind of Labour, there being such quantities of Mules and Asses for all that Service. These Sheep have their upper Lip slit, with which they do as it were spit at those who vex them; and the Children, who use to do it, when they see them ready to spit, run away; for they know, and 'tis a common Truth, that wherever their Spitting falls, it causes a Scab, and having a very long Neck, about Three Foot long, they use these Defensive Arms the better; their Wooll is extremely valued, for of it are woven Cloaks, or Mantles, so fine, that they look like Camelot: They govern them by a kind of Bridle, which they put through Holes in their Ears, and so by pulling the Reins, turn them which way they will. They kneel down to be loaded, and when the Loading is well fitted and fastened, they rise and carry it very gravely.

There are likewise natural to that Country a sort of little Rabbits, called by the *Indians* *Pegu's*, which they eat with much Pleasure: They are wild. The taking of them is very good Sport; for they carry Water in great Tubs to their Holes, and though they are very deep, and have secret Issues and Correspondencies with each other under Ground, to avoid being pursued by the Hunters, or their Dogs, yet the Water overcomes them, and while they flee from it, the *Indians* watch for them at their other Holes, and with their Dogs take them as they come out to avoid the Water.

There are another sort of little Rabbits which are like these, but they are tame, and the *Indians* call them *Cuyes*, which are also very good Meat: They are of pretty Colours, and spotted: They are very common every where.

The Squirrels are not so, and I do not know they are to be found any where in *Chile* but in the Valley of *Gusco*; they are Grey or Ash-colour, and their Skins are mightily valued for Furs, for their warmth, and fineness of the touch.

The Animals called *Guanaco's*, *Chamois's*, or *Wild Goats*, are very like these Country Sheep, as well in their Shape as Motions; but they are of a different Colour; for they are Red, of a clear Colour: They never can be tam'd, but go in Flocks feeding in the Fields; and 'tis as much as a very swift Horse can do to overtake them running, and if they have the least start of them, they seem to play with them; for by an easy Gallop, they make the Horse strain; in which they are much

*Pericotes,*  
a large  
sort of  
Rats.

*Sheep.*

*Small Tame Rabbits,*  
called  
*Cuyes.*

*Squirrels.*

*Wild Goats.*

much help'd by their long Legs, for by them they gain more Ground at every reach. Yet 'tis very easie to catch the young ones, or those who are not us'd to be Hunted, because being so tall, and their Bones, because of their youth, not well knit, they are easily tir'd; so that by following a Flock of them on Horseback with Dogs, (and they go Three or Four hundred in a Flock) the young ones are forc'd to lag behind, and some are kill'd by the Dogs, some are knock'd on the Head with a Stick by the Hunter. I have seen them bring thus Three or Four dead at a time; and this is not only a pleasant but a useful Sport, for the Flesh of these young ones is like Kids Flesh, and is eaten fresh; but that of the old ones is not so, but dry'd and smoak'd; 'tis the best of that Kind in the World.

The Bezoar Stone.

These Creatures breed, in a Bag they have under the Belly, the Bezoar Stones, which are so valued against Poison and Malignant Fevers, good to rejoice the Heart, and other admirable Effects: The Matter out of which they are made are Herbs of great Vertue, which these Animals eat to cure themselves of any thing they ail, and preserve themselves from the Poison of any Venomous Creature, as Serpents or Poisonous Plants, and other Accidents.

These Stones are found in the oldest Guanaco's, and the reason is, That their natural heat not being altogether so strong as the heat of the young ones, they cannot convert into their Substance all the Humour of the Herb they take to remedy their Indisposition; and so Nature has provided, that what remains may be deposited in that Bag, and be made a Stone to cure in Men the same Infirmities; according to this Notion one may observe, that the Stone is compos'd of several Coats, some thicker, and some thinner, according to the quantity of Matter that is gather'd together at each time, just as a Wax Candle is made by several Coats given it at several times to form its bigness.

'Tis likewise a thing well experienced, That in those Countreys where there are most Vipers, and other Poisonous Animals, these Stones are most plentiful; and the Cause is manifest, because these Animals, and the Dear Kind, do beat so much Ground for their Livelihood, they are more expos'd to Venomous Creatures, which when trod upon wound them sorely, and they run naturally to their Remedy in these Herbs; and as they do this more frequently in those Parts where they re-

ceive most Damage, by consequence there are more of these Stones engendered.

From hence it happens, that in those Parts of *Cuyo* there is a greater quantity of these Bezoar Stones to be had, than in that which we call properly *Chile*; for there are many Vipers and Poisonous Creatures, of which *Chile* is very free, as we have said; and yet there are taken some Stones here, but the greatest part come from *Cuyo*: To which likewise it is of some Consideration, that there are bred more Guanaco's and Stags then in *Chile*; for that Country being not so Populous, and having such vast Plains, these Animals have room enough for Food and for Encrease; but it is not so towards the Sea-side of *Chile*, for that being very Populous and full of Cattle and Flocks, there is no room for the Wild ones, except upon the Edges of the *Cordillera*, from whence they come down into the Plains sometimes.

The bigness of these Stones is in proportion to the Animal that breeds them; The most certain Rule is, that if they are little, there are many in the Bag, and fewer if large, and sometimes when very large there is but one. I carried with me to *Italy* one that weighed Thirty two Ounces, and yet that was not it which made it the most valuable, but its Vertues and Shape, for it was a perfect Oval as if it had been turn'd by a Turner: The *Indian* who found it had Seventy Pieces of Eight for it, because when a great Stone is found, it is not sold by weight, but according to the Estimation of the Owner, and the bigger the Dearer.

The Vertue of these Bezoar Stones is very well known and Experienced; and People of Quality take them, not only in the time of their Sickness, but also in Health, to preserve it: The way of using them is to put them whole into the Vessel that holds either the Wine or Water, or into the Glass out of which one drinks, and the longer they stay in, the more Vertue they communicate; but if a Person be not much Indisposed, there is no need of using them any other way, except if one should be attack'd by any Distemper of Consequence, and be Sick at Heart, or be affected with Melancholy Fits, it would have more Vertue to grate a little of the Stone to powder and drink it; Whatsoever way 'tis taken, it comforts the Heart, purifies the Blood, and the using of it is look'd upon as a Preservative against all Infirmities.

There

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There are also bred in the *Pampas*, or the Plains of *Cuyo*, many Hares, and one sort call'd *Chirichincho's*, whose Flesh tastes like that of Sucking Pigs; but the greatest Encreasers are the *Guanaco's* and the Deer. It has been said already, that in *Chile* there are but few, for the Reasons alledged; but there are great quantity of Wild Cows

and Wild Mares, which came at first from some which went a stray by the negligence of the Owners, and being once in those Mountains, they have encreased so wonderfully, that they are become a Game, and many go to kill them or take them for Profit.

## C H A P. XXII.

## Of the Trees Growing in Chile.

Amongst other Obligations which the Land of *America* has to *Spain*, one is the having enrich'd it with so many noble Plants, Trees and Seeds, which it wanted; for before the *Spaniards* Conquer'd it, there were not in all *America* either Vines, Fig-trees, Olive-trees, Apple-trees, Melicotoons, Peaches, Auberges, Quinces, Pears, Pomegranates, Cherries, Apricots, Plums, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, nor Almonds. As for Seeds, there was neither Wheat, Barly, nor Oats, Anis Seed, Coriander Seed, Cumin, nor Oreganum, Linseed, Flax, Pease, Beans, nor Cabbage, Lettice, Radishes, Cardoons, Chicory, or Indive, *Berenguena's*, Gourels, Melons, Cucumbers, Parsly, Garlick, or Onion. But instead of these Trees, Fruits and Plants, the Author of Nature had provided them with others of great use and good relish, such as Maize all over *America*. *Frijoles*, *Las Papas el Madi*, *Los Capillos*, and some others, are proper only to *Peru*, and the Land within the Tropicks; the *Camotes*, *Guayaba's*, *Mammyes*, *Plantano's*, *Zipitapotes*, *Anones*, *Nispero's*, *Aquacates*, *Pima's*, *Guanabana's*, *Papaya's*, *Pitabaya's*, and many others, which though highly commended, do not generally come up to the Relish of the *European* Fruits. And the Bread and Wine has been a singular addition to them, such as the *Indians* value more then all their Product, and particularly the Wine, which is their chief delight; as for Bread, they value it, but not so much.

Though *America* is oblig'd to *Europe* for all this addition, yet *Chile* much more, as having the greatest advantage by it, and with more plenty then any other part of that New World; for though all that we have nam'd of *European* Plants are to be found somewhere, yet not all every where; for in some there grows Corn, and not Wine, in others both those, and not Oyl; in others neither Corn, Wine, nor Oyl, but other Fruit Trees. The same thing

may be said of the Animals to eat; some have Beef, others Mutton, others Pork, which on the Continent is a Delicacy, and is given to the Sick; so that running over all *America*, we may find that this Communication of new Creatures has reach'd some Parts for one thing, and some for another. But as for the Kingdom of *Chile*, it may be said to have been totally oblig'd and enrich'd; for all the Trees, Seeds, Plants, all the Animals, &c. of *Europe*, are to be found there, and that almost in every part of it, for 'tis rare to see any thing take in one place, and not in another; but if it does, they may easily have it from their Neighbours, if it be not so good, or not at all with them.

In the Third Chapter of this Book we have already mentioned how all these *European* Fruits and Seeds take in *Chile*, but we can never enough dilate upon that Subject. It will hardly be believed by most People, particularly by those who never having been out of their own Country, are so in love with it, as not to imagine there can be any equal to it, much less exceed it; and we relating things so distant, of which we cannot bring Ocular Witnesses, we are the more liable to contradiction; but since we are Writing a History, we must speak the Truth as we know it, and it really is.

Some Trees do not exceed in bigness those of *Europe* of the same Kind, as Cherry Trees, Quince Trees, Almond, Peach, and Pomegranate Trees, Olive, Orange, Lemmon, and Citron Trees, Melicotoons, which last in *Tucuman* are nevertheless very large, and to that degree, that Three or Four Men sometimes cannot Embrace the Body of one of those Trees. I have seen some Apple Trees as big as Elm Trees; the Pear Trees are yet bigger, and much more the Mulberry Trees, and Walnut Trees, tho' as to their Fruit it is not so large as that of *Europe*, the Nuts having the Shell as thick again, and

and by consequence less Meat. This is, as to the Garden Trees brought from Europe.

As for the Trees natural to that Country, they are of Two sorts, the one is Fruit Trees, the other not; Of the first, I find only Three Kinds or Species of those which are likewise in Europe, which are the *Avellano's* or Hazel Nut, the Pine Tree, and the *Algarrobo's* or Cod Tree. Of those which are not properly Fruit Trees, there are the *Laurel*, the Oak, the Willow, the Cypress, which are in great abundance, and very large; out of these they have Boards very fit for Boxes and Trunks, which are no ways pieced, but of one Plank; The Doors and Coverings of the Churches are also of this Cypress Wood.

Cypress Tree.

These Trees grow most commonly in the Precipices of the *Cordillera*, which being very deep, the Cypressess are extream large and tall, for they shoot up till their tops can be warm'd by the Sunbeams, so that they are as straight as a Wax Candle, and of so fine a Smell and Perfume, that though it be so plentiful, it bears a good Price, and a greater in *Peru*, to which 'tis carried as well as the Cedar, which does not sell so well because there are more of them.

Cedar Tree.

These Cedar Trees are without comparison bigger, and have larger Heads than the Cypress Trees, and of one of them are made several Planks; but more of this when we come to speak of the Islands of *Chiloe*, for there they are larger than in any other Part. The colour of the Wood is red when it is first Work'd, but in time, and by degrees, it loses that lively colour, and comes to be of a kind of Walnut Tree colour; The Planks are of the fashion of Cedar Planks, not so subject to the Worm, but more easie to Work.

The Oak.

The Oak also yields very large Planks, for they thrive exceedingly, and grow very thick; some of them are white, and the Wood of them is corruptible; others are red, and incorruptible.

Paragua Tree.

The Planks from the *Paragua* Tree are the most in use, but less valuable. The Tree is a handsom branching Tree, keeping its Leaves green all the year: They are like Elms.

Cinnamon Tree.

The most common Wood of all, and that of which there is most plenty, which serves for the Covering of Houses and Roofs, is the Cinnamon Wood; these are very large Trees, of a beautiful Aspect; they keep their Leaves all the year, and are like that which in *Italy* they call the Laurel Royal. The *Guayac* Tree is bred

Guayac Tree.

in the Mountain or *Cordillera*, and from thence has its hardness and heaviness, which is such that it is like Iron; and the Balls made of it to Play at Billiards, are almost as hard as the Ivory ones; The Tree is no large Tree, and the Heart of the Wood is a yellow mixt with green; The Decoction of it is good for many Infirmities. The Sandal Tree is very Odoriferous; there are great quantities of them in the Islands which are nam'd from *Juan Fernandes*; 'tis a Preservative against the Plague, and is us'd by the Confessours and others who are bound to approach Infected People. There are other Trees and Shrubs of admirable Vertue for several Infirmities, of which the *Indians* have a particular Knowledge, and perform admirable Cures with them.

The Fruit Trees bred in the Mountains are many, and of great variety; let us first Treat of that which indeed carries the Palm, not only because of its Name, but that its Height, Beauty, and Abundance, and that of its most excellent Fruit, challenges the first place among all the rest.

They grow generally upon the Mountains, and in Precipices, so thick together, that seeing them at a distance, one would think they were a Clump set by Hand; they are very thick and high, all the Body of the Tree is naked till the top or first sprout; its nature is to lose all its old Branches as the new ones come out, by which means the Body of the Tree rising free, and disencumber'd from such Boughs as use in other Trees to grow out of the Sides of them, is totally employed in feeding the top, and the Fruit which grows within it, being as it were a Piramide round it, to preserve it by the admirable Texture of its Leaves and Branches which encompass it.

These Palm Trees have a wonderful Property, and most certain, which is, that none of them give their Fruit except they are in sight of each other; and if it happens that one comes up alone without a Companion, though it thrive to a great largeness, yet it never bears except another be planted by it, and this they call the Female; and as soon as the Female is planted, though never so little a one, yet the great one bears, and the second in its time, when it is big enough: I have seen the Experience of this, and 'tis a thing well known to all. The Fruit of these Trees is call'd *Coco's*, and is like Filberts, though bigger by half, and the Meat within the Shell is not solid, but hollow, and is round the Edge about the thickness of a Crown Piece; and in the rest

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rest of the hollow is a kind of Milk or Water, of an excellent relish, and so is the Flesh of it, which is white, and serves to preserve the Liquor like a Phiol, which stays in it till it be Imbib'd by the *Coco*, which happens in some Months, and then they are not so good to eat as when they are fresh; but then they are good to preserve, as Almonds are; and other Kernels of that nature.

*Antonio de Herrera*, and other Authors, say, that these *Coco's* are good against Poison; and Nature seems to set a value upon it by the many covers in which it is involv'd; first the Kernel is cover'd with a Shell harder than that of the Almond, then it has another cover of a green colour, and sometimes yellow, which is woven so close about it, and so strongly, that when it is green 'tis easier to break it than to peel it off. The Fruit grows close to a Stalk, which sometimes will have above a Thousand on it; and this is environ'd by a great Shell, which grows bigger and bigger with that bunch it contains, till at last the Fruit makes it burst and open into two parts, which are like two Boats, each of above half a yard long, and two spans diameter in the broadest place, and the bunch within all of a fine yellow, very beautiful to look on; it hangs on the Branches till it be ripe, and then falls to the Ground, where it is gather'd, and great provision is made of it for Peru; for besides their being made a Sweetmeat, the Children rid the Merchants of them for Play Things, it being one of their greatest Entertainments.

The Palm Trees which bear Dates do not seem to be natural to this Country, but brought from abroad, for I never saw them, as others, wild in the Fields, but only in Gardens.

*The Pengu.*

There are other Fruit Trees wild which come in the Fields, and are call'd *Pengu*, they have a red Fruit, something bigger and more oval than the Filberts; these the Indians eat boil'd with other Ingredients. There are also Trees call'd *Maguer*, which are very beautiful and cooling; the Leaves are admirable against a Burn; The Fruit is black like a Mirtle Berry, 'tis very well relish'd, having a deliciously agreeable; it blackens the Mouth and Hands when it is eaten, and for that reason the more Civiliz'd People do not use it so much. There are also Fruits of which the Indians make their fermented Liquors, whose Names and Properties I cannot call to mind; only I know there is great variety of them, and I can remember one call'd *Quech*; The

Fruit is very sweet and small, between red and yellow; of this they make a Drink extraordinary sweet; they make another Drink of that which they call *Ilugan*, and the Spaniards *Molle*; it is of the shape and colour like Pepper, the Tree on which they grow is but little, but a great bearer; This Drink is very agreeable, and covered even by the greatest Ladies. The most common Drink of the Indians is made of Maiz, which is the ordinary Bread and Sullenance of the Indians.

Let us end by the Tree call'd *Murtilla*, *The Murtilla.*

though if we believe the Authors who Treat of it, it deserves to be ranked in the first place: *Antonio de Herrera* speaks so well of this Tree in the Ninth Decade of his History of the *Indias*, Book the 9th, and Fol. 247. that I will relate only what he says, and that in his own Words, which are as follow. [There is a kind of Fruit of Trees that grow on the Mountains, which grow from 37 degrees upwards, and in those Countries 'tis a common Food, the *Neivides* call it *Uni*, and the *Castillans* *Murtilla*; it is red, and like a small Grape, something bigger than a *swain* *Pea*, its shape and colour is like the *Pomegranate* Grains, its smell and taste agreeable, and not unlike a Grape; it has little Grains like a Fig, which are almost imperceptible to the Tongue; its temperature is hot and dry; of this they make a Wine, which exceeds all other Liquors, even that of the East-India *Coco* or *Palm Tree*; neither *Cider*, *Mead*, nor *Beer*, nor all the other Drinks describ'd by *Andres de Laquuna*, are to be prefer'd to it. This Wine is clear, fine, warm, and very agreeable to the taste, as well as profitable to the Stomach; it consumes all Vapours in the Head, its heat warming the Ears without going any further; it comforts and cherishes the Stomach, increases Appetite, and never takes it away; it never offends the Head, or makes it heavy, or burthens the Stomach; and it bears as much Water again as Wine will do. Those who have tasted it, commend its colour and flavour as much as that of Grapes; its colour is golden, and mighty bright, and it is as sweet and good as the Wine of *Ciudad Real*. There is little of it made, and so it lasts but eight Months, for which reason 'tis not known how many years it would keep; it takes up as much labour and care as Wine in the making; If it be left to its self and without Fire, 'tis forty days before it ferments; it casts down a Lee, and works out the frothy part at the top of the Vessel, and for that reason care is taken to scum it as it boils, and then 'tis drawn off into another Vessel. When 'tis turn'd to Vinegar, its Vinegar has a better taste and colour than Wine Vinegar,

Ant. de  
Herrera

*Vinegar, for it retains the colour of the Fruit, which is very odoriferous and sweet.*] Thus far this Author; from whence it may be inferr'd, that this Land had good Wine of its own; and it had also very good Oyl made of a Seed call'd *Madi*, it is extremely well relish'd, but now 'tis not much in use, because that of Olives is so common.

It is not possible to describe particularly one by one all the various sorts of Trees that are bred in the Woods and Mountains of *Chile*, and it would take up a very large Treatise, which is not my purpose; yet when we come to Treat of the *Streights of Magellan*, we will speak of the Cinnamon Tree which is to be found there, and of the Barks of some other Trees of that Soil, which have the same taste as the *East-India Pepper*. All

that I can say at present is that there are few of these Trees that lose their Leaves in Winter, particularly those which grow wild in the Woods, which are generally Aromotick, and of a very fragrant smell; and of them all the finest of this Kind are bred in the Territory of the *Concepcion*. I would not have believed it, if I had not seen it; for in Travelling I met with lovely Groves, which border'd the Highways, and cast out so rich a smell from their Leaves, that the Flowers of *Jasmin* did not appear sweeter. There are also abundance of *Mirtles* and *Laurels* which grow in great Groves naturally, and yet among them there are Trees whose Leaves exceed them infinitely in the perfume of their smell; insomuch that passing ones Hand over them, one would think one had Amber Gloves on.

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# The Second Book.

## TREATING Of the Second and Third Part OF THE KINGDOM OF CHILE.

### CHAP. I.

#### *Of the Islands of the Kingdom of Chile.*

*Orvalle.*  
1546. **H**AVING, for the better Description of the Kingdom of *Chile*, divided it into Three Parts, we have treated of the First and Principal one, which is that which is properly called *Chile*, in which many Things are said which are common to all the Three Parts; therefore in these Two which remain we shall take notice of that only which shall be peculiar to them, to avoid Repetition.

*Islands.*

We come now to the Second Part, which are, the Islands which are spread all along the Coast of the South Sea as far as the Streights of *Magellan*. I say, they are many in number, and some of them very large ones; as that of *Santa Maria*, *La Mocha*, *Juan Fernandez*, and, above all, that of *Chiloe*, in which is founded the City of *Castro*: Some make this Islands 50, some 70 Leagues in length, and about six or seven Leagues in breadth. In the same Sea, or *Archipelago*, there are many more, some of 10 Leagues, and others less, and in all, reckoning those

that are within the Streights of *Magellan*, there are above 200 discovered.

Just over against *Cogumbo* there are three, which are called *del Soboral*, *de Muxillones*, and *de los Paxaros*, in 30 Degrees Latitude; two more in 33 and 40 Degrees: There are eight small ones just over against *Val Paraiso*, which are called the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*; who dying left them to the *Jesuites*. Then follows the Island *Quiriquina*, which is in the Bay of the *Conception*: Just over against *Arauco* is the Island of *Santa Maria*, in the 37th Degree; and in 38 that of *La Mocha*. Hard by *Valdivia*, about 43 Degrees, comes the Archipelago of *Chiloe*, which is composed of 40 Islands; and hard by it is the Province of *Calbuco*, in which there are 12 more: Those of *Los Chonos* are as many, in 45 Degrees; and in 50 Degrees are the 80 Islands discovered by *Pedro Sarmiento*; as shall be related hereafter.

The Islands of *Chiloe* are reputed barren, but their Soil is not really so, only *Chiloe* the

*Del Soboral, de Muxillones, de los Paxaros, and many others.*

the excessive Rains choak the Seed, and do not let the Corn thrive; so that they are without Wheat, Wine, or Oil, or any other Plants which need much Sun. The Nature of the Climate of this Archipelago is such, that it Rains almost all the year, so that only Maiz, or other such Grains, can ripen, that do not want so much Sun. The Nourishment, or Diet of the Natives, is mostly of a Root called *Papa*, well known over all the *West-Indies*, of a good Nourishment, and they grow there bigger than in any other Place: They have besides some Maiz, some Fish, and particularly Shell-Fish, which is excellent in those Seas. They have few Sheep, but very good Poultry, as well as Hogs, and some Beef; with which, and what besides is brought to them from *St. Figo* and the *Conception*, the *Spaniards*, both of the Garrison and City of *Castro*, make a good Shift. This City is the Capital of the Chief Island, in which, and in the rest, there is great quantity of Honey and Wax made; and *Herrera* and other Historians say, There are Mines of Gold upon the Shore, and they remark it as an extraordinary thing, and hardly heard of in any other Place.

Manu-  
facture of the  
Islands.

The Manufactures of these Islands are the Cloathing for the *Indians*, who have a kind of Velt which they call *Macum*, and it is without Sleeves, because their Arras are naked; and over this they put a Garment called *Choni*, which serves for a Cloak, and is like that which Painters give to the Apostles in their Pictures. They have another Commodity from their Woods, particularly of the Plank they make of a Tree, which is a Cedar, and of which they have vast Woods, and in them Trees of a prodigious size; for *Frier Gregory* of *Leon*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, in his Map of *Chile*, which he Dedicates to the President *Don Louis Fernandes de Cordova*, *Senior del Carpio*, says, That some of these Trees are so big, that they cannot be hardly encompassed by a Rope of six Yards long; and out of the Wood of the Boughs there has been made 600 Planks, of 25 Foot long, and two Foot broad; and that which is considerable is, that this Plank is not sawed, but cut with Axes; in which there is much more Loss: This Author deserves Belief, as well from the Experience of 42 years that he lived in *Chile*, as from having been Definitor of his Order: And what I have heard from the Mouth of a Colonel, who was both born and bred in that Country, will serve to confirm this; which is, That if two Men on Horseback are on each side of

the Tree when it lies along, they cannot see one another; for the Body of the Trunk hinders them. These Planks are carried to *Chile* and *Peru*, and in Exchange they bring back Provisions to live on. The Islands of *Chono* are yet poorer than these; because, that being nearer the Pole, their Summer is shorter, and their Rains more copious, inasmuch that they drown the Earth, and hinder it from producing.

We have little Knowledge of any other Islands besides these of *Chilo*; because the Continent being so large, and yet not thoroughly Peopled, there has been little occasion of Inhabiting any more than some few of the Islands; by which means there is but small Discovery made of their Qualities; though 'tis reasonable to think they resemble the Land over against which they lie.

As for the Islands of *Juan Fernandes*, *Visit* of I will relate what I find writ about them *Juan Fer-*  
*in Theodore* and *John de Byre*, in their Re-  
*lation of the Voyage of John Scutten*:  
They say then, That these two Islands are very high Land; the least of the two, which is the Westernmost, appeared to them barren, as being covered with Wood, and very Mountainous; though not Landing on it, they could make no Judgment of the inside of the Island. The bigger Island, which is the Easternmost, is likewise Mountainous, but has great Variety of Trees, and much Grass, with which are fed great Herds of Swine and Goats, bred from some few which were put on Shore by *John Fernandes*, who began to Cultivate these Islands as his own; but he dying, and the *Spaniards* finding greater Advantages upon the Continent, they forsook those Islands, which were out of all Trade, leaving their Stocks of Cattel behind them, which now are infinitely multiplied.

They say besides, That coming to this, *Fine* which they call the *Fine Island*, they found a Port very safe for their Ships, having 20 or 30 Fathom depth; the Shore all Sandy and even, with a delicate Valley full of Trees of all sorts, and Wild-Boars, and other Animals feeding in it; but they could not distinguish them, by reason of the distance they were at. They extol particularly a most Beautiful Fountain, which coming down from high Rocks, rowls into the Sea by different Canals, which form a pleasant Prospect, and its Water is very sweet and agreeable: They saw also great Store of Seals, and other Fish, which they caught in great Plenty. In short, they were so in love with

Ovalle.  
1646.

Visit of  
Chono

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*Ovalle.*  
1646. with this Island, for the good Qualities they discovered even at its Entrance, that they were very unwilling to leave it, tho pressed in point of time.

I do not doubt but this is a very pleasant Situation; for in its Temperature, and other Properties, it must be very like *Val Paraiso* and *St. Jago*, because 'tis almost in the same Degree West; and without doubt these Islands will be Peopled in time, when the Continent grows Populous; as it does every day; for then People will be seeking new Habitations; but at present they only go thither sometimes to Fish, to send it to *Peru*, where they have it not so Plentifully.

The same Authors, giving an Account of the other *Dutch* Squadron under *George Spilberg*, say, That they came to the Island of *Mocha*, and found the North-side of it plain and low, but the South full of Rocks: They Landed; and the good Reception they found from the *Indians* is an Argument of the Fertility of the Place. Those *Indians* are a Noble sort of People, and very good Natur'd. When they had Refreshed themselves much at their Ease, they made Provision of great Store of Sheep, who are very large, and in great plenty there; as likewise of Hen's, Eggs, Fruit, and other Provisions. They Treated the *Indians* on Board, and shewed them their Great Guns, and their Men in Order for Fighting: They presented them also with *European* Commodities; such as Hats, Clothes, Axes, and Things which they valued. After this they set them again on Shore, and the *Indians* made Signs to them to go back to their Ships; as they did.

But they were very differently received in the Island of *Santa Maria*, where the Vice-Admiral Landed with some of his Men, and were invited by the *Indians* to

Eat; but from the Ships they saw a great Army coming down upon them, as they were going to sit down to Table; whereupon they made Signs to them to retreat to the Port; which they did, and had just time to Embark; but they likewise carried off about 500 Sheep, and other Refreshments, having found the Island very Fertile, and well provided, as well as very Temperate; being about 13 Leagues South-West from the City of the *Conception*, about 37 Degrees, and not above three Leagues from *Arauco*; which makes some think, that formerly this Island was fastened to the Main Land, and that the Sea had in length of time made the Division, which now forms the Bay of *Arauco*.

There is little to be said that is particular of all the other Islands to the Straights of *Magellan*, since it has not pleased God to let them be Peopled by *Spaniards*, and so give an Entrance to the Gospel; by which means the Product and Nature of them might be known; and many Souls saved which Inhabit them.

All that we know now of them, is, That in the Voyage of *Pedro de Carmiento* to *Spain*, being sent by the Vice-Roy to *Chastile Franco Drake*, for his Boldness for Infesting those Coasts; in his way, on this side the Straights of *Magellan*, he discovered a great Archipelago of Islands, which they told to the number of 80, which he named by several Names, and took Possession of them in the Name of his King. He also discovered more Islands in 51 Degrees, to which he did the same. 'Tis known likewise, That in the Straights themselves there are many Islands, some of which we shall mention when we treat of the Straights of *Magellan*.

## CH A P. II.

### Of the Land called *Tierra del Fuego*.

THE Land called *Tierra del Fuego*, (so Famous in the Relations and Maps we have of the Straights of *Magellan*) has deceived many by its Name; People believing that it had been given it for some *Volcano's*, or Burning Mountains, or other Subterraneous Fires; but it is not so; for this Name had no other occasion, than that the first Navigators through the Straights discovered upon it many Fires and great Smoaks, made as they supposed

by the numerous Smoaks of it; and so they called it the Land of Fire. There arose likewise another Mistake from its great Extent; for it was judged to be a great Continent, of which in time the World was undeceived, as we shall see hereafter.

This Land, called *Tierra del Fuego*, is that which forms the South-side of the Straights of *Magellan*, extending its self del Fuego the whole Length of the Straights East go.  
and

and West, above One hundred and thirty Leagues. Formerly, before the Streights of *St. Vincent*, otherwise call'd the Streights of *Le Maire*, were discover'd, this Land was thought to be joined to some other great Continent of the *Terra Australis*, which was suppos'd to join to *New Guinea*, or the Islands of *Solomon*; and *Ortelius* in his *Geography*, is of this Opinion; but upon the discovery of the other Streights of *St. Vincent*, that Doubt has been clear'd, several having gone through them to the South Sea; and among the rest, Two Caravels set out by the King's Command, in the year 1618. on purpose to view these Streights, which it was said had been discover'd by *James Le Maire*, which Caravels were Commanded by *Don Juan de More*.

1618. These Two Vessels set out from *Lisbonne* in the Month of *October* 1618. and being come to the East Entrance of the Streights of *Magellan*, they run along all that Coast without finding any Entrance, till they came to that of *Le Maire*, which they went through in less than one day's time; after which they turn'd to the South, and afterwards to the West, they went round all the *Tierra del Fuego*, and sailing North, came to the West Entrance of the Streights of *Magellan*, into which they enter'd, and sail'd through them to the North Sea. Having thus made a Circle clean round the *Tierra del Fuego*, they proved it demonstratively to be an Island separate from all other Land. The same was done by *Sir Richard Hawkins*, an English Gentleman, who having pass'd the Strait of *Le Maire*, sail'd for Five and forty days to the South, without finding any Land contiguous to the *Tierra del Fuego*, but many Islands, as is related by *Antonio de Herrera*, Chap. 27. of the Description of the *West India's*. The same has been confirm'd by several, who being driven by Storms from their intended Course, have been forc'd to run towards the South Pole: amongst the rest by *Francis Drake*, who having pass'd the Streights of *Magellan* the 6th of *September* 1572. and being got on the 7th a Degree from the Streights, was carried by a Storm Two hundred Leagues to the South; and coming to an Anchor in some of those Islands, he there found that the Sun being Eight Degrees from the Tropic of *Capricorn*, the days were so long, that there was not above Two hours night, from whence he inferr'd, that under the Tropic there must be a perpetual day of 24 hours; the same was Experimented about Two year ago by the Fleet of Ge-

neral *Henry Burn*, which having pass'd the Streights in *April*, were by the force of ill Weather carried into Seventy two Degrees, and cast Anchor at the Island of *St. Bernard*, to which they gave the Name of *Burnevelt*; and it being about the entrance of *Winter*, the days were not above Three hours long, so that they expected they would still shorten till *June*, when the Sun being furthest off from that Hemisphere, would leave them in a total night; for this Reason, and because of the Hardness of the Weather, which encreas'd every day, they durst not *Winter* in that Island, as they had a mind, but after a Fort-nights stay in it weigh'd Anchor, and sail'd for *Chile*. In which Voyage they made but little advance, having always the Wind ahead, inasmuch that they were a whole Month Doubling one Cape, and lost in the Endeavour their *Tender*; in which was the best part of their Provision.

So much for the Islands belonging to the Coast of *Chile*; but having also mention'd the Islands of *Solomon* and *New Guinea*, to which antiently it was thought that the Land of *Tierra del Fuego* was join'd, it will be well to say something of them.

The Author who writes the best of them, is *Antonio de Herrera*, and from him is taken what *John* and *Theodore de Brye* say of them; which is thus.

The Islands of *New Guinea* run from something more than One Degree South *Islands of New Guinea* of the Pole *Antarick*, Three hundred Leagues East to the Fifth or Sixth Degree; according to which reckoning, they fall about the West of *Paita*. The Islands of *Solomon* fall to the West of *Peru* about *Solomon*. Eight hundred Leagues from its Coast, and extend themselves between the Seventh and Twelfth Degree: They are distant from *Lima* about Fifteen hundred Leagues; they are many, of a good Size; There are Eighteen Principal ones, which are some Three hundred, some Two hundred, some One hundred, some Fifty Leagues, and less in Compass. Between them and *Peru*, inclining to the Land of *Chile*, there is another Island call'd the Island of *St. Paul*, about the Latitude of Fifteen Degrees, and about Seven hundred Leagues *St. Paul* from the *Terra Firma*.

The Fleet of *William Scouter* having run along the Coast of *Chile* in the year 1615 or 1616. from the Streights of *Magellan*, took their Course to the West, when they were about the Latitude of Eighteen Degrees, to try to find out some new Island, and found one in Fifteen Degrees; which according to their Computation,

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tation, was distant from the Coasts of *Ovalle*. Peru about Nine hundred Leagues: After this, they discover'd Two more, which they call'd the *Coco* Islands, by reason of the great plenty of that Fruit that was there; That the Inhabitants did use to drink the sweet Liquor that was bred within the *Coco's*, but when it was at an end, they made a Shift with Salt Water; to which being accustom'd from their Youth, it did not hurt them. They say more, That the Inhabitants go Naked, though not quite; and that their way of being Civil and Saluting, is to give themselves Blows upon their Temples, which is the same as with us the pulling off the Hat or Cap. At first they laughed at the Fire Arms, till they saw one fall much wounded, which undeceiv'd them, and

convinced them that it was not only noise which proceeded from those Arms. These Islands are distant from Peru 1510 German Leagues; which are longer than the Spanish Leagues, though not so long as the Indian ones. There were found also other Islands in the Latitude of Twenty nine Degrees, which perhaps were those which at first they call'd the Islands of *Solomon*: Others say, that there are others more to the West opposite to *Chile*. Whosoever is Curious enough to know the Particulars of all those Islands, their Temperature, Inhabitants, their good and ill Qualities, may find them in the above cited Authors, who Treat of them more at large; for my Intention, 'tis enough to say what I have reported.

## C H A P. III.

## Of the Two Streights of Magellan and St. Vincent.

THE Streight of *Magellan* receiv'd its Name from that Man, who Eternized his own, by being the first who discover'd and pass'd it. This was that famous Portuguese Captain *Hernando de Magellanes*, whose Intrepid Soul going almost beyond the true limits of all ordinary Valour, seems to have border'd upon temerity and rashness, by engaging himself to discover a Passage altogether unknown, and so narrow that it was very dangerous for Ships; being besides in the 54th Degree, which makes it very cold. This bold Captain begun to enter the Streight by the North Sea the 27th of November of the year 1520. and in Twenty days, which was a happy Passage, he enter'd the South Sea; from thence he sail'd to the *Philippine* Islands, where he was kill'd in one of those Islands call'd *Mutan*, to which he went from another call'd *Pezabu*, to fight against the King of the first, because he refus'd to subject himself to one of those Kings who had turn'd Christian; engaging him with more Courage than Conduct: And so he peris'd by the great number of his Adversaries. His Death was very much lamented, and he much mis'd in the Discoveries of that New World; for without doubt, if he had lived longer, he would have made great Discoveries in the *Terra Firma* and Islands.

To give a more certain Account of this Streight of *Magellan*, I will make use of the Memoirs of those who have pass'd

it, and left Relations of it, who as Eye Witnesses, were less subject to mistake. And first I will give those Sworn Relations given in *Castilla*, by those who set sail from the *Coruna* by the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth's Order, in Six Ships, under the Command of *Fray Garcia Jofre de Loaysa*, a Knight of *Malibha*, and born at *Ciudad Real*.

They say in their Report, That the said Streight is a Hundred Leagues in length, from the Cape of the *Flevoen Thoulant Virgin*, which is at the Entrance of the North Sea, to the Cape of *Difire*, which is at the Entrance of the South Sea; and they say more, that they found in the Streight Three great Bays of about Seven Leagues wide from Land to Land, but the Entrances of them are not much more than half a League over; the first is about a League deep; the second about two Leagues; the third, they say, is encompass'd with Mountains of such a height, that they seem to be in competition with the Stars, and the Sun does not enter within them in the whole year; which was the cause of their enduring there an extreme Cold, for it Snows almost continually, and the Snow never melting by the Sun Beams, it looked with a kind of bluish colour. They say moreover, that the Nights were Twenty hours long; they met with good Water, and Trees of several sorts, among which many Cinnamon Trees; and that the Leaves and Boughs of the Trees, though they appear'd

appear'd green, yet burnt in the Fire as if they were dry; That they found many good Fishing Places, and saw many Whales, (some Mermaids) many of the Tunny Fish, Sharks, Cods, great Store of Pilchards and Anchovies, very great Oysters, and other Shell Fish. That there were also very good Harbours with Fifteen fathom Water; and in the Streights it self above Five hundred fathom, and now where are there any Sands or Shoals. They observ'd several pleasant Rivers and Streams; and saw that the Tides of both Seas came each of them above Fifty Leagues up the Streight, and meet about the middle of it with a prodigious Noise and formidable Shock; though a Portuguese Captain, who had pass'd this Streight, told me, that these Tides were only some high Floods which last a Month or thereabouts, as the Winds blow, which makes the Sea sometimes rise to a great height, and at other times fall as much, leaving the Shore dry for a great way; and the Ebbling is sometimes so fast, that Ships are left dry; as this Captain's Ship was, so that he was forc'd to dig his way out to get into deeper Water. They found several other Entrances in this Streight, but for want of Provision they could not stay to search them: They lost one Ship off the *Virgin's Cape*; and they had scarce enter'd the streights, when a Storm blew them back to the River of *St. Ildesfonso*, and to the Port of *Sancta Croce*, where they found Serpents of various colours, and Stones that were good for stanching of Blood; all this may be seen in *Antonio de Herrera*, in the Second Tome, *Decad. 3.* and the Ninth Book, *Fol. 335.* and it does not disagree with the other Relation of *Magellan's Voyage*, though this makes the straightest part yet less, allowing it not above a Musquet shot over, and from one Entrance to another it reckons a Hundred Leagues; the Land on both sides being very rich and beautiful.

This is in short the Relation given in to the King. There are some other Authors, who neither make the Streight so long, nor do they make the narrowest part so straight; for some allow but Four score and ten Leagues, or less, to its length; but yet 'tis probable that the first give the most Credible Account, because they Examind it with such Care and Punctuality, in order to inform his Majesty; All agree in one thing, which is, in the good Qualities of the Sea, Land and Islands of the Streight, as well as of the Shore on both sides, and of the good Parts that are in it, and of some particularly so secure, that the Ships rid in them without being fastened, being as safe as if they had been in a Box.

Among the rest the *Hollanders* celebrate much the 25th Port, call'd the *Famous*; and it is so much so, that *George Stenberg*, their General, gave it that Name, for the Excellent Reception they found there: They saw the whole Earth about cover'd with various Fruits of various colours, and of excellent taste; To delight them the more, there was a fine Brook of excellent Water that fell from a high Rock, and Water'd all the Valley entering into the Port; and besides these Five and twenty Ports or Harbours, there were many others in the remaining part of the Streight, which might be a Third of it, all which were very remarkable.

There is a Harbour call'd *De la Pintien-Harbour*, or the *Pepper Harbour*, for the sake of *De la Pintien* some Trees they found in it, whose Barks had a most aromattick smell, and a taste of Pepper; something more burning and quick than that of the *East-India's*. When the *Nodales* pass'd this way, they gather'd a great deal of this Bark; and Authors say, that when they brought it to *S-vill*, it was so valued there, that it was sold for Sixteen Ryals or Two Crowns a Pound.

The same Authors report, that they found Cinnamon Trees, which bore good Cinnamon; and in the Second narrow Passage some others, that bear a sort of black Fruit, of most excellent taste and favour. In other Places they saw most beautiful Woods and Groves, pleasant Plains, agreeable Valleys, and Intervals of great Beauty, with high Mountains, some cover'd with Snow, from whence there descended lovely Streams; others all Cloath'd with Greens of various sorts, and in them they descried many Animals going to and fro, such as Deer, Ostriches, and others, as also great variety of most beautiful Birds of all Colours; and among the rest they kill'd one so large, that measuring one of its Wings, they found it above a yard long; and they were so tame that they flew to the Ships, and suffer'd themselves to be handled: They found also another sort of large Birds, which they call'd Sea Geese, every one of which, after they had been plumb'd and pull'd, weigh'd Eight Pounds of *Castile*; and they were so numerous, that the Ground was cover'd with them; so that they kill'd what quantities they pleas'd. They saw another sort of Bird, much of the shape of a Pidgeon, all white, only with red Bills, and red Feet; all which were a great Entertainment to them as they sail'd along. They commend also the Harbour which they call most *Beautiful*, where the City of *St. Philip* was founded;

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founded; there they saw the Traces of several Animals, which us'd to come to drink in those Chrystal Fountains. After the Third Streight place, there is to be seen a most excellent Harbour, call'd the *Shell-Harbour*, by reason of the vast quantity of Oysters and other Shellfish that they found there, which sufficed to feed the whole Fleet several days, carrying away with them a good Provision likewise for their Voyage; all owning that they were better than those of *Europe*.

There are found in the great Canal of the Streight several Islands, which are as Estimable as the *Terra Firma*; they are generally in the widest part, where the Sea is, Seven or Eight Leagues over; the Chief are those of *St. Lawrence* and *St. Stephen*, otherwise call'd the Island of *Barnevelt*. Before they came to these, they found other Islands which they call'd the

*Isles of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen.*  
*Penguin Islands.*  
*Holy King's Island.*

*Penguin Islands*, for the great quantity of that sort of Birds that are bred there. There is another call'd the *Holy King's Island*, which is in a River which enters into the Streights, and they saw in it many Seals. Others of these Islands are nam'd

*Isles of Sevaldo.*

*Sevaldo*, from the Name of him that discover'd them, near which there were store of the Penguin Birds, and abundance of Whales. After having pass'd the Second Streight, there are still more Islands, the first is call'd the *Angels*, and is full of the Birds we have mentioned. The Second is nam'd the Island of the *Patagoons* or *Gyants*, because they saw there some of them. Near the Shell Port there are other Eight Islands; and a little before the Entrance into the South Sea, there are several other Islands, which must be very little, for the Streights are there very narrow. Some may desire to know, whether, besides this Entrance of the Streight of *Magellan*, there are any other, by which Ships may sail from the North Sea to the South; touching which, the Relation of *George Spilberg* says, That there is

*Isles of Angels.*

*Isles of Patagoons, and several others.*

one by the Cape, which they call'd *Prouvaert*. Some *English* likewise, who have sail'd that way, are of the same Opinion, for which they cite *Father Acosta* of our Society, in his *Oriental History*, Translated by *John Hugh Lincolt*, Chap. 10. in the end; as may be seen in the already cited *John and Theodore de Brye*, who add, that many other Authors do agree in this Opinion, and that those of *Spilberg's* Fleet, before they came to the Streight, saw this Opening on the North side, but they did not dare to go into it, because they had Express Orders to pass the Streight of *Magellan*; and besides, that which added to this Resolution, was the Observation they made of the great force with which the Waves met each other at this Opening, in so much that the Sea seem'd to boil.

This is all that I have met with in Authors about this Opinion; which even *John and Theodore de Brye* look upon as false, because neither the *Spaniards* nor *Dutch* ever saw this Second Canal; but rather that the whole Land of *Fuego* is one great continued Island, which they prove by the Relation of the Navigation made by the *Nodales*, who were sent to search for the Streight of *St. Vincent*, and who went round the *Tierra del Fuego* without finding any such Opening, or any other than that of *Magellan* and *St. Vincent*; and yet I am of another Opinion, and hold the first for certain; and this does not contradict the Opinion of *Spilberg*, who does not say, that the Opening he saw was on the South, but on the North side towards the Land of *Chile*; and so, though the Land of *Fuego* be an Island, it does not follow that there may not be an Entrance on the North side: But let us leave that to time to make out, and say something of the Streight of *St. Vincent*, which is the Second Passage from the North to the South Sea.

#### CHAP. IV.

*The same Matter is continued, and the Usefulness of the Commerce between Chile and the Philippine Islands is made out.*

1619: IN the year 1619. the King sent, in the Month of *October*, the Two Caravels which I mention'd above, to search the Streight of *St. Vincent*, because about that time it was reported in *Spain*, that *James Le Maire* had discover'd it. These Two Ships sail'd to the Bay of *St. Gregory*,

which is near the East Entrance of the Streight of *Magellan*, from whence they sail'd along all that Coast, where they saw and convers'd with a sort of *Gyants* who were at least the Head higher than any of the *Europeans*, and they Exchang'd for *Cizers* and other Baubles, Gold, which it seems

seems is the Product of that Country; after which they sail'd Southwest round the *Tierra del Fuego*, till they came to the mouth of this new Streight, which they call'd the Streight of *St. Vincent*; and before they enter'd it, they sail'd along the Shore of this new discover'd Land, keeping it always on their Right Hand, their Course East North East as it tends.

They sail'd about Thirty Leagues, and not having discover'd, all that way, nor as far as they could see, any Opening or Inlet, they returned to the Opening of the Streight of *St. Vincent*, and entering into it, went through it in less than one day, it not being above Seven Leagues in length; and being enter'd afterwards into the South Sea, they followed the same Land to the East, and Southwest, Thirty Leagues more; and seeing it was one continued Coast, closed up with Mountains of great height, they durst not go any further, beginning to want Provisions; and so thinking that this Land might reach as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, they left it, and sail'd to the West Entrance of the Streight of *Mageham*, which they enter'd, and went thorough to the North Sea, returning that way to *Spain*, to give an account of what they had discover'd; having made a very fortunate Voyage, and not lost one Man, nor had any Sickness, all that Climate being very like that of *Europe*, and particularly to the Cold part of it: This made the King give Order for the setting out of Eight Sail more, to carry this way to the *Philippine* Islands all the Relief necessary, of Soldiers, Artillery, and Tackling for Ships; resolving henceforward that they should always go this way, as being shorter, easier, and of less Charge and Danger. This was the Opinion of *Michael de Cardoel*, and the other Pilots chosen for this Expedition, who oblig'd themselves to sail to the *Philippines* (bating extraordinary Accidents) in Eight or Nine Months; for having once pass'd the Streights, if they had the Wind and Currents favourable, they hoped to get to the *Philippines* in Two Months; because from *Chile* to those Islands, there is no reason, as in other Navigations, to wait for certain Seasons and Times of the year, for all that Voyage being to be made within the Tropicks, there is no danger of Winter, but one may fail it at any time of the year.

The *Dutch* Authors already cited, treating of this Subject, add these Words: "In truth this is a great conveniency to Mankind, to be able to go from *Europe* to these Islands in so short a time, with

all the Health and Safety of the Sailors, it being otherwise in going by the Cape of *Good Hope*, where the diversity of Winds is to be observ'd; some of them being so contrary as to hinder absolutely the Voyage, so that it lasts sometimes Fifteen or Sixteen Months. Besides, this Course is so subject to Diseases, that often they bury half their Men in the Sea; as happened to *Girard Reinß*, who was Sixteen Months getting to *Bantam*, which is not above half way to the *Philippines*, and yet lost a quarter of his Men: *Adrian Weuter* was Nineteen Months getting to *Bantam*, and lost out of the Ship call'd the *Flessingue*, One hundred and sixty three out of Two hundred; The same happened to the other Three Ships of that Squadron.] Thus far these *Dutch* Authors. Who add, That the Ship *Concordia* going the other way, arriv'd at the *Molucca's* without loosing a Man; and if they say true, and make out that it is better to sail this way to their *Batavia*, how much better is it for the *Spaniards*, who drive a Trade with *Peru* and *Chile*, the distance being much less, and having for Friends all the Ports of *Chile*, if they won't go so high as *Peru*, which the *Dutch* have not: Neither would it be a small Advantage to exchange in those Ports the Merchandises of *Europe* with their Product, which is so wanting in the *Philippine* Islands, and all those Parts of the East: Every one may find their Account in this Trade; the *Spaniards* without running the danger of Sickness in those unhealthy Climates of *Quartagena*, *Panama*, and *Puerto Bello*, might find as much vent for the *European* Commodities; *Chile* and *Peru* would have all Goods from *Spain*, much cheaper than they have them now by the *Terra Firma*; the Charges then would be three times less, and at the same time they would help off the Product of those Parts; as from *Peru* they might load Corn, Wine, and Oyl; and if they did not care to go so far, they might have the same things from *Chile*, and cheaper; besides Copper, Hides, Almonds, and other Commodities proper to *Europe*: so that 'tis clear, this would be a very advantageous Intercourse for the *Philippines*, who want all these Commodities so much.

Neither would the Trade of *New Spain* receive any damage at all from this; for those Countreys could not have them from *Peru* and *Chile* so easily as from *Europe*, and so *Spain* would tend less only so much as is carried to the *Philippines* from *New Spain*, which cannot be much, for the Charge of carrying those *European*

Orville.  
1646.

Ovalle.  
1646.

modities from *Vera Cruz*, to be Embark'd again for the *Philippines*, is very considerable, it being at least One hundred and sixty Leagues by Land from the *Vera Cruz* to *Acapulco*, which is the Port where they are to be Embark'd; after which they have a Navigation of Three Months; and then there being not always Conveniences of Shipping in *Acapulco*, those Commodities are kept so long that they are spoil'd; and 'tis seen by Experience how little of this Trade turns to account: But it would be otherwise if these Commodities were carried from *Chile*, since in Two or Three Months, always in a Temperate Climate, they might sail with a constant South Wind, which blows all the Summer infallibly, and so bring the Product of *Chile* in a good condition to the *Philippines*. This Commerce, though it would accommodate all Parties, yet it must be confess'd it would be most beneficial to *Chile*, which would thereby have more vent for its Product, and acquire more People to cultivate its natural Fertility.

There has been Two Obstacles to this Project, which have hindred its taking. The first is, the difficulty of passing the Streight of *Magellan*, because it being so much elevated towards the Pole, it cannot be pass'd, but in certain Months of the year, which if those who attempt it do not hit, they are in danger of perishing; as in effect it has happened to some Squadrons of Ships, as I shall relate in the next Chapter; though others have pass'd it very luckily in its proper Season; the Streight it self having, as we have seen, many good Harbours and Shelters for Ships.

The second Obstacle is the same that keeps the Port of *Buenos Aires* from being frequented, (for else all the Treasure of *Peru* might be sent that way) and it is, that the Course of Trade is settled the other way, notwithstanding the Great Charge the Crown is at to have Two Fleets, the one in the South, the other in the North Sea, only to secure this Passage, and that with the loss of so many *Spaniard's* Lives, that in the only Hospital of *Panama* there were buried, as they told me, when I went that way in the year

Thirty, above Fourteen thousand Persons; and what must we guess then in the Ports of *Carthagena* and *Puerto Bello*, which have been the Sepulchre of so many *Europeans*. 1630.

Notwithstanding all these Mischiefs, this Way is continued to maintain those Cities already founded in those Parts; though it is most certain, that the same End of carrying the Silver to *Spain* might be attain'd by one only Fleet with less danger of the Sea: By that Course the Galeons would sail always in deep Water, and not run the Hazards they do between *Carthagena* and the *Havana*, between which Places they are fain to Sound all the way, and keep the Led going, to avoid the many Shoals that are in those Seas, and in the Canal of *Babams* afterwards; besides, that the dangers of Sickness would be avoided, for the *Spaniards* find by Experience, that at *Buenos Aires* they are Healthy, that being in the Temperate Climate, corresponding to that of *Europe*.

And for the same Reason, the Navigation between *Chile* and the *Philippines* is not put in use; because the Course of Things being once settled one way, 'tis very hard to change them, though to a better. I shall not pursue this Matter any further, because it seems to touch the State and Government, which is not my Design: Perhaps time will bring all things to pass, and that those of *Chile* themselves will venture to find out this Vent for their Product. All consists in trying; for the Advantages on both sides would be so manifest, that the Sweet of them would soon make the Way easie, and that Trade would wonderfully Enrich *Chile* and *Peru*, since they might bring back to those Kingdoms all the Commodities of *China* and *Japan*, and that without carrying any Gold or Silver, which might be preserv'd all for *Europe*: Thus the greatest part of this New World being Enrich'd by its own Product, the King's Revenue will be the greater, as well as the Returns in Gold and Silver the greater; and all things thus well accommodated, the Service of God, and the Divine Cult and Worship, would be better carried on.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the Fleets, some of which have been lost, and some have happily passed the Streight of Magellan.*

Ovalle.  
1646.

Four of the  
Bishop of  
Placen-  
tia's Ships  
lost in the  
Streight of  
Magellan.

**A**Mong the Fleets which have been lost in the Streight of Magellan, the first was that of four Ships set out by the Bishop of Placentia, for the Molucca Islands; which having got to the Streight with good Weather, and being entred into it about twenty Leagues, there rise from the West a Storm, which blowing directly a-head, forced three of the Ships a shore, they not having room to turn or run before it; but all the Men were saved: The fourth had better fortune; for going before the Storm, she got out of the Streight, and when the foul weather was over, came into the Streight again, where the other Ships were lost and found the Men, who had saved themselves, on Shore, who presently made signs and cries to be taken on Board; but they with Hearts full of grief answered them, *What would you have? We cannot relieve you, for the Provisions we have on Board are not sufficient for us, and so we may fear to Perish all of us together.* They could not say to them the other words of the Gospel, *go rather to those who sell,* because they were in a Desert Country, where they had no Remedy, but to send Signs to Heaven, accompanied with inexpressible Tears and Cries, capable of moving the Stones themselves. Thus they left them, pursuing their Voyage, much afflicted to be forced to forsake them, and not be able to do any thing for them; but these are Accidents and hard Cases belonging to the Sea-faring Men.


'Tis not know to this day what has become of these Men; only there is a Tradition, that a great way within Land, on the Continent of Chile, near the Streight, there is a Nation call'd *Cesfaries*, who were endeavour'd to be discover'd by Don Hieronimo Luis de Cabrera, Governour of Tucuman, about Eight and twenty years agoe, with a good Army rais'd at his own Charge; but his diligence was in vain, as we have marked already, and told the cause of his miscarrying. 'Tis thought, and 'tis very probable, these *Cesfaries* may be descended from those Spaniards who were saved in this Shipwreck; because it was possible that seeing themselves without any other recourse, they might go on into the Terra firma; where contracting Alliance with some Indian Nation, they may have multiplied, and the Fame of them may have reached the neighbouring Nations, and so on to

others. This is certain, that this Tradition is much kept up, that there is in those Parts an European Nation called *Cesfaries*. Some say that there has been heard the found of Bells, and they have founded Cities where they live; but in fine there is no certainty of all this. A Gentleman born in Chile and who has been a Colonel in those Parts, gave me in writing a Relation of several Traditions and Informations of great numbers of people that inhabit the land within, and who have much Gold. There has been made several attempts to discover them, though all have miscarried for want of Provisions, or by other Accidents, which in time may be remedied when it pleases God. And at this very time I have receiv'd Letters, which acquaint me, That Father Hieronimo de Montemayor, Apostolical Missionary of that Archipelago, of Chile, had entred into the Terra firma in company of Captain Navarro, a Man very famous in those Parts; and that they discovered a Nation which 'tis thought are these *Cesfaries*, because they are a Nation of White, Complexion, and fresh Cherry Cheeks, and who in their shape and disposition of Body, seem to be Men of Merit; and that they had brought some of them along with them, to endeavour to inform themselves of that which they so much desire. This is all the Father writ at that time, because the Ship could not stay, and there is but one Ship every year bound for those Parts; so he was forced to refer himself to the next Convenience to inform me more particularly of the Original and descent of this Nation: So that this is all that at present we can say of this Nation of the *Cesfaries*, which 'tis possible may come from these Shipwrecked Men; or else they may descend from some Dutch, who may have been Shipwrecked in the same place, or thereabouts; and their Complexion seems to fortifie this Conjecture, besides that they speak a Language which no Body then present could understand; or there may be both Spaniards and Flemings: 'Tis thought we shall not be long without knowing the truth, and so I continue my narration. The second Fleet which miscarried in the Streight, was that which was set out about Two and twenty years ago, under General Ayala, a Gentleman of High Birth and Valour; who going from Spain to Chile, dealt with his

The Cesfaries supposed to be Spaniards originally.

A Spaniard  
lost in  
the Streight



 Majesty for a Relief of Men, which he was to carry through the Streight of *Ovalle*. *Magellan*, without landing any where else; but just as they were entering it, they were all cast away, so as to this day there has not been any account of them, except of the Vice-Admiral Ship, under the Command of *Francisco de Mandujava*: for having lost sight of the Admiral in the Storm, she was carried afore the Wind to the port of *Buenos Aires*, where he landed the Men, and marched them over Land to *Chile*. I heard some of the Men talk of this matter; and they used to blame the General very much, for having gone about to enter the Streight when the time of year was so far advanced, particularly having been advised in *Brazil*,

where he touched, to Winter there, which he refused to do for fear his People should disert him, and so he and they all perished.

These Accidents seem to have made this Passage less practicable; but yet we know that many have passed this Streight with little danger, and some with great felicity. Eight Fleets are mentioned by *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, as well *Spaniards* as *Foreigners*, who have passed this Streight; and though some have had bad Weather, yet there is no doubt but time and good Observations may make it more feasible; particularly there being so many good Harbours and Bays in this Streight, where Ships may shelter themselves, and let the Storms blow over.

## C H A P. VI.

### Of the Province of Cuyo.

Cuyo, the  
Third Province of  
Chile.

Remarks on  
Cuyo.

**A**FTER having treated of the two First Parts of the Kingdom of *Chile*, we must say something now of the Third, which contains those large Provinces of *Cuyo*, which are on the other side of the *Cordillera* towards the East: We have already described their Situation and Extent; let us treat now of the Nature of them. And to begin with their ill qualities; 'tis a wonderful thing to consider that there being nothing between them and *Chile*, but the high Mountains of the *Cordillera*, yet they are so different in their qualities; we have already mentioned some, but we may say that as to their temperature they are in every thing entirely opposite; for first the Heats are Excessive and Intolerable in Summer; and for that, as well as for the vast quantity of Bugs, or Punaifes, which are there, some very small and others as big as bees; one can hardly Sleep a Nights in the Houses, and therefore the People all Sleep in their Gardens, and Court-Yards. There are almost perpetual Thunders and Lightnings, and many Poisonous Reptiles and Insects, though not so many as in *Tucuman* and *Paraguay*. There are likewise a Species of *Mosquito's* or *Gnats*, no bigger than the points of Needles, and as sharp in their Sting, though themselves are almost Imperceptible; they get into the Hair of ones Beard, and one cannot be rid of them any other way than by killing them.

There are the evil qualities of the Land of *Cuyo*: let us now mention the good ones. The Land is so fertile, that in many things it exceeds even the richest Soil of

*Chile*; the Crops are better, the Fruits larger, and of better taste, by reason of the great heat which ripens them more: There is good store of Corn, Wine, Flesh, all sorts of Fruits, Roots, and Herbs of *Europe*; as also great quantities of Olive-Yards and Almond-Grounds; so that the only essential difference between it and *Chile*, is the many venomous Animals, and the Thunders and Rains in Summer; though to make some amends, if *Chile* exceeds in Summer, *Cuyo* has the advantage in Winter; for though the Cold is sharp yet it is not with such Clouds, nor such Snow and Rains, as in *Chile*; but rather the Weather is serene, and the Sun beautiful and clear, without any dark Weather, which makes it very temperate.

There is no Sea-Fish in this Province, *Cuyo* as it being very far from any Sea; but it has *In-land* Ponds, which are called the Ponds of *Guanacache*, where they catch great quantities of *Trouts*, as they call them, which are very big, like the *Savalo's* of *Seville*, but much better without comparison, for they have no small bones, and are of a higher relish, and a very healthy Food.

Besides the Fruits of *Europe*, this Country has several very good of its own. The first is called *Chanules*, which are like *Hiberts* or small Nuts, only the difference is, that that which is to be eaten is not within, but on the outside of the Shell. The other is the *Algaroba* of which they make Bread so sweet, that it nauseates those who are not used to it. All *Tucuman*, as far as *Buenos Ayers* and *Paraguay*, are provided

vided from hence with Figs, Pomegranates, dried Peaches, and dried Grapes, Apples, Oyl, and excellent Wine. of which they have abundance, which they carry over those vast Plains called the *Pampas* (where for many Leagues together there is not a Tree, nor a Stone, to be found) in large Carts, such as they use here in *Rome*; and they are a Caravan of them together, to defend themselves from certain *Indians*, who are Enemies, and often attack them by the way.

Some years ago they began to discover here rich Mines of Silver; the Fame of which, drew People from *Potosi* when I left *Chile*, because they were reputed to be richer and of more profit than those of *Potosi*, all Provisions being more abounding and cheaper too: these Mines were also said to be in a plain Country, where Carts might come easily. They write me word likewise, That there has since been discovered Gold Mines of a prodigious Richness. 'Tis true indeed, that in this matter of Mines, there is a great difference between assaying of them in little Parcels, or in great ones; for often the Ore that promises much, yields but little, when the Assay comes to be made in great. This is a common Observation in Mines; and if these of *Cuyo* do not prove extraordinary rich, there will hardly come any People from abroad to them, particularly from *Chile*, where they have already so many and good ones of such a known Profit, and yet they do not work them, the People being more profitably employed in Husbandry, which turns to greater account.

I will give here an Extract of a Letter which I received in *Rome* this year from Father *Juan del Poço* of our Company, a Person of great Piety, and worthy of Credit, who is at present in the College of *Mendoza*, the chief of all those of the Province of *Cuyo*, and it is thus. [The greatest News here, is about the Mines which are begun to be discovered, which if it holds as they relate, it will be the greatest thing in the World: They are of Gold, which is seen among the Silver Ore; there are come very understanding Miners from *Potosi*, who cannot give over commending them. There come People from *St. Jago* to work them; and Captain *Lorenzo Soares* is named for *Alcalde Mayor* of these Mines.] There are others who write the same thing; and there is no doubt to be made, but that if they can have People, that country will be one of the Richest of all the *Indias*; for its great Fertility wants nothing but People to cultivate and consume its Product. This will make the three Cities of that Pro-

vince, which are that of *Mendoza*, that of *St. Jago*, and that of *St. Luis* of *Loiola*, encrease, mightily which since their first Foundation have been at a stand, by reason of the Neighbourhood of *Chile*, which has kept them down; many of the first Inhabitants of *Cuyo* having left it to go to *Chile*, as being more temperate and more abounding with the Conveniencies of Life; for the same reason that we see in other parts most People flock to the Capitals of a Kingdom, as is Evident in *Naples* and other great Cities: But if the *Spanish* Inhabitants encrease as they have done hitherto, there will be enough for all these Parts; and already some of *St. Jago* have settled and married at *St. Jago* and *Mendoza*; neither can it be otherwise, for the People of *Chile*, are beginning to be so streightened, that they cannot have all the Conveniencies of being at large, and so are forced to seek them abroad.

And 'tis most certain that the Conveniencies of this Province are very great; and their not appearing so is owing only to their Neighbourhood to *Chile*, in comparison of which these Countries appear a place of Banishment, and is looked upon as the most rigorous that can be given any one in *Chile*; because, to say truth, the difference is very great, considering the Proprieties of each place: but if we consider *Cuyo*, without comparing it, it is not only a good place, but surpasses many others, where nevertheless the Inhabitants think themselves very happy, though wanting the abundance of *Cuyo*, where the Flesh is very Substantial and Savory, and great abundance of Game, as also of Pork, Turkeys, Ducks, Hens, and other tame Fowl.

The Wines are very generous, and of so much Strength, that though they be carried three or four hundred Leagues over those Plains, and the intolerable Heats of the *Pampas*, and that by Oxen; yet they come good to *Buenos Aires* and other Places, and are preserved with the same facility, as long as one pleases, without spoiling; and they are in such quantity, that all the Provinces round are supplied with them, nay, as far as *Paraguay*, which is three or four hundred Leagues more. The Bread is excellent, so is the Oyl, and all sorts of *Legumes* and Gardening; the Fish better than the Sea-Fish; the Flax and Hemp as good as that of *Chile*, the Materials for Tanning very good; and in short it has all Necessaries for Life with as much Advantage as any other Country.

Ovalle.  
1646.

This

*Orville*  
1646. This being thus, and even more than I Relate, what is there wanting to this Land, or what are its blots? *Punaifes Thunder, Lightning, Hail*; and what other Country has not some of these? Shall we say, because God has exempted *Chile*, by a singular Providence, from these things, that therefore *Cuyo* is an ill Country? No, for then we must condemn most Countries, where these afflicting Circumstances are found: And though it must be owned that in the Summer the Heats are great, yet they do not exceed those of *Tucuman, Buenos Ayres* and *Paraguay*; and they are Inferior to those of *Brasil*, and those of *Caracas, Cartagena, Puerto Bello* and *Panama*, as I my self have experienced in some of those places. And these parts of *Cuyo* have some amends made them from the Neighbourhood of the Snow; for the City of *Mendoza* is not above a League from the *Cordillera*, which is full of it: And likewise the good qualities of the Air do something moderate the Heat; for it is so healthy, that it never hurts any body by being in it; which makes them Sleep in their Gardens abroad, without any Apprehension, except it be of some sudden Showr which does often happen in Summer; for on

a sudden, though the Heavens be clear and bright, it grows Cloudy, and falls a Raining with great fury; but this may be easily remedied, and likewise the Thunders and Thunderbolts might be avoided, which are the things which fright those of *Chile* most, they being so little us'd to them; and therefore at the very name of *Cuyo*, they think the Heavens are falling upon their Heads, or that the *Punaifes* and other noxious Vermin are never to leave them; so that no greater Mortification can be proposed to an Inhabitant of *Chile*, than to go to live in *Cuyo*. And besides all this, the vast Snows which fall on the Mountains, shut up the Passes, and hinder all Communication or Inter-course, so that in five or six Months one cannot receive a Letter, though those two Provinces are not above thirty or forty Leagues a Sunder, that is the breadth of that Chain of Mountains called the *Cordillera*. This therefore is that which discredits *Cuyo*; and if it had been further off from *Chile*, it would have had a better Name; but it is with that, as with two Loaves, which though both good, yet if one be whiter and better, no body will touch the other; the best being always most pleasing.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the Confines of the Province of Cuyo, and particularly of its Easterly bounds, the Pampas, and of the River of Plata.*

*Situation of*  
*Cuyo.*

THE Confines of this Province of *Cuyo* to the West are *Chile*, and to the East, the *Pampas* or vast Plains of the *Rio de la Plata*, and part of *Tucuman*; which reaching as far as those of *Riaca*, and the Mountains of *St. Michel*, with all the rest as far as *Salta*, and *Jujuy*, make the North side of it; and to the South it has the Streights of *Magellan*. All this Continent is call'd the *Escambradas*, are Plains without hindrance; for there is not so much as any stop to the Eye, but it is like a Sea, and the Sun seems to rise and set out of the Earth, and at its rising it is sometime that it gives but little light, as also it looses some of its Beams before it be quite out of sight when it sets. The way of travelling in those Plains is with very high Carts, which they cover over neatly with Hoops, over which are Cow-Hides, with Doors to go in and out; and these are drawn by Oxen; there are also Windows to give a free passage to the Air, and on the bottom one makes ones Bed with so much Conveniency, that

often Travellers sleep out the whole Journey, and feel not any of the inconveniencies which attend it. Generally they set out about two Hours before Sun set, and travel all Night, till it be an hour or two after Sun-rising, so that a Traveller just wakes when he comes to the bating Place. This must be owned to be a great Conveniency, because one may also walk on Foot sometimes in the Cool before one lies down, and so one comes merrily and easily to ones journeys end:

There is also another Entertainment *Hunting*, which helps to pass the time pleasantly, and that is hunting; and for this end some carry Horses empty, and Dogs on purpose, and there is Game enough both of Hare and Venison; for there are Herds of *Guanaco's* of two or three hundred; the Dog follows them, and the young ones, not able to follow, are left behind, which the Hunter knocks on the head with a Club he carries, without lighting from his Horse, and returns to the Carts laden with Venison.

*Manner of*  
*travelling.*

son, which serve for Provision as well as Entertainment: At other times they follow the Partridges, *Francolins*, or the Bird called *Quiriquinebo*. But to all this there are abatements and mixtures of Trouble. The first is the mighty Heat in Summer; for which reason, lest the Oxen should be stifled with it, they travel in the Night; and when they come to halt, or bate in the day time, 'tis in places where there is not so much as a Tree, under whose shade one may rest; nor is there any other shade than that of the Cart and some Coverlet upon it; for to go into it is like going into an Oven; but this is not all the way, there being some pleasant running Streams and Rivers bordered with green Willow-trees, which very much mitigate the fury of the Heat. The greatest Inconvenience that I perceived in that Journey, was the want of Water; which is so great, that we were forced to provide our selves, when we arrived at any of these Rivers, for many days Journey; for there is no other, except sometimes, some Pools remaining of Rain-Water, and that is all Green, and can serve only for the Oxen; and yet this is rare too, for these are often dried up to Mud, and then one is forced to double the Days Journey, and march as far again, so that the Cattel is almost dead with Thirst. I have seen sometimes on these occasions the Oxen take a run as if they were mad or possessed; for they know by Instinct a League or two before they come at it, the Places where it is, as if they smelled it; so there is no stopping those that are loose, and even those who are at the Yoke, make what haste they can, and when they get to the water, they raise the Mud so by their haste, that they drink as much Mud as Water.

When this happens, while there is any of the Water left that was taken at the River and carried in Carts, the misfortune is the less; but when that Water is already spent, the People suffer extremely; for though most commonly some one Man is sent before to take up some Water of the clearest, before the Oxen trouble it, yet they make such haste, that that Prevention most commonly miscarries; and then we are fain to stop our Noses, and shut our Eyes, to drink, and divert even our Imagination, if we can: And to all this there is no Remedy, but from Heaven; as it happened to me once, That it pleased God to send us a Shower in our greatest extremity, which filled several Wells, and there was enough for us, and our Cattel, as also to

carry away: for which we thanked the Divine Majesty, acknowledging his great Mercy to us in so pressing Circumstances.

This suffering would not be so great, if there were any Towns and Villages in the way; for there are little Lakes, by which they might settle; which though some years they yield no water, yet it is to be come at by a little digging, and that not very deep; and if there were People in those Deserts, Wells might be made, or the Rain-Water gathered in Cisterns, as it is practised in several other Places. But these Plains are so vast, that they can hardly be peopled, being extended for several hundred Leagues; and besides, there being no Trade settled of any Importance in those Parts, there cannot be Inns nor Places of Shelter settled, and so at present whoever travels that way, must carry every thing; for when once one is set out, there is no Addition to be made, and therefore all is to be provided, more or less, according to ones Ability: And that must be at least a Fort-nights Allowance, and sometimes Twenty or Thirty Days, till one comes to some inhabited Place. This is the manner of travelling in the Plains of *Cuyo*, and *Tucuman*, and the *Rio Plata*, where in many Leagues one does not see a Hill, nor a Stone, nor a Tree, but continual Plains; and if, to dress your Victuals, you have not the foresight to carry some Wood, all the Remedy is to gather the Cow-dung, which serves the turn very ill. In some Places of this Province of *Cuyo*, there are Woods near the Rivers, from whence may be had Materials for Building; and hard by the *Cordillera* there is a sort of Tree that breeds Incense. I brought some of it to *Rome*; and the Druggists told me that it was finer than the ordinary, consumed in Churches. There grows there also the Herb called *Xrilla*, which is very hot and a good Medecine, as we have said already: There are many others, of which I cannot give so particular Account, as not having made any stay in those Parts; neither am I in a Place where I can advantage my self of those Relations, that others might give me, and which may serve for larger Histories than mine, I pretending only to brevity. Therefore let this suffice for an Account of the Situation, Soil, Heavens, Proprieties, Trees, Plants, Fruits, Metals, Flocks, Fountains, Rivers, Sea-fishes, and Birds, in all the three Parts or Divisions of the Kingdom of *Chile*. Let us now say a word of its Inhabitants, the old *Indians*, who have possessed it all formerly.

Ovalle.  
1646.

# The Third Book.

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## OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE KINGDOM OF CHILE.

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### CHAP. I.

*Of the First that Peopled America, and their Antiquity.*

Ovalle.  
1664.

THE Knowledge of the First Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Chile*, depends necessarily upon that of the First Inhabitants of *America*, which is not easie to be made out. If we should take the Opinion of the *Indian Guanaca's*, near the Valley of *Xavia*, they would certainly affirm, that which is a constant Tradition among the Natives of *Peru*, and before they had any knowledge of our Faith; and is, That many years before there were *Inga's*, who were the Kings of those Parts, the Country being very Populous, there was a great Deluge: (thus far 'tis well) But then they add, That in the hollow Rocks of the highest Mountains, there remain'd some alive, who return'd and Peopled the Earth a-fresh; and the same Tradition is receiv'd by the *Indians* of *Quito* in *Collao*. If this were so, the *Indians* of *Chile* might lay claim to the new Peopling of *America*: for if any, their Mountains were most capable of

resisting the Deluge, they being the highest that are yet discover'd. There are other *Indian* Mountaineers, who are less mistaken; for they affirm, That none could be saved in the Mountains, because they were all cover'd with Water; but that Six were sav'd in a Float they made. If they had said Eight, they would have hit upon the Number which the Apostle *St. Peter* says scap'd with *Noah* in the Ark which he built.

*Antonio de Herrera*, in the Third Tome of the General History of the *India's*, excuses these Errors of the *Indians*, saying, 'Tis probable there was some particular Deluge in those Parts, to which they might allude, because all the Nations of that World are agreed in this Tradition. The true and natural Excuse is, That these Poor Wretches have not had the good Fortune to see the Chapter of *Exodus*, where they would have been undeceiv'd; for there 'tis said, That out of the Ark of *Noah* there was not left any living thing

upon

upon the Earth, and that the Water was fifteen Cubits over the tops of the highest Mountains. The other Indians, who talk of the Six Men sav'd on the Float, may have had some Tradition from their Forefathers, who were nearer the time of Noab, about the Ark; and as they are a People who have no Books, because they cannot read, whatsoever they might learn from their Ancestors, and retain in their Memories, might by degrees be lost or diminished, and so the Descendents came to have the Tale of the Float and the Six Persons; not examining how it could possibly be, that upon so slight a Contrivance, which can hardly last three or four days in the Water, those People should maintain themselves for so long as the Deluge lasted. As for the manner and time, how and when the Descendents of Noab pass'd to People this New World, or how their Generations have been extended so far? 'tis a most difficult thing to make out; for the Indians being without Written Records, as other Nations have, there is no diving by their Memories into their Antiquities, which even when they are committed to Writing, use to produce variety of Opinions about the Origine and Beginning of Things: Besides, there was in Europe, even among the most Learned, so great an Ignorance of all that regarded America, that it was judg'd scarce inhabitable, if it was at all; and so they could give us no light of a thing they had no Notion of, or which they thought impossible; but after the discovery of this New World, People began to Reason, and every one made his Guesses or Reasonings as well as he could. Some have said, with reference to what is hinted by Plato in his *Timæus*, (as is related by our Father Acosta, in his First Book of the New World, in the 22d Chapter) That People pass'd from Europe and Africa, to certain Islands, and so from one to another, till they came to the Terra Firma of America.

Acosta.

The same Author advances something more probable in his Nineteenth Chapter; where he says, That supposing we all came from the First Man Adam, and that the Propagation of the Species of Mankind, after the Deluge, was made by those only who were sav'd out of the Ark of Noab, 'tis not improbable that the First Inhabitants of America came to those Parts, not with design, or by their own Industry, because of the little use of Navigation that was in those days, and particularly through so great a Sea; but that they were cast by some Storm on

those Coasts, as it happened since in its first Discovery, as we shall see hereafter in its proper place. He brings, to prove this, the Example of several Ships, which, contrary to their Course, have been driven to very remote Shores. This is every days Experience, and will not surprize those who know any thing of the Strength of the Winds and Currents in those Seas; and that which the same Father Acosta alledges of himself, That he had such a Passage, that in fourteen days he came within sight of the first Islands of the Gulph of Mexico, going from Spain.

This, though probable, has yet a strong Objection against it, which is about the Wild Beasts; such as Tygers, Lyons, Wolves, and others of that Nature, which could not be carried in Ships, because they were of no use to Mankind, but rather Mischievous; and though some may Answer with St. Austin, in his Sixteenth Book *De Civitate Dei*, Chapter the Seventh, when he solves the difficulty how these Animals came into Islands, and says, that they might either Swim thither, or be carried by Hunters, or that they might be created a-new by God Almighty, as they were in the beginning of the World; which is the best Solution, if it were as probable as it is easie to say: But first, there is against it the Opinions of Philosophers, who will not allow any great Animals to be propagated any other way than by Generation; and besides, if God, as without doubt he might, had created them anew, what necessity was there for him to Command Noab to take so many Pairs of all Living Creatures, all Male and Female? which Care seems superfluous, if God resolv'd to make a Second Creation of all those Species after the Deluge. 'Tis more probable, these Creatures might arrive at the Islands Swimming, and the Birds flying, particularly to the nearest Islands; but this does not prove, that they could arrive to those remote parts of America, there being such a vast Ocean, that 'tis not possible that either Beasts or Birds should have so much Strength as to Swim or Fly over it; for this reason he concludes in the end of the One and twentieth Chapter, that the Men as well as Animals, pass'd either by Land or Water to America, near some Part where it joins to the other Parts of the World, either by the *Tierra de Baccalaos*, or the Streight of Magellan, that is not separated but by ordinary little Separations of Water and Sea, which might be easily pass'd in small Vessels, such as were in use in those ancient times.

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*Ovalle.* This is the Author's Opinion, which as to the *Tierra de Bacalaos*, carries with it only the probability of an Ingenious Conjecture, because as yet that part of the World has not been discover'd; but if in time it proves like the Conjecture, about the Streights of *Magellan*, 'tis all without any grounds; for, as we have already related, 'tis now made plain, that *America* on that side is entirely divided from the other parts of the World by a vast Sea: 'Tis true, that to the East 'tis not known yet how far that Land runs, which is over-against the *Tierra del Fuego*, and is on the East side of the Streight of *St. Vincent*, otherwise call'd the Streight of *Le Maire*; for some think that it may run as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, and so be so near that part of *Africa*, that Men might pass in small Vessels from the one to the other: 'Tis likewise uncertain, that the Continent of *America* ever was nearer than it now is to any other Continent, or that the Sea has since broke away part of either, to make the Separation wider; as we have observ'd it did in the Island of *Sancta Maria*, which is suppos'd to have formerly been all of one continued Piece with the firm Land of *Arauco*; but these are all Conjectures, and he alone knows the truth who created these Men, and other Animals of *America*, and by whose Providence they pass'd to those Parts, for the great Ends of his hidden Secrets; to whom, with all Veneration for his Councils, we must submit the Enquiry, why he has been pleas'd that that part of the World should remain undiscover'd for so many Ages, without any Communication with those Parts where his Divine Light has appear'd sooner. These are Considerations for the Good to make use of with Thanks, for having been admitted to it; and Confusion of the Wicked, who at Noon Day are as much in the dark as if it had never dawn'd.

*Bersius.*

*Peter Bersius*, in his Geography, as *John* and *Theodore de Byre* do relate, collects the Antiquity of those Nations of *America* from their most ancient Kings and Lords, and from the Ruines of ancient Edifices, and other Memorable Things; for this argues the largeness of time, in which all this was done. Amongst other things he mentions the Report of one of their Gardens belonging to some King, (which must be of *Peru*, who were always the richest) in which all the Herbs and Plants and Shrubs, with their Trunks, Leaves, and Flowers of the Natural Proportion, were of Massy Gold; and in the Houses of Recreation, there were all Sorts of Animals made of Precious Stones,

and some of Feathers of various colours. They say besides, that the *Inga's*, who were the Emperors of *Peru*, were the Richest Princes in the World, and that they had so much Gold, that not only the Plate they eat in, were of that Metal, but all their Household Stuff and Furniture, were of the same, to their Tables, Benches, Cupboards, nay, to the Statues themselves; a great deal of which fell to the *Spaniards* share when they Conquer'd those Parts; but the best part was hid and conceal'd by the *Indians*, which to this day they keep undiscover'd, being in that way of Secret intractable and extream close. Neither is it any wonder that those Princes should use so much Gold, since they were Masters of more of that Metal than any others, being so beloved by their Subjects, that wherever they had that was Precious, they presented it to them; and they were so inclin'd to hoard it, that whoever succeeded in the Monarchy, made it a Point of State not to touch, but rather to encrease the Treasure of his Father; of which a great Proof was the vast Sum which *Atabalpa* offer'd for his Ransom, and paid to the *Spaniards* for it, as we shall see hereafter.

Amongst other Precious Pieces of Gold Work, Authors make particular mention, and admire with Reason, that Chain which the King *Guaynacapa*, the Eleventh King of *Peru*, caus'd to be made at the Birth of his Son *Guascar*, who was to Inherit his Crown; for each Link of it was as big as the Wrist of a Man, (as is reported by *Garcilasso de la Vega*, who had it from an Uncle of his, an *Inga* also; who told him, when he ask'd the bigness, as big as this, shewing his Wrist) and as long as twice the length of the Great Place of *Cusco*, which in all might be above Seven hundred Foot long. And the Contador *Augustin de Varate*, in his First Book, Chapter the Fourteenth, Treating of the incredible Riches of that *Inga*, says these Words: [*Guaynacapa*, as the Birth of his Son, caus'd a great Cable of Gold to be made, (as is attested by several *Indians* yet alive) of so much weight, that Two hundred *Indians* could but just lift it up from the Ground; for Memory of which they gave the Name of *Guascar* *Inga* to the new born Prince; for *Guasca* signifies a Cable; and the Surname of *Inga* was added, as that of *Augustus* to the Roman Emperors.] Thus far this Author. But this Name or Word *Guasca*, not being so decent in its signification for a Prince, they added the *r* to it, and nevertheless eterniz'd the Memory of that Rich Chain.

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The chiefest Motive the King had to order this Chain to be made, was, that the Dances which were to be made at his Birth, might be more Solemn, and worthy of his Royal Person; because the manner of Dancing of the *Indians*, is to take one another by the Hands, and make a Circle, and so moving Two Steps forward, and one backward, draw closer and closer to the King, to make their Obeisances; and the King caused this Chain to be made, for them to take hold of, instead of taking hold of one another.

A great Proof likewise of this Antiquity of the Empire of *Peru*, is those Two Highways mention'd by *Herrera*; for being of that vast length, and work'd with all those Conveniencies for Travelers, they could not be made but by length of time, and with a long continued labour. This is what I find of the Antiquity of the First Inhabitants of *America*, in which we may comprehend the *Indians* of *Chile*.

Ovalle  
1646.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Great Courage and Boldness of the Indians of Chile.*

THE *Indians* of *Chile* are fam'd by all, who have Writ of them, for the Boldest and most Valiant Warriors of all the vast extent of the New World; it were to be wish'd by us, that this had not been confirm'd by Useful Experience, for then the Kingdom of *Chile* would have been one of the most Flourishing Kingdoms of the *India's*, without the continual Wars which it has maintain'd for about a Hundred years, without ever ceasing or laying down its Arms. This is the more Considerable, if we reflect, that the *Spaniards* having subiect'd, in so little a time, those vast Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, have nevertheless not been able, in so great a time, to Conquer the *Indians* of *Chile*, Sons of the Great *Cordillera*, from whose Rocks they seem to borrow their untameable Strength and Fierceness. Except we should say with Fyier *Gregory* of *Leon*, That this Bravery comes from the Fertility of the Earth, which, as he says, and is true, does not need any thing from abroad; To which he adds the Birth of these People, who all their Life tread upon so much Gold, and drink the Water which runs over these Rich Minerals, by which they participate of its good and generous Quantities; as it is observ'd of those who live at *Potosi*, near that vast Mountain of Silver, who are so Stout and Haughty, as has appear'd in the many Revolutions that have happen'd there. Let this be as it will, all Authors agree, that they are the Top Nation of *America*, though hitherto no one has Treated purposely of this Matter: There are now Two Histories in the Press, which will make out, by Particulars, all that has been said of this Nation. Don *Alonso de Ercilla* says enough, in his Famous Poem,

call'd the *Araucana*; but because it is in Verse, it seems to lessen something the real Truth; and yet abstracting from the Hyperboles and Enlargings of Poetry, all the Historical part is very conformable to Truth; he being a Gentleman of great Quality, and an Eye witness of what he affirms; for what he Writ was not by hearsay, but upon the very spot where the Things happen'd: so that he might have had as many Contradictors, as he had Witnesses, who were present as well as he at what pass'd.

He Dedicated his Book to the most Catholick King, his Lord and Master; and presenting it to him with his own Hand, when he came from *Chile* to *Spain*, 'tis to be presum'd he would not have dared to fail in the Exactness of Truth, for fear of receiving a Chastisement, instead of a Reward, which he obtain'd for it. Let any read his Prologue, in which, in a very good Style, and in Prose, he gives a Noble Account of the Valour of the *Indians*; and concludes his Preface with these Words: [*I have said all this, as a Proof and clear Demonstration of the Valour of these Nations, worthy of all the Encomiums I can give them in my Verses; and besides, there are now in Spain several Persons who were present at many of the Actions which I here describe, and refer to them the Defence of my Work on this side.*] Thus far this Author, worthy of Immortal Praise for his Incomparable Book, which, though Publish'd above Fifty years ago, and Printed in *Spain* and *Flanders*, is yet continually Reprinted, which shews the Value the Curious and the Learned have for it; The *Araucano's* are indeed the chief Subject of it, and yet what is said of them, may be extended to all the *Indians* of *Chile*, as we

shall see in its proper Place, when we shall treat of the Wars they had with the *Spaniards*.  
*Ovalle*. But before ever the *Spaniards* set their  
 1646. Feet on their Ground, they had given sufficient Proof of their Bravery, which

was invincible, to the *Inga's*, Emperors of *Peru*; since with all their Power they could never Conquer them, though they endeavour'd it, as being extremely inclin'd to enlarge their Dominions; and they desir'd it the more, for the Fame of *Chile*, to which they sent a powerful Army and which made some Progress at first, subjecting some Nations to extraordinary Tributes: But as they pursued their Point, and came to the Valley of *Maule*, they met with the *Promocaes*, to whose Succour the *Chilenos* who Inhabited more within the Country, were come, and forc'd the Army of the *Ingas* to retire in haste. *Garcilasso de la Vega* relating this more particularly, says.

*Gar. de la  
 Vega.*

That the *Inga yn Pangué* the Tenth King of *Peru*, came to the Confines of his own Kingdom, to a place call'd *Atacama*, to be nearer at Hand to attend the Conquest of *Chile*; and from thence first sent his Scouts through the Fourscore Leagues of uncultivated Country, which was between his Kingdom and *Chile*, with Orders to dispatch a Man, every two Leagues, with an Account of what they discovered; which they did, one Messenger following another, and leaving in the way certain Marks, whereby they that came last might guide themselves. He first sent Ten thousand Men under the Command of General *Sinchi-ruca*, and two other Colonels of his own Kindred, not being willing to commit to any others Care so great an Enterprize. They came within sight of the Valley of *Copiapo*, which is the first Inhabited Valley of *Chile*; with the Inhabitants of which, the *Peruvians* began to Skirmish, because they had not admitted the Embassy which they sent them, as from the *Inga*, to own him for their Lord: and withal, having given notice of the Resistance they found, to the *Inga*, he sent them Ten thousand Men more, with a new Summons; assuring them, That his Design was not to take their Country from them, but only that they should own him as Son of the Sun, and Lord of all that was warm'd and enlighten'd by him. Those of *Copiapo*; seeing this new Relief to their Enemies, and knowing that it would not be the last, because the *Inga yn Pangué* was preparing another Succour; and being convinced that this Acknowledgment would cast them less than the Blood that must be spilt in a long Resistance, they agreed to own the *Inga* as he desir'd.

This was the first Entrance of the *Peruvians* as far as *Maule*, which is one of the Rivers of *Chile*, as has been say'd already. By this time, the Army of the *Peruvians* was Fifty thousand Men, and desiring to prosecute their Conquest, they sent their ordinary Embassy to the Nation of the *Promocaes*; who having already been inform'd of their Invading their Neighbours, were in Arms to defend their Country. The Ambassadors of the *Inga* deliver'd their accustom'd Message; protesting, That their Lord desir'd nothing more, than to be acknowledg'd as Son of the Sun, and honour'd accordingly by their Submission. The *Promocaes*, who were resolv'd to defend their Liberties, made answer, That the Conquerors should be the Lords and Masters, and so uniting all their Forces, came on the Fourth day, and presented Battle to the *Peruvians*. The *Inga's* Generals, surpriz'd at such a courageous Resolution, sent them new Summons, desiring their Friendship and Peace, calling the Sun and Moon to Witness, That they came not to spoil them of their Lands or Goods, but only to oblige them to own the Sun for their God, and the *Inga* for his Son and their Lord. To which they receiv'd Answer, That they came not to spend time in talking, or vain Discourses, but to fight manfully till they should conquer or die; adding, that they might prepare themselves for Battle the next day, as it happen'd; and the *Promocaes* overcame that powerful Army of the *Inga's*, so that they had no mind to try their Fortune any more, but made their Retreat, leaving the *Promocaes* in Peace and full Possession of their Lands, which they had so bravely defended. *Antonio de Herrera*, in his Third Tome, and Fifth Decade, treating of the Reason why those of *Chile* refus'd to submit to those Monarchs the *Inga's*, says, That it was because of the great Reverence with which they made their Subjects treat them, as if they were Gods, and approach them as if they were of another Species; which the *Chilenians* could not bear, their Mind being too lofty and generous to submit to such a Tyranny, which they constantly oppos'd, inasmuch that though the *Inga's* had Conquer'd the best part of that Continent, yet the *Chilenians* never did yield to their Power. Perhaps the nearest Provinces to *Peru*, such as those of *Gusco*, *Conquimbo* and *Copiapo*, did in some measure acknowledge their Power, since they pay'd a Tribute in Gold; and for that Reason, these Provinces alone in all the Kingdom of *Chile*, do speak the common Language of *Peru*, which is a very strong Proof of what I hear say. For

For the same Reason that they resisted the *Ingals*, they did not care to have any King of their own Nation, the Love of their Liberty prevailing against all the Reasons of State which might move them to have one Monarch; neither did they fall into any Popular Form of Government, or Commonwealth; for their Warlike Temper did not afford Patience enough for the *Hegmaick* Debates, necessary for the Union of so many Minds. Thus every Family chose one among them to Govern them. From this arose the *Caciques*, who are the Sovereigns among them, and by degrees had that Power Hereditary, and their Children after them enjoy it, with all its Rights.

The State  
Assemblies.

Choice of a  
General.

But though every one Governs independently his own District or Jurisdiction, yet when the Occasion offers, that the Safety of all is concern'd, there is an Assembly of the *Caciques*, and some of the Elders of the People; who are Men of Experience, and are summon'd after their way by particular Messengers. In these Councils they resolve what they think most convenient, which, if it be a Case of War, either Defensive or Offensive, they choose the General, not one of the most Noble of the *Caciques*, or the most Powerful, but he who has the Fame of most Valiant, and

has best behav'd himself on the like Occasion, against their Enemies; and when he is just chosen, all the other *Caciques* obey him punctually. 'Tis after this manner that they have preserv'd themselves so many Years against all the Strength that has been brought against them. To make these Assemblies, they chose out some very pleasant Place, Field, or Meadow; and whether they bring great Store of Provision, and strong Drink, call'd *Chicha*, which is instead of Wine. Being all Assembled, and well warm'd with this Liqueur, and excited in their Martial Temper, there rises up some one of the most Antient, to whose Lot it falls to propose the business of that Meeting; who with great Eloquence (for in that they are very Famous) opens the Matter, and brings all the Reasons and Motives of Persuasion that he can. All are oblig'd to yield to the Majority of Opinion, and when the Result is made, 'tis publish'd with the Sound of Drums and Trumpets, and a mighty Noise; but yet allowing every one the Term of Three Days to reflect and consider on what has been resolv'd; after which, if they find no Inconveniency, the Execution is infallible, and they think of the Means of bringing the business about by most proper Methods.

Ovalle,  
1646.

Manner of  
these State  
Meetings.

### CHAP. III.

The same Subject is pursued, and the Nobility of the Indians of Chile Examined.

**A** Ntonio de Herrera, in the Place already cited in the last Chapter, says, That there are some of the *Indians* reputed above the rest as Gentlemen; and then he adds these Words (*Of this sort have been and are still the Indians of Chile.*) In which he says well: For if Valour and the Glory of Arms makes Gentlemen, as may be seen in *Andreas Tiraquello*, in his Book de *Nobilitate & jure Primogenitorum*; and if many Noble Families do to this day derive themselves from some Great Captain or Famous Soldier; the *Chilean Indians* having so often signatized their Valour in Fights, they may very justly be distinguish'd from all the other *Indians*, and reputed more Noble. In short, they are the untam'd *Cantabri* of *America*, who, like those of *Europe*, defended themselves, when all the rest of it was enslaved; and repulsed the Conquering Monarchs of *Peru* to the extream Confines of their Provinces.

And there is one Circumstance more particular than under the *Centurians*, because they had the Advantage of their Mountains, and the Barrenness of their Country, not so inviting to a Conqueror; but in *Chile* it was otherwise; the Richness of its Mines, and its Soil full of delicious Valleys, and a clear and rich Territory, having been always well known, the only Valour and Bravery of its Inhabitants was then the Defence of the Country; there were the Fortresses and Walls of it; for without a bit of Fortification of any sort, or so much as one Fire-Arm, they oblig'd their powerful Enemy to a shameful Retreat. Indeed this is a thing worthy of great Admiration, yet not so much to those who know how these *Indians* value themselves upon being good Soldiers, using themselves to Arms, even from their Childhood; of which it will not be amiss to speak a little.

When

*Ovalle.*  
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*The Education of the youth of Chile.*

When a Child is strong enough, they make it run up the rocky side of a Hill, giving him that does it best, some Prize or Reward; this makes them very nimble and light, and I have seen them, in their Feasts and Entertainments, run two and two for Wagers with wonderful Swiftness; and those who show little disposition to this Exercise are applied to follow Day-labour, but the others they reserve for War; not suffering them to take to any other Employments, but mind their Arms and their Horses, that they may be perfect in all their Exercises. To these they Assign their Post upon occasion, according as each has behav'd himself in those which he has been in before; and they have in this no Consideration of Gentility, Intercession of others, or other Motives, but that alone of a good Performance, and the many Praises given by them of their Courage and Conduct in War.

*Their Arms in War.*

The Arms they use, are Pikes, Holberets, Launces, Hatchets, Maces of Arms, Bars, Darts, Arrows, and Clubs; As also strong Nooses to throw upon a Horseman, and slings. Their Horse fight with Lance and Buckler, which they have learn'd from the Spaniards, and from them they have had their Horses; for before their time they had neither Horse nor Iron, but they have a hard Wood, which grows yet harder by being turn'd in the Fire, and is almost as useful as Steel. They have hard and strong Corcelets, Back and Breast, and Thigh, Arms, Bracelets, Gauntlets, Helmets, Morions, all these of a hardened Leather, so prepared when raw, that it becomes by drying as impenetrable as any Steel; and they are something better because more manageable, and do Embarrass the Body less, as being lighter; and so the Man is more at his ease, and better dispos'd in Fight. Among them the Pikeman may not be an Archer; neither can any that uses the Mace of Arms, use other Arms; so every one bestirs himself with the Arms he is us'd too.

*Their Order of Battle.*

In forming their Battalions, every File is of above an Hundred Men, and between every Pikeman an Archer, who are defended by the Pikemen, who close their Shoulders together, and if their First Battalion is broken, the Second relieves them with so much Readiness, that there seems not that any have fail'd; and so by the Third and Fourth, following each other like Waves of the Sea without any Interruption, and no Man forsakes his Rank, but by Death. They always endeavour to have some Bog or Lake not far off for a Retreat; for there they are more in Safety

than in the strongest Castle. Their Volunteers go before the Battalion, trailing their Pikes with so much State, and are themselves so haughty, that, like Goliath, they Challenge their Enemy to meet them Body to Body; and they do the same to the Spaniards, giving themselves great Airs of Pride. They march to the sound of their Drums and Trumpets, having their Arms garnish'd with all variety of beautiful Colours, and themselves adorn'd with great Plumes of rich Feathers, so that they appear very handsome and Sightly.

*Their War-like Ornaments.*

When they make any Forts for their Defence, it is of great Trees interwoven with each other, and leaving in the middle a place of Arms; and formerly within this Fort they us'd to make another of thick Planks. Behind this, they make a great Ditch, cover'd over with Plants and Flowers, but underneath them sharp Stakes to lame the Enemy's Horses; some they make deeper, that the Horses may remain there Stak'd thorough.

Many of them are subject to great Superstitions and Augures, observing the Omens both before and at the time of their Undertaking; but many of them Laugh at those Observations, saying, there are no better Omens than good Blows and stout laying about them, without fear of either Seel, Fire, or any sort of Death; and it is certainly so, that their first Encounter is terrible, and as if they fear'd no one thing in the World. When they are draw up, and ready to Engage, there is Silence made, and the General raising his Voice, begins an Harangue, so full of Spirit, fill'd with such warm Incitations, and such a lively Action, that the Cowardliest among them become like Lions and Tygers, against their Enemies. He lays before them the Glory of Victory, and the Shame of being overcome and made Captives and Slaves to their Adversaries. Take notice, says he, That there is now no Medium between those two Extreames; are not you the Sons and Grandchildren of those brave Men, who have fought so many Battels and ventur'd all to defend that Country and Liberty, for which we now Fight? Shall we own that they exceed us in bravery, or that the Enemies we encounter, are superior to those whom they overcame? Had they less Motives then we have, or do we hope for less Glory? We must all die; and in the equality of that common Fate, the only difference is, dying nobly for our dear Country, and the Liberty of our Wives and Children; therefore rouse up that Courage which you have

*Their Military Encampments.*

‘have Inherited from your Ancestors, who  
‘never could endure the thoughts of that  
‘Infamous Yoke of Slavery upon their  
‘Necks. Courage then brave Men, as brave  
‘as any the Sun sees; Courage, for in that  
‘lies Victory.

With these, and other such Words, and  
calling to mind some of their Victories,  
they grow so warm, that raising a Cry of  
War, they drive away all Fear, and Ex-  
press great desire of engaging their En-  
emies; which they do with so much Fury and  
Resolution, that a Battalion that stands their  
first Shock is a very firm one. But we will  
treat further of this when we shall speak  
of the Battels they have had with the  
*Spaniards*, whose Valour has set theirs in its  
Lustre, obliging them to give such Proofs  
as are worthy to be Recorded in Hi-  
story; let us pursue now the Account  
of their natural Qualities, independen-  
tly from the Resistance which they have  
made to his Catholic Majesty's Arms.

Their Nat-  
ural Tem-  
per.

The Warlike Spirit of this Nation pro-  
ceeds from their natural Temper, which is  
Colerick and Impatient, Proud, Arro-  
gant, and Fierce, very cruel in their Re-  
venge, cutting their Enemies (when in  
their power) Inhumanely to pieces, and  
wallowing in their Blood. We shall relate a  
Case hereafter, in which something of this  
will be seen. They are strong and robust of  
Body, well proportion'd, large Shoulders,  
high Chests, well set in their Members, Nim-  
ble, Active, Vigorous, and Nervous, Cou-  
ragious and Undertaking; enduring Hun-  
ger, Thirst, Heat, Cold; despising all Con-  
veniences of Life, even their own small ones;  
having little Value for their very Lives,  
when 'tis necessary to hazard them, either  
for Glory or Liberty; constant in their Re-  
solutions, and persisting in a thing once be-  
gun, with incredible Steadiness.

Good Horse-  
men.

They are excellent Horsemen, and up-  
on a single Saddle-Cloth, or without one,  
they are as firm as others in War Sad-  
dles; they'll ride down the side of a Hill  
or a Precipice as if they were Goats; with  
their Bodies as straight and as firm on  
Horseback, as if they were nail'd to the  
Horse: They have no trouble with the  
Bagage they want, for they carry but  
little with them; nor but that when  
they march they have their little Pack  
of Flower of Maiz, a little Salt, some  
*Pimientos* or Guinea Pepper, and dried  
Flesh; and this is enough to maintain  
them a good while. They need no other  
Kitchen Utensils, than a Gourd or *Caba-  
bash* with which, when they come to a  
River or Spring, they open their Flower  
Bag, and wet a little with the Water,

and that serves them for Drink; and for  
Meat, when they put more of it with a  
little Salt and Pepper; this they call *Rubul*:  
and sometimes they eat their Meat dry  
with slices of dry'd Flesh.

The great Numbers of People which  
that Country has maintain'd, may be  
collected from the People that the *Spani-  
ards* found there at their first coming,  
which was about 200000. more or  
less, according to the greatness of the  
Districts or Territories; and their Habita-  
tions, which never were in form of a  
City, or Towns: for the *Indians* cannot  
endure any formal Constraint, but love to  
live free in the Fields; and every *Cacique*,  
or Lord, govern'd his own Vassals, who  
placed themselves according to their Con-  
veniences, some in one Valley, and some  
in another, some at the Foot of Moun-  
tains, others on the side of Rivers, some  
by the Sea-side, or on the top of Moun-  
tains; but all under no other form of Go-  
vernment, than the will of their Lord  
the *Cacique*, to whom they yielded a ready  
and prompt Obedience with Joy. Their  
Houses are generally of Wood, without  
any Stories, not very large, nor all of a  
Piece, but each Room fram'd by it self,  
so that when they have a mind to remove  
and choose another Situation, they carry  
away the House by Pieces, or Rooms,  
which ten or twenty Men can easily carry:  
when they take it up, they clear the  
Ground about it, and then at one Cry,  
lifting altogether, they get it up and carry  
it cheerfully away; every one tak-  
ing hold by its Pillars, and when they  
are weary they rest a while, and so on  
again. Their Doors are of the same  
Material, and they have neither Hinges,  
Locks, nor Keys, nor any thing under  
a Lock or Key; their Security consisting  
in each others Fidelity, which they ob-  
serve sacredly towards one another.

Their Num-  
bers and  
Habitat-  
ions.

Their Hou-  
ses.

Their fide-  
lity to one  
another

Their Furniture is very mean, they  
being a People that despise all Conve-  
niences and Superfluities; in so much,  
that that which is their Natural way of  
Living, would be high Pennance with  
other *European* Nations. For First, as to  
their Beds, they have neither Quilts, nor  
Sheets, nor Pillows; much less do they  
need Curtains, Pavillions, or Alcoves:  
The hard Ground is their Couch, upon  
which they lay some poor Skins; and  
for Boulster, they lay a Stone, or a piece  
of Wood, and double their Cloaks to  
lay on it; and that is their highest Con-  
trivance of Ease; They have One or  
Two very coarse Coverlets, which they  
Weave of a sort of Thread as thick as  
ones

Their Fur-  
niture.

Their War-  
like Orna-  
ments.

Their Forts.

Their Mili-  
tary Enhor-  
tations.



Ovalle.  
1664.

ones little Finger. People that use fo little about their Persons, may easily be presum'd to have no Hangings, nor other Ornament to their Walls; They have no Utenfil of Gold or Silver, though they have fo much in their Country; Their Plate is Four or Five Difhes, and fome Spoons of Wood, or a Shell from the Sea fide; a Calabafh or Gourd to drink in; a Leaf of a Tree, or of Maiz, for a Saltfeller: This is all the Apparatus of their Table, which is the Ground, or at beft a little Bench, without any Cloth or Napkins, but only a little Broom, upon which they wipe their Hands.

Their Food  
and Diet.

Their Meats are the moft fimple, and eafily drest, without any Incitements to Gluttony, as in other Nations; but yet they are tafteful enough, and fuch as many of our Europeans like very well. They eat little Flefh; and before the Spaniards came among them, they had neither Sheep, Goats, nor Cows; no nor Hens; They use thefe only at their great Feasts. Their ordinary Dyet is of Maiz, variety of Fruits and Herbs; and moft commonly Gourds, or a fort of Beans, which we call Frizoles. They did eat Fifh, and the Game they Hunted, particularly a fort of fmall Rabbits, which they call *Degus*; and fince the coming in of the Spaniards, they eat Beef and Mutton, of which there is great abundance.

Maiz.

Inftead of Wheat Bread, which they had not before the Spaniards brought it, they eat Maiz boil'd in Water, juft as Rice in the *East-Indies*. This Maiz is, and always has been, the General Nourifhment of the *Indians of America*; and

it is not only their Meat, but their Drink, which they make of the fame Maiz, toafted and fteep'd in Water, and then boil'd and fet by, and that is their *Chicha* or Wine, which they make alfo of the Fruit of other Trees.

Their way of making Flower is very different from ours; They firft toaft their Maiz in great Platters of Earth; thefe they fet upon the Fire full of Sand, which when it is very hot, they take off, and putting the Grains of Maiz to it, ftir them about very falt with a kind of Broom; it is foon toafted; when done, they take it out, and put in more, till they have done enough to make Flower: This they grind between Two Stones thus; They have a Stone fix'd in the Ground, of about the fhape and bignefs of a Sheet of Paper, and fo hollowed, as another Stone of an Oval Figure may play upon it: This the *Indian Woman* takes with both Hands, and being upon her Knees, makes it play upon the other, putting from time to time with her left Hand, the Maiz between the Two Stones, fo as to fupply what falls away, and that the Mill do not ftand ftill: The Flower falls forward into a fort of Box, as it does in our Mills, and almoft as falt, comparing the Strength of a Woman to that of a Stream of Water: She can do enough at once for the Maintenance of her Family, and make a Provision too for a Journey or a Voyage of her Husband or Son to the Wars. This is the proper Bufinefs of the Women; and it would be a Shame for a Man to employ himfelf in it, or in any other Houfhold Bufinefs.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### Of the fame Subject.

Indian  
Plebotomy

WHEN the *Indian* are Sick, they change little of their ordinary way of Living, and they never have a better Bed. Their way of letting Blood is fafer than ours, for it is not with a Lancet, which may either fail to draw Blood, or go too deep, and lame the Arm, if the Surgeon be not very Skillful; but with a fharp Flint, fix'd at the end of a little piece of Wood, fo falt, that there is juft enough left out to cut the Vein, and no more; This they apply to the Vein after they have made a Bandage, as we do, and ftriking a little Stroke upon it, the Blood never fails to come, in greater abundance than our Bleedings are. This

is all that they need a Surgeon or Barber for, they themfelves having no Beards to Shave, and the little Hair they have, every one pulls out, and they take it for an Affront to look Hairry; They have Pinfers which they make of Cockle-fhells, and always have them about them, using them from time to time in Converfation; they thinking it as Honourable to be without that, which other People Nourifh, Comb, and take Care of; which is a good Conviction of the variety of Opinions of Mankind, about what is, and is not Honourable: As for their Hair, they let it grow juft below their Ears, and no lower, and fo need no Barber to cut it, but

Their  
Diet

but do every one help the other to keep the ends of it even.

Their Manner of Cloathing themselves (though of various, and very beautiful Colours, which they give to the Wooll that they Weave their Cloaths of) is very plain and simple; they have no Lining to any of their Cloaths, neither do they wear one under another; Their Drawers come down to their Knees, open and loose, and it is upon their Naked Body, for they use no Shirts; They have a sort of Waistcoat which they call *Macun*, and it is made of about a yard and a half of some Woollen Stuff, which they leave open, so as to put it over their Heads, and then they gird it with a Girdle; They have also a kind of Cloak or Mantle, which they call *Chomi*, which they put on when they go abroad: They have their Arms and Legs naked; and on their Feet they have a sort of Shoe, which they call *Ojota*, and is like the Rope Shoes the Spaniards wear; They wear nothing on their Heads, but a kind of Circle of Wooll, of various Colours, with its Fringes hanging down like a Cap, which they flir or pull off in shew of Respect, as we do our Hats.

In their Feasts, Balls, and Rejoycings, though they do not change the form of their Cloaths, yet they have a richer sort, of finer Wooll, and richer Colours; They put about their Necks some Chains of Shells, which they gather by the Sea side; these they call *Nancoa's*: Others put Snail-shells, strung upon a String, about their Necks; and those of the Straights of *Magellan*, have Pearls very well wrought, and of great Artifice, as is affirm'd by the Authors already cited; and on their Heads they put a kind of Garland, not of Flowers, but of Wooll, dyed of several beautiful Colours, to which they hang fine little Birds, which they esteem, and on each side they have a *Panache* of high Feathers, either White, Red, or Blue, and about half a yard high.

Their way of Dancing is with little Jumps, and a Step or two, not rising much from Ground, and without any Capers, such as the Spaniards use; they Dance all together in a Ring, round a Maypole or Standard, which one of them holds in the middle as an Ensign; and near it are all the Bottles of their Wine, of which they take now and then a sup while they Dance, drinking to one another; for it is a Custom among them never to drink alone any thing that is given them; he that begins takes a sup, and then he that he drinks to, pledges

him, and gives the Cup to another, and so to a Fourth, till it be empty; and yet one has not more than the other; for what this Man does for that, that Man does for this, and so at last they come to be so equally shar'd, that at the end of the Entertainment, they are all alike Drunk, and laid down; for they drink as long as they can stand; but this is not easily brought to pass, for besides what they drink in the day time, they will often pass all night at it, without leaving off, Singing and Dancing to their Drums and Flutes. The Women, as more bashful, do not enter into these Dances, except some one or two, when the Wine has got into their Heads, and then too they do not enter into the Ring with the Men, but Dance by themselves; few of them get Drunk so as to lose their Judgment; so they are upon their guard more, to mind that the Men do not Quarrel, and hurt one another in their Drink. Their Flutes, which they Play upon in these Dances, are made of the Bones of the Spaniards, and other Enemies whom they have overcome in War; This they do by way of Triumph and Glory for their Victory; They make them likewise of Bones of other Animals; but the *Indians* of War Dance only to these of their Enemies.

Their way of Singing, is, all together, raising their Voices upon the same Note, without any difference of Parts or Measure; and at the end of every Song, they Play on their Flutes, and a sort of Trumpets, just as we do on our Guitars in the *Passacalles*; This they repeat to often and so lowd, that one may hear them at a great distance, for in these Feasts they are very numerous; Those who are not engag'd in Dancing, sit together in several Companies, talking together of past Occurrences, and still warming themselves with their Wine; and then they begin to recollect the Injuries they have receiv'd from one another, and to refreshing the Memory of old Contentis and Enmities not reveng'd, and this makes them break out into new Animofities, and sometimes kill one another upon little Provocation.

The Women as well as the Men have their Arms naked, but no other about them; for though they go barefoot, yet their Cloaths, which are very long, cover them from Head to Foot, though in some Places they wear them shorter: This is a plain sort of Mantle, close to their Bodies, without any Lining underneath; this they fasten to their Feet, and having fastened it on their Shoulders

Ovalle.  
1646.

The Women  
have view of  
their  
Feasts.

Their Care  
of their  
Husbands;  
Their Wind  
instruments  
made of  
their Enemies  
Bones.

Their manner  
of  
Cloathing.

Their Finery.

Their  
Dancing.

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*Ovalle.*  
1664. gather it in Pleits, and swath themselves from their Walle to the Breasts, with some fine colour'd Woolli Scarf, of about four Fingers broad, and so long, that it takes so many turns about their Walle, as to keep their Bodies as straight as any: This is all their Dress within Doors.

*The Women*  
*Paint Head-*  
*Dresses,* The *Indian* Women of the better sort, that live in Towns among the *Spaniards*, have learn'd the use of Smocks and Waist-coats under their Mantles, but of no other thing; and one cannot Affront another Woman more, then to offer to put her on Headcloaths, or Necklaces, or Sleeves, or Gloves, or any of those Ornaments which the *Spanish* Women use; and much more if they oblige them to

*And Paint.* put any Paint upon their Faces; nothing of this kind could ever prevail upon them, though born and bred among the *Spanish* Women; and to talk to them of it, even to those among them who love to be Fine, would be like giving them a cut over the Face; so great a horror they have for any thing that is so very contrary to their ancient Customs. They wear nothing on their Heads, but their Hair platted behind their Shoulders, and divided handsomely upon their Forehead over their Eye-brows, and have Locks, which cover part of their Cheeks: so their Face is handsomely and simply adorn'd, without any artifice. When they go abroad, they put upon their Shoulders another half Mantle, square, and fastened before with a Bodkin or Crochet, which answers the Two others on the Shoulders; and thus they go abroad with their Eyes fix'd upon the Ground; for they are naturally very Modest, Honest Women.

*Few Arti-*  
*ficers; all*  
*Soldiers.* This manner of Cloathing themselves, with so much Simplicity and Plainness, as well in the Women as the Men, with so little Pride and Vanity in their Houses, does not much encourage Artificers, who have little to do; and by that means there are the more Men of War, which is the thing in which these Men place their Honour and Felicity, as other Nations do in the Sumptuousness of Palaces and Furniture, or in other Riches and Eminencies either of Arts or Learning; of all which these *Indians* never had any Notion; and yet they learn them easily, when they are taught them, and to a great Perfection. They can neither Read nor Write among themselves, but as to their way of remembering and keeping Account, they have their *Quipoes*, which is a sort of Strings of different bigness, in which they make Knots of several colours, by which they remember, and can give

an Account of the Things committed to their Charge. With these they will give an Account of a great Flock, and tell which have died of Sickness or other Accidents; and which have been spent in the Family, and for the Shepherds; and they will tell every Particular that happened in such and such Occasions, and of what they did and said. When they go to Confess, these *Quipoes* serve them to remember their Sins, and tell them with distinction and clearness: They have besides excellent Memories of their own, and do remember things of very ancient date, just as if they had happened but a little while before; and when they begin to talk them over, (which happens generally when they drink, and begin to be warm'd with Wine) 'tis wonderful how they will repeat things past, with all their Circumstances, and particularly Affronts and Injuries that have been done them, or their Ancestors, refreshing the Memory of things that seem'd to be quite forgotten. For Proof of the Care they take to keep the Memory of remarkable Passages, I must relate here what I learn'd from Father *Diego Torres Bello*, a very Extraordinary Man, both for Holiness of Life, and Skill in Government.

This Great Man returning from *Rome* (whither he had been sent as Procurator of the Province of *Pern*) to found the Province of *Quito*, he saw in a place *A Singular* where Four Ways met, an *Indian*, who, *way of Re-* to the Sound of a Drum, was Singing a *gisting* great many Things all alone in his own *Event* Tongue: The Father call'd one in his Company, who understood it, and ask'd him what that *Indian* meant by that Action, who told the Father, that that *Indian* was as it were the Register of that Country, who, to keep up the Memory of what had pass'd in it from the Deluge to that time, was bound every Holiday to repeat it by the Sound of a Drum, and Singing, as he was then doing: He was moreover oblig'd to Instruct others in the same way, that there might be a Succession of Men to do the same thing after he was gone; and that which he at this time is Singing, is, That in such a year there had been there a White Man call'd *Thommas*, who did great Wonders, Preaching a new Law, which in time was lost and forgotten, &c. and thus we may see the manner by which the *Indians* supply the want of Books and Writings.

The Women of *Chile* are so Bold and Manly in their Courage, that when it is necessary, and that there is want of Men, they take Arms, and behave themselves

as if they were Men. They Play like-  
 while at a very Active Game call'd *La*  
*Chueca*, wherein the Men shew their greatest  
 Agility and Nimbleness, each side striving  
 to get a Ball from the other, and carry it  
 to the Mark with crooked Bandy Sticks;  
 They are about Forty or Fifty on a side,  
 who place themselves in different Posts,  
 so as to be useful one to another, and  
 drive away the Ball from the other Party;  
 and when it happens that Two of differ-  
 ent Sides are at it together, 'tis a plea-  
 sure to see them run, the one to forward  
 it with another Stroke, and the other to  
 get before him and hinder him from strik-  
 ing it, that he may drive it back to his  
 own Side. This is a sport much to be seen;  
 and generally it has many Spectators to  
 see the end of the Play, which often lasts  
 a whole Evening, and sometimes is forc'd  
 to be put off to another day, such Con-  
 tention there is to win these Prizes they  
 Play for.

*The hard  
 Education  
 of the In-  
 dians.*

The Strength and Boldness of the Wo-  
 men comes from the little Tenderness  
 they are Bred with, for they avoid neither  
 Heat nor Cold; and in the Coldest Win-  
 ters, when Birds are kill'd with Cold,  
 they wash their Heads in Cold Water,  
 and never dry their Hair, but let it re-  
 main wet and dry it self in the Air; and  
 as for their Children, they wash them in  
 the Rivers when they are yet very young;  
 and when they are brought to Bed, in a  
 very little time they are about the House,  
 as if it were not they, but some other  
 Woman that had Laid in.

If the Women behave themselves thus,  
 what may we expect from the Men? 'Tis  
 a wonderful thing how little they fear  
 Weather, though in the midst of Winter;  
 and to see an *Indian*, with that simple  
 Habit we have describ'd, his Head bare,

without Hat or any other Covering. I  
 have seen them in this Condition endure  
 mighty Showers, which wet them all  
 over, and came out at their Breeches,  
 and yet Laugh, and not value that, which  
 to others would have been Insupport-  
 able.

*Dualle.  
 1646.  
 The Indian  
 Men hard-  
 ened a-  
 gainst Wea-  
 ther.*

I remember, upon this Occasion, what  
 was said by a *Spanish* Gentleman of a  
 Merry Humour, to one newly come from  
*Europe*, who, with Great Charity, was  
 pitying these Poor *Indians* for their Suf-  
 ferings in Winter, which in that Country  
 is very severe. The Gentleman ask'd the  
 good Father, what he had to, keep his  
 Face from the Cold? To which he an-  
 swer'd, Nothing, because every Body's  
 Face was us'd to the Weather: To which  
 the Gentleman replied, *Those Indians are*  
*all Face*, for from their Infancy they have  
 no Defence against the Cold; Who is it  
 that pitties a Trout or other Fish, for be-  
 ing in the Water, because they are bred  
 in that Element? The same may be said  
 of these *Indians*, who are like Fishes, and  
 are bred to all that Hardship, and so we  
 need not wonder at it. By these Means  
 they are so hardened, that a Wound  
 which the Bravest *Spaniard* would take  
 his Bed for, does give them so little trouble,  
 that I have seen them go about without  
 minding it. I have known them have a  
 broken Head by accident at Play, and  
 all they do is to wash it in Cold Water,  
 never leaving their Employment or Bu-  
 siness; and with this, and the application  
 of their own Herbs, which, indeed, are  
 of great Virtue, they are soon well; but  
 the Excellency of their own Constitution  
 helps not a little to their Cure in Wounds,  
 as well as all other Distempers, out of  
 which they get well with a great deal less  
 Time and Care than the *Spaniards*.

*Note this,  
 it wounds  
 neither them  
 the Spaniards.*

# CHAP. V.

## Of other Qualities, proper to the Natives of Chile.

*The People  
 of Chile  
 are  
 temperate.*

FROM this strong Constitution, comes  
 the admirable Patience of their Minds,  
 and the little sense they show of that which  
 amongst us *Europeans* would be a great Mor-  
 tification. That which happened between  
 an *Indian* and Father *Lewis* of *Valdivia* is  
 admirable upon this Subject. The *Indian*  
 came to confess to the Father; who to  
 make him enter into a Penance for his  
 Sins, order'd him to wear a *Cilice* or Hair-  
 Cloth upon his Skin; it was a very hard  
 one, and such as would have punish'd one

of us severely: The *Indian* put it on, and  
 about a year after, there was a Procession  
 of the Holy Sacrament, at which he  
 danc'd, and seeing his Confessor in the  
 Church, he left his Dancing, and came  
 to him, saying, Look here how I have  
 serv'd what thou gavest me a year ago, and  
 shew'd it him upon his Naked Skin: The  
 Father was astonish'd to see, that what he  
 gave him to Mortifie him, was turn'd to  
 an Ornament; and asking him, how long  
 he had worn it, was answer'd by him, I

*Spaniards  
 dance at  
 Processions.*

*Ovalle.*  
1646. have never left it off one Minute since thou gavest it me; and so return'd to his Dancing, shewing his Companions the Present the Father had made him, as pleas'd with it, as if it had been a Gold or Silver Brocade; and so far he was from taking it for Mortification, or feeling its Roughness, that he wore it for a Favour given him by his Father Confessor.

The Complexion of the Chilians

These *Indians* of *Chile* are the fairest Complexioned, and Whitest of all *America*; and those of the Coldest Countreys are the Whitest, as we see in *Europe*; but the very Antipodes of *Flanders*, never come to be so White as the *Flemmings*; and among all the *Chilianians*, I do not remember a Red Hair'd one; for they all, both Men and Women, have Black Hair, and that very rough, and hard, and thick, in so much that the *Mestizo's* or Mungrel Breed of a *Spanish* Man and *Indian* Woman, are known and distinguish'd by that from the Children of a *Spanish* Man and *Spanish* Woman; and this will last to the Second and Third Generation before it softens. There is little difference in any thing else, either of Shape, Feature, or Disposition, nor in the manner of Speaking, or Sound of the Voice; and as for the Language, not only the *Mestizo's*, but the *Indians* bred among the *Spaniards*, are as ready at the Phrase and Turn of the *Spanish* Tongue, as any *Spaniard*. I have made Experience of this often in Confessing them; for the Confessionary is so turn'd, as the Father Confessor cannot see the Woman that enters to Confess; it happened to me often to have an *Indian* Woman come in after a *Spanish* Woman; and I could not find any difference, till she her self, finding I us'd her with that Distinction and Civility due to *Spanish* Ladies, would humbly tell me she was but an *Indian*.

They bear their years very well.

The Constitution of these People, is the cause, that time does not make so strong an Impression on them as on us; and they bear their years mighty well, turning grey very late, at Threescore or thereabouts, and till then they look like young Men: When they are over White, or have any Baldness, you may guess them at about a Hundred: They all live long, and particularly the Women; and when by Age they lose their Judgment, they seldom falter in their Memory, which lasts them to their dying day, even to remember all the Particulars of their young days from their Infancy. Their Teeth and Eyes are so good, that they seldom lose either; and, in short, all the Infir-

Good Teeth

mities of old Men, which are the forerunners of death, come to them later than to other Nations; But yet, if they happen to go out of their own Country, they lose all their Vigour, as we experience daily in our Prisoners of War; who being sold to *Peru*, as soon as they feel the Heat of the Tropick, they fall Sick, and most of them dye; and this is no more than what happens to the *Spaniards*, when they come from their own Climate to *Porto Bello*, or *Panama*; nay, the *Spaniards* born in *Chile*, venture their Lives, that go to those Countreys that are between the Tropicks.

From this Experience the *Indians* have of the Hot Countreys, comes the great Reluctancy they shew to go out of their own; and the Relentment they express against those who carry or send them abroad; and 'tis not to be imagin'd the strange and rash Contivances they have to make their Escapes from *Lima*; for though they have above 500 Leagues to go to their own home from *Peru*, yet they undertake it, and most commonly compass it, through a vast number of Dangers and Inconveniences: For, First, they are forced to go all along by the Sea side, by which one may guess how much they go about, since they fetch the compass of all the Bays and Nooks, and double all the Capes.

The next Inconvenience which they meet with, is want of Food; for they dare not enter any Town, or Inhabited place; so they are reduced to feed on Cockles and other Shellfish on the Seaside, which is no very good Nourishment. The Third Difficulty is the passing of so many, and such swift Rivers.

The Fourth Inconvenience is the want of Water to drink; for 'tis not possible, that in so great a Journey, they should not sometimes miss of fresh Water to quench their thirst. All these Difficulties, and many others, which are obvious to Travellers, are overcome by these *Indians* by length of time and Patience; and they get at last to their own Country, and are out of Slavery, not by the Means of Gold or Silver, but by the Bravery of their Minds.

The Boldness of some other *Indians* was yet more remarkable; These were carried in a Ship to be sold as Slaves at *Lima*, by a *Portuguese* Gentleman of the Habit of Christ, who was going about things belonging to War at the time that I went the same Voyage: This Navigation is made commonly in fight of the Coast, more or less according as the Winds serve, but

Conest en chure to leave their own Country.

An Ster

A Desperate O Indian

The Boldness of some Chilianians to avoid Slavery.

but still they keep a good way out at Sea for fear of the Rocks. These *Indians* resolv'd among themselves to throw themselves into the Sea, to avoid this Slavery; and one day, when they found the Ship in a proportionable distance to the Shore, so as they durst venture to trust to their Swimming, they got loose very dexterously from their Fetters, and slid, without being perceiv'd, down by the Ships side into the Sea, and when they mis'd them they were out of sight, and so it was in vain to follow them. Among these Prisoners there was an old Man, who either because he was not trusted by the others, or because they had not the opportunity of acquainting him with the Design, he not being shut up with them, but having the liberty of the Ship as an Old Man, remain'd behind after they were gone. This *Indian* began to think of the thing, and to weigh with himself how his Companions had undertaken and perform'd an extraordinary Action; he reflected how they had arrived at their own Land, and among their Friends, who perhaps were Enquiring about him, and that every Body despis'd him as a Coward, and a Man of little Spirit, since he had not been able to overcome the Adverse Fortune which the others had conquer'd, but had submitted to it; He represented to himself the Welcomes and Joys which their Friends express'd, and the Feasts and Entertainments made for their Return, and the Embraces and Caresses which they receiv'd from their Relations: All this, I say, made such an Impression in his Mind, and rais'd such an Emulation, that he could not bear the Reproaches he made himself, particularly seeing himself without a Remedy; at last, after much Thought and Pensivecess, he came to a Resolution, which was, to do something which should be bolder than what his Companions had perform'd, and that in the manner of doing it, for he resolv'd to do it by day, in the sight of all the *Spaniards*; and for a beginning, he design'd to kill his Master, not in the night, and without Witnesses, as he might easily have done, but upon the Deck in the sight of all those in the Ship, to get himself a greater Name of Brave; To this end, he took one day, a great Knife in his Hand, and fell upon the Captain, and having wounded him in several places, with as much precipitation as he could, leap'd over-board with so much suddenness, that he slip'd away from those who endeavour'd to seize him. 'Tis to be imagin'd

they were all wonderfully surpriz'd at the Resoluteness of the Action; They immediately brought the Ship too, and put out the Boat in all the haste that could be to follow the *Indian*, who Swimming like a Fish, was already almost out of sight; but they overtook him, and bid him yield himself Prisoner, since he could not scape; and finding him still endeavour to get away, they struck at him with their Launces, but he dexterously avoided all their Strokes with great Presence of Mind, diving and appearing again where they least expected him; upon this they fir'd upon him, and wounded him in several places; but neither then did he yield, nor would ever had a thought of it, but the loss of Blood taking away his Strength, had made him unable to get away, so they brought him almost expiring to the Ship, having more valued Death with the Reputation of a Brave Man, than Life with the Infamy of a Coward, and the loss of Reputation among his own People. This Fact does not only shew the Bravery of the Nation, but likewise their great Aversion to go out of their own Country, and how heavy a Yoke they think Subjection to be; and we shall see hereafter how much they have done to defend their beloved Liberty.

Now let us speak of some other Customs, these *Indians* have. They Solemnize their Marriages their own way, and in a very contrary manner to that of the *Europeans*: For as to the Portion, the Woman does not provide it, but the Man, and neither of them enjoy it, but it passes to the propriety and use of the Father of the young Woman; so that the Husband has a charge upon him of maintaining his Wife without any help, nay, rather with less Ability, for he parts with some of his Substance to purchase her; so that in this Country 'tis no Charge at all to have many Daughters; but rather a Part of their Estate and Substance.

They take many Wives; and the greatest Obstacle they have to be converted to our Religion, is this Vice of Polygamy, which they embrace with great Sensuality, though 'tis chargeable; because at the same time 'tis a Figure of Power and Riches. The First Wife has some Preeminence over the others, and has the ordering of them; yet they all look upon themselves as lawful Wives, and their Children as Legitimate; yet the Son of the First Inherits the Estate and the Honour of *Cuzque*, and has a Power over his other Brothers.

An odd Story.

A Desperate Old Indian.

Quelle 1640

Their Marriages

Daughters are no Burden, but rather riches to a Father.

How the Savage Polygamy

The



The Subjects obey their Lord with great Obedience, Punctuality, Love and Respect; and for this reason they\* have no Prisons nor strong Places to hold them in; for their natural Love and Respect they bear their Cæsar, is a Law Inviolable in their Hearts, and a Reward of their Obedience, which they show in all Regards that may please him.

*Their Wars  
Voluntary,  
without  
Pay*

When a *Cacique* has a Mind to make War, he need not make Provision of Money for Pay, without which amongst us Men will not Fight even for their King; he need only give out his Orders, and they all come with Arms and Horses, bearing their own Charges during the Enterprize; and this is the Reason that they can assemble so powerful an Army in so little time, they all looking upon the Common Cause as their own: and as they make the good of their Country the Motive of their Arms, every one thinks himself sufficiently rewarded if they can defend that from their Enemies. The Sound of the Drum and Trumpet is only to shew them the necessity of their meeting in Arms; at which they immediately leave Wife and Children, and all that is dear to them, with the hazard of never seeing them more, as it often happens.

In the Distribution of the Booty and Slaves taken in War, there is no other Method, than that every one has what he can get, so that the bravest and most diligent, are the best provided, without any Obligation of giving any Part of it to their Captains or General, for in this

they are all equal ; and Valour alone makes *Very brave*  
the Distinction, which they shew in an  
eminent Degree, being very desirous to re-  
cover some of our Arms, such as Guns,  
swords, Lances ; for they have no Iron *Want Iron.*  
of their own. When they return from  
War ; and find what Men they have lost,  
'tis incredible what Lamentations Cries,  
and Tears, proceed from the Widows  
and Children of those who are Dead ;  
and though this be a common Sentiment  
of Humanity, practis'd amongst all Na-  
tions who value Society and Proximity of  
Blood, which are the Foundation of  
Friendship, yet the *Indian* Women seem  
to surpass all others ; for they do not cry  
in secret, but set up their Notes, so that  
when any one hears them at a distance,  
it provokes more to laughter than moves  
to Compassion. When a Man dies at  
Home, the manner of their expressing  
their Sorrow is more remarkable ; for  
the Women all get about the dead Body,  
and the Eldest beginning, the others fol-  
low all in the same Tone ; and thus they  
continue a great while, so that they never  
give over, as long as they can hold out,  
and this Custom they preserve, even after  
they are Baptiz'd, and live among Chris-  
tians ; but not that which they had of  
opening the dead Bodies, to know of  
what Disease they died, and to put Meat,  
and Drink, and Clothes in their Graves  
with them, as also Jewels and things of  
Value ; neither do they cover their Graves  
with Pyramides of Stones, nor use other  
Ceremonies practis'd by the Gentiles of  
those Parts.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the* **Chilenian Indians, who Inhabit the Islands of Chile.**

WE divided the Kingdom of *Chile* into three Parts, and the *Ilands* made one: These are very well Peopled; those who live in the Fertile *Ilands*, which are capable of producing Corn, and Feeding Flocks, pass their Lives as the *Indians* of *Terra firma* do, eating Flesh and several Fruits, the Product of their *Ilands*. Those who inhabit the Barren or less Fertile *Ilands*, eat Fish of the Sea, and Shell-Fish, as also *Potatoes*; and some, who cannot have any Wool, Cloath themselves with the Barks of Trees. Some go stark-naked, though their Climate is mighty Cold, and by Custom do not feel the Hardness of the Weather overmuch.

*Clothing*

Others have a strange way of Cloathing themselves, which is to gather a certain Earth with Roots about it, to give it a Consistency; and others Cloath themselves with Feathers, as Brother Gregory of *Leon* Reports in his Map. They are all tall Men; and in some Places there are Giants, as the *Dutch* relate, who lay, they found Skuls that would contain with in them some of their Heads; for they us'd to put them on like Helmers: They found also Dead Mens Bones of Ten and Eleven Foot long, whose Bodies by consequence must have been Thirty Foot High, which is a Prodigious thing. Those whom they saw alive, were generally taller by the Head and Shoulders than the

*Dutch*. This appears by the Relation of General *Scheuten*; and from that of *George Spilberg*, we learn, that when they were in the Streights of *Magellan*, they came to an *Island* which they call'd the *Island* of *Patagons*, or *Gyants*, because of some they saw there, and on the *Tierra del Fuego*. Among the rest, they saw one who was upon a Rock, to see the Ships go by, and they say of him that he was *hominis admodum, & horrendæ Longitudinis*.

Likewise we know, from the Fleet commanded by *Don Fray Garcia Jofre de Loaísa*, a Knight of *St. John's* Order, that at the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins they found the Footsteps of Men, of a large Stature, and met two Canoes of Savages, whom because of their Strength and Stature, they call'd *Giants*; they came near the Ships, and seem'd to threaten them, but those of the Ship endeavouring to follow them, they could not come up with them, for they Rowed so swiftly, they seem'd to fly: 'tis probable these Canoes were made of the Ribs of Whales, which are there in abundance, and they found one before with the Sides and Stereidge of Whalebone.

In another Voyage, made by *Thomas Candish*, an English Gentleman, they found in a Port (in a very Inaccessible Place) a Company of *Indians*, very lusty Men, who notwithstanding the prodigious Cold of that Country, lived in the Woods like Satyrs, and shewed so much Strength, that they would throw Stones of Three or Four Pound Weight a great way. We read likewise in the Relation of the Voyage of *Magellan*, that as he winter'd in the Bay and River of *St. John*, there came to the Ship Six *Indians*, so tall, that the lowest of them was taller than the tallest *Spaniard* Aboard; that having made a great Kettle of the Sweepings of the Biscuit for them, enough for twenty Men, those six Eat it up entirely, without leaving a crum of it. *Magellan* gave them a sort of Coats of Red Wool, with which they were much pleas'd, never having seen any before; their ordinary wear being Deer Skins. They learn'd from them, that in the Summer they us'd to come down to the Seaside to live, but in the Winter they withdrew more into the Heart of the Country. We know likewise by these same Authors, that the number of the *Indians* that inhabit those Coasts, is considerable, particularly in the Port call'd the Port of *Shell-fish*, where as soon as they landed great numbers of *Indians*, with their Wives and Children, came to them, and exchanged with them great quantities of Pearl ready

wrought in Points, like Diamonds, very artfully, for Cizars, Knives, and other Baubles; as also for Spanish Wine, which pleas'd them extremely; but they came no more, for they were frighted with seeing the *Spaniards* shoot some Game.

The Fleet of *George Spilberg* found also great numbers of Inhabitants in the Land on the other side the Strait; and when the Captains, call'd the *Nodaks*, were by the Kings Order to view the Strait of *St. Vincent*, they found, upon a Point of Land of that Strait, great Store of People. The same is said by the *Saballs* and others, who went from *Peru* to search the *Tierra del Fuego*; and all those who have pass'd the Streights, have constantly seen Men and Inhabitants on the Shores in several Places; and at one Place some of *Spilberg's* Men Landing to pursue some Birds of a very fine Colour, which they saw on Shore, had scarce begun to shoot them, but they were environ'd with *Indians*, who attack'd them so furiously with Clubs, that happy was he that could make his escape to the Ship; and many of them were knocked on the Head.

The *Nodaks* likewise saw, in the Bay of *St. Gregory*, great numbers of Inhabitants, with whom the Sea-men drove a Trade by exchanging some Spanish Trifles for Gold. By all which 'tis apparent how well peopled all that Coast and the Islands are; yet we do not know what sort of People inhabit the Four Score Islands, discovered by *Pedro Sarmiento*, nor no Body Landed out of that Fleet; but we know that the Islanders of *Mocha* are a Peaceable Civil Nation, several Ships having touch'd there and at *Sancta Maria*. As for the Nation call'd the *Obanos*, they are a poor People, but good natur'd, as has been seen by the *Gilboenians*, in whom the *Spaniards* have found great Docility and a good Understanding.

In the Islands discovered by *Francis Drake*, in about Five and fifty Degrees, of which we have already made mention, they met with Canoes of Men and Women stark naked, which is the more remarkable, because of the excessive Cold of those parts, where there was no Day with them, though the Sun with us was in the Tropick of *Cancer*, and by consequence made our Summer.

And now lately, in the Year Forty three, the *Dutch* having sent a Fleet under the Command of *Anthony Brun*, which pass'd the Streights with a design to settle at *Valdivia*, as they endeavour'd; they sail'd afterwards into Seventy Degrees, where they discover'd an Island, which they

Orville  
1646.

The Islands  
and  
St. Gregory  
are well  
peopled by  
Savages.

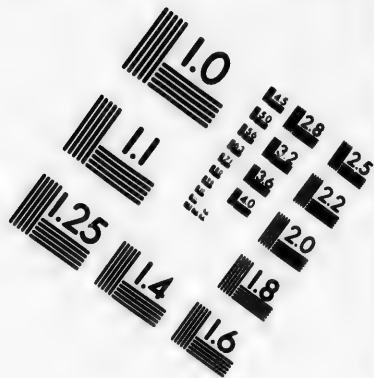
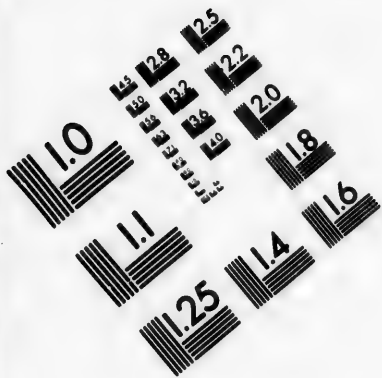
Naked People in a very Cold Country.

Gold Rowers.

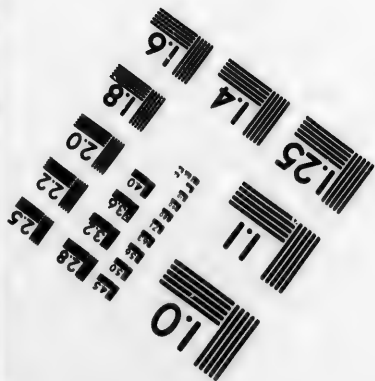
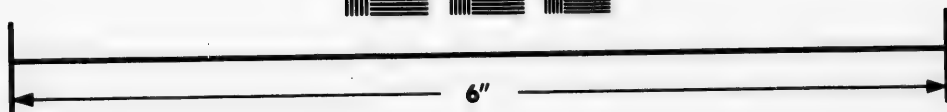
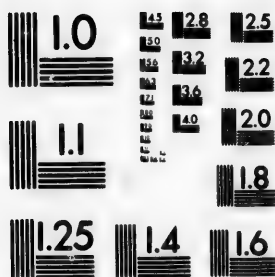
Canoes of Whalebone.

Very Angustian

Giants.



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they call'd *Barnevels*, in which they saw the Footsteps of Men of large Stature, and observ'd great Smoaks; this Place was so Cold that the *Dutch* could not endure the Rigor of the Weather, which was nothing but Frost and Snow, though it was our *June*, or *July*. 'Tis a wonder how those *Islanders* pass their time in so much Cold and Darkness, without any thing to cover their Nakedness; for wanting Commerce with *Chile*, or other Parts in *Europe*, they have neither Sheep, nor Goats, nor any thing that Produces Wool fit to make them Garments. It must be own'd that Men are quite other Creatures than the nice Imagination of some Effeminate Nations takes them to be; and Humane Nature by Custom accomodates it self to the Place where 'tis bred, so that very often Men will not leave that Place for any other more full of Conveniency. 'Tis for this that these *Indians* show such an Aversion to leave their Country where they were born and bred; and though it be a miserable one, and those they go to, more delicious, yet there is no sweetness in any one like that of their own Country.

Mankind naturally hardy.

A Report of Pigmies.

There is a Report likewise, that in the Streights of *Magellane* there are Pigmies, but I know not upon what it is founded; for all the Authors that relate the Voyages made into those Parts, speak al-

ways of Gyants, or Men of a Gigantick Form, who exceed us in Strength and Stature; and 'tis said in one of these Relations that the Ships Men, in a certain Place, beginning to Fight with these *Indians*, they pull'd up great Trees by the Roots, to use them as a Retrenchment, as we may see in a Picture in *Theodore*, and *Jean de Brie*; but I cannot imagine how this report of Pigmies was Invented, and it seems to me a Jest or Irony, or perhaps among these Gyants there are some Dwarfs.

That which was seen by the Vice-Admiral of *George Spilberg's* Fleet, was a Body of about Two Foot and a Half high, which was buried with another of an Ordinary Stature, in a Grave of very little Depth, and cover'd after the *Indian* way with a Pyramide of Stones, in an *Island* call'd the great *Island*, about the Second Mouth of the Streights; and from hence, perhaps, or from having seen some of that littleness alive, this report of Pigmies took its Rise.

This is all the Account I can give, of the Inhabitants of the Streights, and *Islands* about it: Time will perhaps enable us to be more particular, when by Commerce we are better acquainted with them; and then without doubt there will not be wanting Authors to Write about them.

## CHAP. VII.

Of the Indians of *Cuyo*, who are on the other side of the Cordillera, to the East of *Chile*.

THE *Indians* of the Province of *Cuyo*, though in many things they are like the Inhabitants of *Chile*, yet in many others they are not so: For First, they are not so White, but more Copper colour'd, which may be attributed to the great Heat they endure in Summer. Secondly, they are not so cleanly, nor do not build such neat Houses to live in; but their Habitations are wretched, nay, some who live in the Marches, make themselves Holes in the Sand, into which they go like wild Beasts. Thirdly, they are not so laborious to Cultivate their Land, and so have not such variety of Product as those of *Chile*. Fourthly, they are not so brave nor Warlike as the *Indians* of *Chile*. Their Language is likewise different, and so different, that I do not know one Word of the one, that is in the other; but yet the Language of *Chile*, being so Universal that it is the same all over the Kingdom, to the

The Indians of Cuyo, are Copper Colour'd.

Foot of the Cordillera, those of *Cuyo* learn'd it too, and that very perfectly; but I never observ'd that a *Chile* Indian spoke the Language of *Cuyo*, which shews the Advantage that the Language of *Chile* has over the other.

In return of these Advantages which the *Chilenians* have, those at *Cuyo* have some over them. And the first is in the Stature, which is Taller, but not so Strong and well set as the *Chilenians*, but rather raw Bon'd without Fleish: I do not remember I ever saw a Fat *Cuian* among so many as I have seen. They are likewise better Work-Men in some things which require Patience and length of time, such as Basket-Work of several Figures, all of Straw and yet so close work'd that they will hold Water, for which reason they make their Drinking Vessels of them; and as they cannot break by a fall upon the Ground, they are very lasting, and the Curiosities of

Basket Work that will hold Water.

The ans Hair the C nian

The W Paint Faces Green

A Proof their A lity.

of this kind which they make, very much valued for their Work and Colours.

Likewise they prepare several Furs of Animals which they hunt; and they are very soft and warm for Winter: They hunt and catch Ostriches likewise, and make many Works of their Feathers, with which they adorn themselves on their Festivals, mingled with the Feathers of other Birds. They likewise hunt the wild Goats and Deer, and are the Masters of all the *Bezoar* Stones, which they sell to the *Spaniards* so dear, that any one who should buy them to get by them, would make but a small Profit in *Europe*.

*The Cuyians more hairy than the Chile- nians.*

*The Women Paint their Faces Green.*

These *Cuyians* are also more Hairy, and have more Beard than the *Chilenians*, though they pull their Hair as the others do, but with more trouble; and they never look so Smooth as those of *Chile*. They are all well shap'd and nimble, and have a good Air; they have also good Understandings. The Women are Tall and Slender, and I do not know that I ever saw Taller. They Paint their Faces Green, which is so well fected in their Skin, that there is no getting it out; most commonly they Paint only their Nostrils; some their whole Faces, and the Men their Beards and Lips. Their Habit is decent in both Sexes; the Women let their Hair grow as long as they can, but the Men only below their Ears. In all other things are like the *Chilenians*.

They are very nimble and good Travellers without tiring. I have seen them run up the steepest and steepest Hills of the great *Cordillera*, like so many Goats; and this the Women will do as well as the Men, nay, the little Children too: The Women will run with their Children in a Cradle, fastned to their Backs, by a Strap that comes over their Forehead, and with all this Weight they follow their Husbands, with so much ease and agility, that is wonderful.

*A Proof of their Agi- lity.*

For a Proof of the Admirable disposition of these People, in walking, and running, a Corrigidor and Captain General of that Province told me a Story about their Hunting their Venison, which is very singular: He told me, That as soon as they find their Game out, they draw near them, and follow them upon a half trot, keeping them still in sight, without leaving them so much as to eat; and in a Day or two they begin to tire them so as they can come up with them, and kill them, and return home Loaded with them, where they Feast upon them, with their Families, till they have made an end: For these *Indians* are such Gluttons natu-

rally, that a few of them will eat up a Calf or a young Heifer in a Meeting: But they are as good at fasting, when they have nothing to eat; for they will pass several days with a little Maize and some Roots which grow Wild. They are also very Dexterous Archers, and often kill with their Arrows the Game they see.

I shall not omit a particular Favour bestowed on these *Indians* by God Almighty; which is a singular Instinct of Tracing and following any lost Thing. Of which I shall give two Examples which hapned in the City of *St. Jago*.

Our College had a Cart belonging to it, which stood at the Gate of a Garden, to which our *Seminarists* did use to go to refresh themselves; it was Stole one Night, and being miss in the Morning by one of our Lay Brothers, he immediately went to find out a *Guarpe*, (for that is the Name they give those finding *Indians*); he presently fell upon the Scent or Piste, and followed it, taking with him the Lay Brother, till he came to a River, where it fail'd him, but he lost not the Hopes of finding it; he cross'd the River, and recross'd it again, once and twice, by so many different Fords; (the Man that Stole it, as he since confess'd, had cross'd so many times to break the Piste to the follower) after this he went four Leagues outright, and there he found, it when the Man that had it believ'd himself most safe from being discover'd.

Another time, a certain Person having lost a Parcel of Oranges, he employ'd a *Guarpe*, who having led him through many Streets and turnings, brought him at last to a House, where finding the Door shut, he bid him, Knock and go in, for there, said he, are thy Oranges; he did so, and found them. There are every Day Experiments of this kind made by them to admiration. They are likewise stout Workers, very strong, and lasting in Labour.

Next to these *Indians* of *Cuyo*, are the *Indians Pampa's*, call'd so because they inhabit those vast Plains, which are extended for about 400 Leagues to the East, and reach to the North Sea. Those of the Point of *Los Venados* are the nearest the Kingdom of *Chile*, and are much of the same kind. These *Pampa's* though have no Houses, in which they differ from all Mankind; for the first thing Men generally do, is to cover themselves from the Inclemency of the Air, and this is the thing which these *Pampa's* do the least care for; perhaps they are of opinion, that 'tis an injury to the Author of Mankind, to look for more Shelter than he afforded Men

*Ovalle. 1646.*

*They pretend to an Instinct of finding lost things.*

*Build no Houses.*



*Ovalle.*  
1646. at first, which is the Earth with the Heavens for Vault or Cover; and that to defend themselves from Rain, it was enough to make any little Cover, which might easily be taken away and set up in another Place.

*Love Indulgency.*

This they observe, and look upon it as a sort of Prison or Captivity, to be tyed to one Place; for this Reason they will neither have House, nor Gardens, nor Plantations, or Possessions, which are like Chains to hinder their Removal to other Places. For they judge that the greatest of all Earthly felicities is to have the absolute, entire and independent use of their own Free-will; to live to day in one Place, to morrow in another: Sometimes, say they, I have a Mind to enjoy the Freshness of a River side; and being weary of that, I pass to another: Otherwhile I have a mind to live in Woods and Solitudes, and when I am weary of their Shades, I go to the open Air of Plains and Meadows: In one Place I hunt, in another I fish; here, I enjoy the Fruits of one Territory, and when they fail, I seek out another, where they are beginning to ripen; in short, I go where I will, without leaving behind me any thing I Regret or desire; which uses to be the torment of those who are fixed. I fear no ill News; for I forsake nothing I can lose; and with the Company of my Wife and Children, which I always have, I want for nothing.

This is the Account that these People give of themselves; and thus they pass a Life without Cares; here to day, to morrow in another place; making in an Instant, with four little Posts, a Hut cover'd with Boughs, or some Hide of a Beast. Their Incomes are their Bow and Arrows, with which they provide them with Flesh, with which they drink Water; only sometimes they make their drink call'd *Chichea*, of Fruits of the Trees, as they do in *Chile*. Their Cloaths are some Leaves for decency, and a Skin which is like a Cloak to cover them in other Parts. They make Holes in their Lips, and put some Glass or Brass Pendants in them, and sometimes Silver ones. The Men let their Hair grow to their Shoulders; and the Women, as long as it will. There seems to be one thing wanting to this Nation, which all other *Indian* Nations have, which is the Bread they make of Maiz, or Wheat, and some of Rice; but yet they do not want a Supply of this kind; for because they have not these Grains, they make Bread of the Cods of a Tree, which we in *Spain* call *Algaroba*; and because that does not last long, they have invented

a strange sort of Bread made of Locusts, (nay I have heard of *Mosquitos*;) but the Locusts use to be in such vast quantities in those great Plains call'd the *Pampa's*, that as I travel'd over them, I often saw the Sun intercepted, and the Air darkned with Flights of them.

The *Indians* observe where they light to rest; and those Plains being here and there full of Thickets, they rest in them, and choose the highest for Shelter; this the *Indians* know, and approaching softly in the Night, they set Fire to the Thicket, which with the high Winds that reign in those Plains, is soon reduc'd to Ashes, and the Locusts with them: Of these they make great Heaps; and as they are ready roasted, they have nothing more to do, but to grind them to Powder; of the Flower of which, they make a sort of Bread, which maintains them. To the same end they use an Herb call'd *Cibil*, which either by Pact with the Devil, or by natural Vertue, affords them a Sustainance for several Days, only by keeping it in their Mouths, where it makes a White Foam, which appears upon their Lips; it is a very disagreeable sight, and made me very sick to see it.

*The Herb Cibil, its Vertue.*

Though these People are not so Warlike as the *Chile Indians*, yet they are Courageous, and have shewed it upon several occasions. They are very Dexterous at their Bows and Arrows, with which they make incredible Shots. But besides these, they have a very extraordinary sort of Weapon of a new kind, which is made up of two Bowls, the one Bigger, and is a Stone perfectly well rounded about the bigness of an ordinary Orange; the other is of a Bladder or hard Leather, which they fill with some Matter of less weight than the Stone: These two Balls are tied strongly to each end of a Strong Whiplcord, which they twist of a Bulls Pizel; The *Indian* standing on a high Ground, takes the lesser Ball in his Hand, and lets the other fly, holding it like a Sling over his Head to take aim, and hit his Adversary with the heavy Ball, which they direct to the Head, or Legs of their Enemy; and thus they entangle him so, as to bring him to the Ground, and then the *Indian* leaps from the Height where he was, and without giving him time to *Disembarrass* himself, they kill him; and this Instrument is so Powerful in their Hands, that it not only brings a Man to the Ground, but a Horse or a wild Bull, which are very frequent in those Parts, since

*A strange sort of Weapon.*

*Bread of Locusts.*

since the coming of the *Spaniards* among them,

At this time they have no Wars with any; for though they do not own a Subjection, yet they carry themselves to the *Spaniards* very Friendly; and the reason is, because they see their Towns so Populous and Strong, that it would be in vain for them to stir, or make any Attempt against them; They have the Liberty of going in and out as they please; and when they have taken a Kindness for a *Spaniard*, they will come a Troop of them in Harvest time to help him to get it in, and when it is over they return to their

own way of Living; but there are others who come in Troops to the Highway, and if the *Spaniards* are not well Arm'd, attack them in their Waggons; for which reason they seldom set out but a great many together, and well provided for an Encounter; but most commonly they are well pleas'd with some little Present, which they ask very boldly, as if they were Masters of all the Goods in the Waggons: They generally are content with a little Biscuit or Wine; but if the Travellers are too niggardly, they are in danger all the way, and must owe their Safety to their Fire-Arms.

*Ovalle.*  
1645.

M 2

The

# The Fourth Book.

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## OF THE

### First Entrance of the Spaniards

## INTO THE

# KINGDOM

## OF

# CHILE.

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### CHAP. I.

#### *The Introduction to this Book.*

*Ovalle.*  
1646.

**H**AVING hitherto Treated of those Three Parts, into which at first we divided the Kingdom of *Chile*; Of its Soil and Climate; Of its Temperature and Properties; Of its Inhabitants, and their Amity, Nobility, and Customs; The Order of this History requires we should now Treat of the Entrance of the *Spaniards* into their Country, since by that, it has been chang'd much for the better in many things; and although what we have already mention'd about the *Flocks*, *Fruit*, *Bread*, *Wine*, *Oyl*, &c. of which they had no Idea before the *Spaniards* came among them; yet this is nothing in comparison with the Advantages they receive by the Light of the Gospel, which by the Means of the same *Spaniards*, was and is communicated to them. Upon this Consideration, we may well Excuse some Military Excesses of Coverousness in some of the first Discoverers, and their Soldiers; who as such, and Men who are

bred in Disorder and Confusion, and us'd to Imbrow their Hands in Blood where they find resistance, had less regard to the strict Rules of Justice towards the *Indians*; but this was against all the Orders of their Catholic Majesties, who from the beginning recommended most strictly the Preservation of the Privileges of those Poor People, charging all their Governors, Captains, Conquerors, and Royal Ministers, That they should always have before their Eyes, in the Conquest of this New World, not so much the Dilatation of their Royal Power and Monarchy, as the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Kind Usage of the *Indians*; Their Conversion being the principal Motive of the Undertaking, as we shall see in its proper place.

But how is it possible, Morally speaking, that Humane Actions, though never so well design'd upon high Motives, should not have a mixture of the Inconveniences which Passion, not overcome by Reason,

Quito  
Tempe  
rough  
der the  
Line.

Reason, produces? And so 'tis no wonder, that in the beginning of those Discoveries, some Disorders should happen, though they never were so Exorbitant as some Authors make them; and particularly in *Chile* they were much less, because the Inhabitants of those Parts made the *Spaniards* feel their Valour at their very first entrance, where they found their Progress oppos'd with greater Vigour than they imagin'd.

But since this Kingdom is one of the Considerable Parts of *America*, it will be necessary first to say something of the Discovery of the New World; for this

being the remotest part of it towards the South, it was necessary to pass all the rest before it could be discover'd; and therefore, though I have not a design to make any Relation but of the Kingdom of *Chile*, I shall nevertheless touch upon the other Discoveries, and follow the Steps of the Conquerors in order, as the Histories of them do relate; so the Subject of this Book will be better understood, by opening the manner of the finding them, and the Order of Time in which this Progress was made, and so place each Kingdom according to its Antiquity.

Ovalle  
1646.

## CHAP. II.

*Of America in General, and what Light may be found of it among the Ancient Philosophers.*

**A**merica, call'd otherwise the New World, because of its late Discovery, is now as well known as it was formerly hid for so many pass'd Ages; not only to the Vulgar, but to those piercing Wits among the Pagans, *Aristotle*, *Parmentides*, *Pliny*; and among the Christian Philosophers, to *St. Austin*, *Lactantius*, and others, who judged all that Climate to be Inhabitable, that lay between the Tropicks, founding their Opinion upon a Point of their Philosophy, which was, That the Preservation of the Animal demanded by its Temper the just proportion of the First Four Qualities, which they suppos'd could not be found under the Torrid Zone, for so they call'd it, because of the force of the Sun upon it, it being all the year almost perpendicular to it; and having observ'd its Effects on this side the Tropicks, how it dries the Earth in Summer, consumes the Fountains, thinking that if it did not withdraw to the other Tropick, it would have entirely fir'd the Earth, though refresh'd by the nights; 'Tis no wonder, if they were persuaded, that where its Beams were continual, there could be no Habitation for Man.

But Experience, which is the Touchstone of all Philosophical Discourses, has discover'd, That not only there is a plain Passage, though troublesome, from one Pole to the other, but also, that those Regions contain'd under the *Zodiac*, have been, and are Inhabited by innumerable Nations; and that there are even under the *Equinoctial* Line, some Places, as that of *Quito*, so Temperate and Healthful, that

they are manifestly preferable to several in the Temperate Zone. This New World has, by common Consent, been call'd *America*, unjustly enough, as *Herrera* complains in the First Book of his Fifth Decade, by the Crafty Usurpation of this Discovery, appropriated to *Americo Vesputio*, instead of *Columbus*, who by this Means is depriv'd of his true Glory.

It is not easie to make out what Knowledge the Ancients have had of this New World; *Marinco Sicolo* pretends in his *Spanish* Chronicles, that the *Romans* had known it, and made some Conquests in it; and his Foundation is, That in one of the Gold Mines of *America*, there was found a Meddal or Ancient Coin, with the Figure of *Augustus Cæsar*; which, he says, was sent to the Pope by *Joannes Rufo*, Archbishop of *Cozenza*; but this is refuted as ridiculous by *Pedro Bercio* in his *Geography*; and 'tis not very probable, that that Coin alone, and no other, should have been found in all this length of time since the Mines are Working in the *West-Indies*; But, besides, if the *Romans* had been once in possession of those Parts, it would not have been easie to have lost all Commerce with them, considering the great Riches that Communication produces; for the Nations would have call'd in one another, as we see they have done since the Discovery made by their Catholick Majesties, and their possessing of those Parts, to which there goes every year so much People from *Europe*.

As to the *Roman* Coin, 'tis probable, that some who pass'd from *Europe* with the

Quito  
Temperate,  
though under the  
Line.

the First Conquerors of the *Indias*, and *Ovalle*, out of a Humour of spreading Novelries, 1646. (which though little worth, are generally applauded by the Vulgar) feign'd he had found it in the Mines; or it might fall from him, and be found by another, who carried it as a Rarity to the Bishop, who is said to have sent it to the Pope. I am not ignorant that there are many Arguments and Conjectures, and those not Contemptible, of some Knowledge that the Ancients had of this so principal a part of our Globe, which are related by *Abraham Ortelius Gorosio*; *Father Acofta* of our Company, in his First Book of the

History of the *Indias*, the 11th, 12th, and 13th Chapters; *Thomas Bosius*, Book the 20th, Chapt. the 3d; *Malvenda*; *Frier Gregory Garcia*, in the First Book of the Origine of the *Indians*; taking their Hints from *Plato*, *Seneca*, *Lucian*, *Arrian*, *Clement*, *Romanus*, *Origen*, *St. Jerom*, and others, who seem to have had some knowledge of this New World. There may be seen in *Father Pineda* of our Society, in the 4th Book about *Solomon's* Court, Chapt. the 16th, the Words of *Abraham Ortelius*, which make very much to this purpose.

### CHAP. III.

#### What Light may be had from Scripture about this New Region.

There is another Question which seems to be better founded than the first, and that is, what Light may be had from Scripture about these remote Regions? because there are many Authors, who from these Words of the Second of *Chronicles*, Chapt. the 4th, *The Servants of Hiram brought with the Servants of Solomon Gold from Ophir*, infer, that the Scripture here speaks of the *West Indias*, and Interpret *Ophir* to be *Peru* or all *America*; and as the most famous *Christopher Columbus* was the first who discover'd it, so he seems to have been the first that us'd that Expression; for they say, that when he was in the Island of *Hispaniola*, he often said, that at last he was come to the desir'd Land of *Ophir*, as is related by *Peter Martir*, in his First Book of the Decade of the Ocean. But he who first set out this Opinion in form, was *Francis Vatable*, who upon the Third Book of *Kings*, in the 9th Chapter, and so on, makes *Ophir* to be the Island of *Hispaniola*, and the Continents of *Peru* and *Mexico*: He was Seconded in his Opinion by *Pestel Goropio*, *Arias Montano*, *Antonio Possentino*, *Rodrigo Yepes*, *Bosius*, *Manuel de Sa*, and other Authors, reported by *Pineda* in his Treaty *De Rebus Solomonis*; which makes *Father Martin del Rio*, of the Company of *Jesuit*, say, that this Opinion is not without good grounds; but he who defends it most vigorously, is, *Father Gregory Garcia* of the Order of *St. Dominick*, in his Book *De Indorum Occidentalium Origine*, where he strives mightily to clear this Opinion from all Objections and Opposition.

The things said by these Authors are not of small weight, though those who

would make an Inference from the Word *Peru's* having a nearness to *Pbarvaim*, which is us'd by the Septuagint in the 2d of *Chronicles*, the 3d, where speaking of the Gold with which *Solomon* adorn'd his Temple, they say, that it was of Gold of *Pbarvaim*, which in the Vulgate is Translated *Aurum Probatissimum*, or most pure Gold; have against them a powerful Adversary, to wit, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, who affirms, that the Name *Peru* is not the Name of the Land, but that the *Spaniards* endeavouring to inform themselves of the Country, took an *Indian* whose Name was *Beru*, and that asking him what Country they were in, and he imagining they ask'd him his Name, he answer'd *Beru*; and the *Spaniards* thought he had said *Peru*, and that that was the Name of the Country, which ever after was call'd so. That which in my Opinion confirms most the belief of *Ophir*, is, that which *Solomon* says of himself in the Book of Wisdom, That he knew the disposition of the Earth; with which it seems that Ignorance was Incompatible, and that he could not but be inform'd of that Great and Principal part of the World; so that we may conclude he knew how to send his Fleets thither, and bring home the Riches of those Parts; and this may be more probable, if we consider the great desire he had of gathering together all the Precious Things from several Parts of the Earth, and the purest Gold for the Ornament of the Temple and House of God; for the Gold of *Valdivia* and *Carabay* being the purest in the World; and the Precious Woods of *Ondours* that are in those Kingdoms, and *Paraguay*, and *Brasil*, the finest; it appears hard

Ophir  
said to be  
Hispaniola.

Peru has  
Nam'd.

The Court  
of Solomon's  
Fleets.

Reasons  
for Solo-  
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hard he should not use all diligence to have them, they making so much to his end, which was to gather Treasure and Precious Things.

That he could do it, there seems no Reason to doubt, since we know he had a great and Powerful Fleet; and if this Fleet spent always Three years from the time of its setting out in the *Red Sea*, to the time of its return, as the Interpreters of the Scripture all say, in what could they spend so much time, but in going to the utmost bounds of the East and West? and, 'tis possible, went round the World, as the Ship *Victory* did since, in the same time; in which, the Great Captain *Magellan* discover'd and pass'd the Streights of his Name; and since we know, that the Fleets of the Catholic Kings, do, in our days, penetrate to the utmost Parts of the East and West in less than a years time; Why could not the same be done by those of so Powerful and so Wise a King as *Solomon*, who may be suppos'd to have understood himself, and Instructed his Captains and Pilots in the Art of Navigation? Neither is it improbable, but he might know the use of the Loadstone, and the Sea Compass, as some Authors do affirm he did. This is yet more Confirm'd by what we have observ'd already about the Knowledge and Conjectures which the Ancients had of this New World, of which he likewise could not be Ignorant, but rather have a more particular Insight into them, being himself so perfect in the Sciences of Cosmography and Geography, as well as Hydrography; all which he had by Infusion from God Almighty, that he might see into the Errors of those who believed there were no Antipodes, nor that the *Torrid Zone* could be Inhabited, denying the roundness of the Earth, and other such Mistakes.

The Course  
of Solo-  
mon's  
Fleet.

Lastly, we know, that his Fleets came to *Syria*, *Phanicia*, *Africa*, and *Europa*; and to come to those Coasts, 'tis certain, that if they set out at the *Red Sea*, it was necessary for them to sail Southward to Double the Cape of *Good Hope*, and then North, and pass the *Equinoctial Line* a second time, as the *Portugueses* do now in their Voyages from *India* to *Portugal*. This being suppos'd, and that *Solomon* had the Knowledge of *America*, 'tis probable he was not unacquainted with the Communication of the North and South Seas by the Streights of *Magellan* and *St. Vincent*; for *Solomon* being so powerful, both by Sea and Land, and so well Instructed in all Things, 'tis probable he caus'd

those Shores to be search'd to find the Communication of both Seas, as it was since done by Men much Inferior to him in every thing, which were *Magellan*, and *Jacob Le Maire*; Or, it might be discover'd by some Ships driven by Storms into those Parts, as some say it befel the First Discoverers of *America*.

This once suppos'd, those who understand any thing of Navigation, and the Art of the Sea, cannot but know how much more easily a Fleet being placed at the Cape of *Good Hope* in 36, may sail South to the 54th Degree, where the Streights of *Magellan* lie, than to sail to the North above 72 Degrees, which it must do from the Cape to *Europe*; from whence may be Infer'd what I say, that if it was true that his Fleet came to *Africa* and *Europe*, and enter'd the *Mediterranean Sea*, it was much easier to go to *Chile* and *Peru*; for from the Streights it might run before the Wind all along that Coast, and having taken in the Gold, Precious Woods, Silver, and other Commodities, it might return by the same Streights, as *Pedro Sarmiento*, and others, have done to the North Sea, and so to the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the *Red Sea*; Or, the Fleet being in the South Sea, might sail West to the *Philippine Islands*, and from thence, Coasting along those Parts we call the *East-Indias*, it might take in all the Eastern Commodities, and so having gone round the World, return loaden with all the Riches of East and West, with Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and other Fine Stones, as also Musk, Amber, Ivory, and other Valuable Eastern Commodities; and from the West, with Gold, Silver, Odoriferous Woods, Pearls, Emeralds, Fine Dyes, Rich and Fine Woolls, Amber, and other Riches, which were wanting to make up the Opulency of *Solomon*.

Neither ought this to be thought impracticable, since 'tis made out already in these Books, how easie the Navigation would be from *Chile* to the *Philippine Islands* in Two or Three Months: The Conveniencies of which Navigation have been set out in the Fourth Chapter of the Second Book; and we do know how the Ship *Victory* did return that way, and so have many others since: By all which the Possibility of *Solomon's* Navigation is made out, and that within the Compass of the Three years, in which they us'd to return to their Port in the *Red Sea*; and if it did not do this, it can hardly be imagin'd, how it could employ such a space of time.

Ovalle.  
1646.

For



For these and many more Reasons of this Nature, our most Learned *Pineda* retracts the contrary Opinion, which he had Publish'd in his Commentaries upon *Job*; because, when he writ them, he had not so well Examin'd the grounds of the last Opinion, nor weigh'd all the Authority and Strength of Conjectures that attend it; and, indeed, so far every Prudent Man would go, as not to despise and condemn an Opinion of which he believ'd the contrary, if it were maintain'd with Probability, and by Persons worthy to be hearkened to. Though, to say truth, if I must speak what I think, that one Reason which I gave above against the *Romans* having had Knowledge of those Parts, (which is, that it appears incredible, that having once made the Discovery, and enjoy'd those Mines, not only the Communication with them, but the very Memory of them, should be lost) seems, in my Opinion, to be as strong an Argument against *Solomon's* Fleet; for if that did once overcome all the Difficulties of that Navigation, what Cause could interrupt that Commerce, in such a manner, as that the total Remembrance of it should be abolish'd. 'Tis true, that as to the *Jews*, they were a People who did not care to live in Foreign Parts, nor settle among other Nations, nor Inhabit the Sea Coasts; for God Almighty was unwilling, that by the Communication with the Gentiles, they should Contract any of their Customs; and therefore we do not know, that of all the Race of their Kings, any more than Three went about any such thing; which were *Solomon*, who compass'd it, and *Josaphat* and *Orhosias*, whose Undertakings had no Success: By which it may be Inferred, That when *Solomon* died, and the Temple was finish'd, this Navigation was neg-

lected, till at last it was quite forgot; besides, that it appears from the *Chronicles*, and other Places of Scripture, that in those times Silver and Gold were but little valued, the Covetousness of Mankind not being arriv'd to the height it is at now a days; They did not think it worth leaving their Houses, to endure Labour in the search of them, and run all those Hazards which the Voyagers to those Parts do undergo. This therefore might take off the Edge and Desire which we see in the *Europeans*, of continuing those Voyages; neither would they desire to settle in those Parts; or if they did, the Memory of them might be lost. See *Padre Pineda*, particularly in the Fifth Section of the Sixteenth Chapter, where he answers the Arguments of the Negative Opinion; to which he gives very handsome Solutions, and in particular, to those who say, that *Solomon's* Fleet could bring nothing but Gold and Silver, as if this were nothing, or like Ballast; and that this were not Motive enough for him to send his Fleets, for a thing of which it appears he made such use, both for the Temple and his own Palaces; so that it does not seem possible he could have it all from the East, but must have recourse to the West, where there was such a Mass of it; as is made out by what we have said of the Mines of *Chile*, and those of the *Inga* with those Trees, Fruits, and Plants of Massy Gold, and Statutes of the same Metall in his Gardens; besides what they call *Guasca's*, where to this day they keep conceal'd a vast Store of those Riches gather'd together for the Liberty of the *Inga*, when the *Spaniards* had him Prisoner; all which may be seen in what has been said already in several Chapters.

Reasons against Solomon's having discover'd America.

CHAP. V.

*Of the Discovery of America: And by what Means it was perform'd.*

Ovalle.  
1646.

**A**Mong the hidden and wonderful Secrets of Nature, we may reckon the singular Vertue of the Loadstone, which has produced such wonderful Effects, as they seem more the Object of our Eyes than of our Faith as Men; for who, if they did not see it, could believe the Experiments made every Day, which surpass all Imagination? See the curious and Elaborate Treatise of Father *Athanasius Kirker*, of our Company, *De Arte Magnetica*; for there the most Aspiring Mind after Curiosities, will find all he can wish about this matter, as well what is Antient, as what is Modern, the whole Treated with so much Erudition and Clearness, that the Study of it is not less delightful than profitable. The same Subject is also Treated of excellently by Father *Nicholas Cabeo*, of our Company, in his Book of *Magnetical Philosophy*.

Among all the Virtues of this rare Stone, I think that its quality of taking up Iron, is not so admirable as that which it has had of drawing Gold and Silver to *Europe* from *India*; the Mass of which has been so great, that some curious Persons having made a Calculation in this matter, which they understood very well, and reckoning the Millions brought by the *Gallions*, and *Flora's*, from the Discovery of the *Indias* to their time, and having also computed the distance between *Europe* and those Parts, have found that there might have been made from the one to the other, of Bars of Silver, a Bridge of a Yard and a half Wide; so that if all that Metal could be found now a Days in any one Place, it would make a Mountain like that of *Potosi*, from which the greatest quantity has been fetched, and for that reason it appears Hollow, and bored through in so many Places. We may therefore say of the Load-Stone, That Gold has given it a Vertue like that of Faith, to Transport Mountains, not only from one Place to another, but from one World to another, through those Immense Seas which separate them.

Who the first Man was that applied this Vertue to Facilitate Navigation, it is hard to prove by Authors; for though we know that this Stone was known to the Jews and to the Egyptians; yet who first made use of the Sea Needle and compass, is very hard to find out. Some

say it came from *China* to *Europe*: others, that it was found by the Inhabitants of the *Cape of good Hope*; and that *Vasco de Gama* met with some of their Vessels, when he made the Discovery of the *Cape*, who us'd this Instrument. Others give the Glory of it to the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*; others, to a Man of the Kingdom of *Naples* call'd *John Gryus*, of Needle as the City of *Amalfi*, who was rather the *Inven-*

Man that perfected this Invention, being himself an experienced Sea Man. But let every one have his Opinion, it is not my business to decide, I only say, That to this admirable Vertue of the Load Stone we owe the Discovery of *America*. For though some Authors say that *Solomon's* Fleet Sail'd by the Observation of the Stars, the Winds, the Flight of Birds, and other Signs, with which they Supplied the want of this useful Invention, not then known according to the common Opinion; (though the contrary is not altogether Improbable) yet it must be own'd that the use of this Sea Needle has been the thing that has Facilitated the Navigation, so as the first Discoverers trusting to this, durst venture into vast Seas, and pass the Gulph which leads to that Remote and unknown, World so as to Land in it; which was a Performance worthy of Immortal Memory to the Man who undertook and Executed it.

This Man was the most Famous Captain *Don Christofer Columbus*, a *Gonouje*, whom the *Spaniards* in their Language call *Colon*; who though he were nor, as he was nobly descended, might have given by himself Nobility and Fame to his Descendents, and to his Noble and Illustrious Country; for if this Commonwealth had had only this Son, it might draw Fame enough from him alone, since his Generous and bold Mind was Capable of overcoming all the Difficulties which he met with in the Project and Execution of this Enterprize, the more to be esteem'd by the great Advantages, procur'd by it to both Worlds; to this, by that vast encrease of Riches, of which a great deal is Consecrated upon the Altars in Churches, besides what is employed in the Furniture of Princes and great Men; and to the other World, the benefit of the Light of the Gospel, by which it is so much

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The Mass of Silver brought from America.

more polish'd and meliorated in all Senses. Neither does that which *Garcilasso de Vega* and others do relate, any ways affect the Glory of this great Man, when they say, That he undertook this Design upon the Knowledge communicated to him by a Man whom he entertained, and who died in his House as his Guest: For we must own that his chief Praise does not come from what he knew of this new World before he undertook to find and conquer it, but from his Generous Mind and Constancy in pursuing his Enterprize; and this is all his own, which puts justly the Laurels upon his Head, and makes his Memory immortal in spite of Time and Envy, though one would think no body should have any for the common Benefactor of two Worlds. That which these Authors relate about this History, is, That a Pilot, an Inhabitant and Native of the Town of *Guelva*, in the County of *Niebla*, in *Andalusia*, call'd *Alonso Sanchez de Huelva*, or as others say, *Buxula*, us'd to trade with a small Vessel to the *Canaries*; and that one time, in his Return to *Spain*, he met with a mighty strong Levant, which was so powerful, that in twenty Days he found himself in one of the *Islands* of the *West-Indies*, one of those which we call the *Islands* of *Barkento*, or the *Windward Islands*, and 'tis judg'd it was *Hispiniola*; from whence, fearing to Perish for want of Provision, he return'd to the *Island* of *Madera*, having endur'd so much, that almost all his Company died, and himself came in such a condition, that though *Columbus* who lov'd Seafaring Men, and for that reason had chosen that *Island* to live in, receiv'd him, into his House and took great care of him, yet he Died; but before he Died, being willing to make some Return for the Kindness receiv'd, he call'd *Columbus* to him, and left him as an Inheritance the Journal he had made with the Rumb of Wind both going and coming, and all other his Observations in the Voyage, and about the Place where he Landded.

The Story of the Pilot who died in the House of Columbus.

This is thus Related, by *Garcilasso de la Vega* and Father *Joseph D' Acosta*, who says he does not know the Name of this Pilot, who left this Legacy to *Columbus*: And this he attributes to the particular Providence of God, who would not have the Honour of this Discovery be owing to any humane Industry, but immediately and entirely to the Divine Majesty, to whose Disposition we ought to attribute so much as appears Contingent and casual in this Ships miscarriage, from its course and all the other Accidents attending that Storm, till the Pilot was brought to Die in the House of him whom God had chosen for a Second Cause and chief Instrument of this Enterprize; who being of himself a great Philosopher, and Cosmographer, compar'd these Notions which he had from his dying Guest, with his own Speculations which he had long had upon the same Subject; and this made him resolve to undertake what he afterwards accomplished. In Order to this, he began to consider of those who were like-  
 liest to assist him; and first of all he offer'd it to his own Country, who took it for a Dream; after this, to the Kings of *Portugal*, *France*, and *England*; and at last he address'd this Rich offer to their Catholic Majesties, for whom it was design'd from the beginning by him who had resolv'd in his Providence to amplify their Monarchy by the addition of so many rich and powerful Kingdoms, as they have acquir'd in this new World.

*Columbus offers his Discovery to Genoua, France, Portugal, and England, who all refuse it.*

*Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who are worthy of Immortal Glory, having examin'd the Grounds *Columbus* went upon, and the Honour might be done to the Cross of Christ, and to the Preaching of his Gospel, if this Enterprize should take Effect, having seriously consider'd of it for Eight Years together, they commanded all necessary Provisions to be made, without sparing any Charge, or minding the Contingency of a Design so new, so difficult, and so much without Example.

*Ferdinand and Isabella accept it.*

## CHAP. VI.

### Don Christopher Columbus Sails from Spain in Search of the New World.

IN the Year of the Birth of our Saviour 1492. upon the Third of August, about half an Hour before Sun Rise (the happiest Day that ever Shined upon our Antipodes, as being the beginning of their greatest Felicity) Don Christopher Co-

lumbus the most famous *Genouese* that ever was, sail'd from *Spain*, with the Title, which he had receiv'd from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, of Admiral of the Seas of all those Countries he should Discover and Conquer; so leaving behind him the Fa-

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mous *Utracum* Streights, as disdaining their *Non plus ultra*, and laughing at their Pillars, he Launch'd into the Vast Ocean, and begun his Navigation with no less Confidence, than Admiration of those who saw him leave the Shore and Steer a Course never before attempted, by new Rhumbs of Winds. Having touch'd at the Island of *Gran Canaria*, he again Sayl'd from thence the First of September, with Ninety in Company and Provisions for a Year. Alter some Days of Navigation he began to find himself near the Tropick of Cancer, and under the *Torrid Zone*; whereupon his Men who had been bred in the temperate Climates of *Europe*, being impatient of Heats, which they never before had experienced, and wearied with seeing nothing but a Vast Ocean without Land, began to enter into distrust of discovering any. At First they murmured only between their Teeth: But at last speaking out boldly, they came to their Captain *Columbus*, and endeavour'd by all means to Dissuade him from pursuing his Discovery, as Vain and without Hopes of Success, and that it would be much better to return back to *Spain*; but he with a generous Mind being Deaf to all their Perswasions, pursued his Voyage with Constancy. His Men perceiving still how he went further from *Spain*, and that they had almost worn out their Eyes with looking out from the Topmast-Head of the Ship, without finding any appearance of Land; renewed their Instances and Reasons, and that the more earnestly, by how much they perceived, every Day the Consumption of their Water and Provisions; calling now that Temerity which before they said might be Constancy. For they alledg'd that the time was encreased, their Provisions less'n'd, the Winds scarce and Calms to be fear'd; no Land in view, its distance not to be known nor guess'd at; that the Danger was certain, and no avoiding to perish, if they stay'd any longer; therefore, they'd they, let us secure our Lives, except we intend to be a Fable and Laughing-stock to all Mankind, and look'd upon as our own Murderers.

To say Truth, it cannot be denied, but this was an urgent Danger and greater perhaps than can be imagin'd by those who never were in the like Tryals; for when no less than Life is at Stake, all Dangers appear great, and particularly at Sea: Besides these Allegations were of themselves of great Consideration, and capable of shaking the greatest constancy and Valour; yet the Courage of

the Great *Columbus* was such, and so singular his Prudence, that sometimes dissembling, and sometimes taking no notice of what he heard, but taking to this Man and the other in Private, and then Comforting them all up in General, and giving them some Account of his well grounded Speculations, he so fed them with hopes and Expectations, ( he himself showing no distrust of Success ) That he brought at last his Project to a happy Issue. They were following their Voyage thus, through all the Inconveniences of Heat ready to stifle them, when on a sudden a Voice was heard crying *Land Land*; they all flew to the Prow and Sides of the Ship, and fixed their Eyes on the Horizon like so many *Arguses*, to find out the Land which seem'd to appear like a Cloud upon the Sea. The desire of getting to it made some doubt, if it were Land or Clouds; but others were more confident: some assure it to be Low Land, others think they see Rocks and a large extended Shore; and all was but guess occasion'd by the great distance they were at Sea from any Land, for in Truth it was not Land but Clouds; and this was an Invention of *Columbus*, their Admiral, who seeing them almost ready to Mutiny, made use of this Artifice to prevent the ill Effects of their despair; causing this Voice to be heard to give them a short Joy and amuze them.

This succeeded well for that time; he Steer'd his course towards this pretended Land till Night, and when they were a sleep he set his Prow to the West, in search of the true Land: But in the Morning when it was Day, seeing those Clouds, which they took for Land, vanish'd, as it often happens in long Navigations, they began to Afflict themselves anew and Remonstrate to the Admiral boldly to his Face, which I do not wonder at; for besides the danger of perishing with hunger, they found themselves in a Climate so Scorching and Fiery, that in the Third Voyage that the Admiral made, they being becalm'd Eight Days, about the same Place, were afraid the Sun would have set Fire to their Ships; for all his Casks flew under Decks, the Hoops Smoking as if they had been set on Fire, and the Wheat was all in a Ferment, and the Salt Flesh was as it were Boil'd again, and Stunk so that to avoid Infection they were forced to throw it Overboard.

The Admiral was thus pursuing his Voyage, in which Patience was his most necessary Habit to endure the terrible Persecution of his own People; when on the 11th. Day of *October* of the same Year,

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Signs of  
Land

it pleas'd God to Crown all his Invincible Sufferings and the Confidence he had in him, First by manifest Signs of Land, which in such occasions do generally put a stop to all Complaints and Afflictions, and are the beginning of Joy and Content, which is followed with forgetting all past Sufferings. The first thing they saw was a Bough of a Tree new cut with its Fruit on it, which though a kind of Thorn, was a Branch of Olive to the Inhabitants of this new Ark; another had seen Green Fish and some Pieces of Wood floating, all which were clear Marks of Land, not far off; as to the Navigators from India are the quantity of Sea-Weeds which meet them about Ten Leagues from the Coast of Spain. The Joys which Sailors and Passengers show generally at the Signs of Land, the Capers they cut, and Embraces they make each other, with their Congratulations to the Pilot, their Thanks to Heaven, nay, the Tears they shed, and devout Prayers they make to God and the Virgin-Mary, in Acknowledgment of their Protection, all these are not so much matter for my Pen as for Sight and Sense. All this happened to the Admiral's Company, which not only forgot their Sufferings and the Hatred they bore to the Author of them, but they ran and threw themselves at his Feet, as admiring and congratulating, his Constancy, and begging his Pardon for so many hard Thoughts, and as hard Words, they had entertain'd, and let fly against him; he receiv'd them all with Embraces and Marks of Benignity, assuring them that by the end of that Day they should be within Sight of Land, and having said this he went upon the Highest Part of the Ships Stern, as being desirous to be the First, that should give them the good News of Discovering Land.

There was a Rent of Ten thousand Maravedis a Year for the First Discoverer; which made them all look out with great Attention, some on one side, and some on the other side of the Ship, fixing their Eyes where they thought it was most Probable to find Land; but it was about two Hours before Midnight, when Admiral Columbus Discover'd a Light, and Calling to two Officers, shew'd it them, and presently he perceiv'd that the Light chang'd Place, for it was a Light carried from one House to another, as was known afterwards when they Landed; they say'd on towards that Light, and about two Hours after Midnight they Discover'd Land, which was at the same time made by the other Ships in company; where-

upon there were many Claims for the *Albricias*, but at last they agreed that the *Albricias* belong'd to the Admiral, because he first discover'd the Light; this was confirm'd by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of Spain, and settled upon the Shambles of *Sevill* as the best Fund for the Admiral.

*Herrera* the *Chronologist* makes his Reflections upon this Light, and Moralises upon it, That it signified the Spiritual Light, which those Nations wanted, and which was now brought to them from Europe by these Discoverers; as a proof likewise of the Piety of the Catholick Kings, who having made War upon the Moors for Three hundred and twenty Years, had hardly finish'd it, but they put their Shoulders to this new Conquest, to spread by their Means the Glory of the Gospel, and make the Voice of it to be heard to the utmost limits of the Earth; making out by this manifest Proof, how firm Supports they were to the Faith, since they were constantly employed in Propagating of it. Thus far *Herrera*; to which I may add, That the Light Columbus saw in the middle of the Night, was the tacit Working of Reason, which being Buried in profound Errours, did yet throw out some Sparks from under those Ashes, and cry to Heaven for the Enlivening Spirit, to deliver it, and by the Means of Christ revive it, so as to Enlighten that Gentilism, so long overwhelm'd in Darkness, and for so many Ages past buried as it were in the shadow of death.

Thus it was; and as soon as day broke they Landed: the Admiral carry'd with him the Royal Standard spread, the other Captains having in theirs the Banners of this Conquest, which were prepared, and had in them a Green Cross Crown'd, and round about the Names of *Fernando* and *Isabella*, to signify the Hopes that those Princes had entertain'd to make subject and lay at the Feet of the Crucified Jesus, the Crowns and Scepters of those Powerful Monarchs of that New World; they themselves having first submitted their own, that there might be no Crown, Command nor Lordship, but that of the Exaltation of the Cross.

To this end, as soon as the Admiral Landed, kneeling down with all his Company, he kiss'd it once, and twice; and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, all in Tears, he ador'd our Lord God of all things, who had brought him thither; thanking him for his Favour, and doing Homage to him in the Name of those People, who were to be brought to his Knowledge; in sign of all which, and the Possession he then took, he call'd

Columbus Land  
and takes  
Possession.



One of the  
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call'd that Island *Saint Salvador*. He rais'd also a most beautiful Cross, which was a declaring War to Hell, to make it Renounce the Possession of that Land, which for so many Ages it had Tyrannisd over.

The Admiral being rose up, they all approach'd, and not only embrac'd him, but carried him upon their Shoulders in Triumph, as having perform'd the greatest Work that ever Man attempted, or brought to pass. Immediately after this, the Admiral, in Presence of a Notary, took Possession of that Land, in the Name of

their Catholick Majesties; and caus'd himself to be own'd as Vice-Roy, and as such they began to own him and obey him in all things.

This Island, which we shall call *Saint Salvador*, was about fifteen Leagues in length, very Woody, and having good Water, with a Lake of fresh Water in the middle of it, and well inhabited by the *Indians*, who call'd it in their Tongue *Guanaani*; and it is one of those which since have been call'd the *Lucaicks*. It is Nine hundred and fifty Leagues from the *Canaries*.

Ovalle.  
1646.

CHAP. VI.

WHEN the *Indians* saw such great Bulks in the Sea, with great Sails, and the whole unlike their Canoo's, and they were drawn near the Shore, they remain'd astonish'd and beside themselves; because though by their motion they guess'd them to be living things, yet for their bigness they took them for some strange Sea-Monsters, never seen before on those Coasts. The Ships came to an Anchor close by the Shore, and the Admiration of the *Indians* encreas'd still so much the more, seeing White Men come out of them with Beards and Clothes; yet they did not run away, but drew near without Fear, the rather when they saw that the *Spaniards* began to present them with Bells, Needles, and other things of *Europe*, which pleas'd them extremely as being new to them; in return they gave the *Spaniards* Gold, *Provisions* and other things of their Country. They came, some in their Canoo's, and some Swimming to the Ships, where it was wonderful to see how they valued every thing, even to the bits of glazed Dishes, or broken Earthen Ware, that lay about the Ships, which they gather'd up as Jewels, which they had never seen: And to say truth, most things borrow their Value from their Rarity; and for this reason they had as little Value for Gold and Pearls, which were things very common among them, they exchanging whole Strings of Pearls, and some of them as big as Pease and Small Nuts, for Needles and Bells, as happened in the *Islands* of the *Margarita*; so great is the Difference in the Estimation of things common or rare ones. The Admiral having here got an account

of some other *Islands*, went out to Discover them; and the Second he found he nam'd *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, Dedicating it to the Queen of Heaven. The Third he call'd *Fernandina*, of the King *Don Fernando*. The Fourth he nam'd *Isabella*, in consideration of his Mistress Queen *Isabella*. Of all these he took Possession in the name of their Majesties, by setting up their Royal Standard before a Publick Notary, with the same Solemnity and Ceremonies observ'd in the taking Possession of the First Island.

On a Saturday the 29th. of October, Cuba Discover'd the Famous Island of Cuba, covered. where the *Havana* is: There the *Indians*, frighted to see the *Spaniards*, whom they thought descended from Heaven, went to them kissing their Hands and Feet. The Admiral's last Discovery was of the Island call'd *Hispaniola*, where he met with a great deal of Gold, and some Birds, and Fishes, like those of *Castille*. Here the Cacick *Gnacaganari* received him with much humanity; and in his Land he made the first Colony, or Settlement of *Spaniards*, which he nam'd the City of the *Nativity*.

The *Spaniards* generally were receiv'd in these and other the *Barlovento* Islands, and on the Coasts of *Terra Firma*, with much love and kindness; very few of the *Indians* offering to resist them: On the contrary, they all were pleas'd with their coming upon their Lands, furnishing them with all that the Country afforded, and presenting them with Gold, Pearls, Parrots; contenting themselves with a Return of a very small value. Of the *European* things those they seem'd most to mind, were Needles, and at first they could not imagine

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The simplicity of the  
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imagine what they were good for; but being told they were so slow, they answered they had nothing to slow, but yet they kept them, because they had never seen any thing of Iron or Steel. They were much surpriz'd at the use of Swords, and particularly when they had experienc'd their Sharpness; for at first they us'd to take hold of them by the edge with great simplicity.

The Admiral, as Vice-Roy of those new Kingdoms, began to Govern, as he Discover'd them; and that he might regulate them the better, by consulting their Majesties in his Doubts and Difficulties, he made two Voyages, backwards and forwards to *Spain*, still making in his Returns Discovery of some new *Islands*, and amplifying the Monarchy as Historians do Relate at large, to whom I refer my self, not to engage in Matters which are far from my Subject; but I cannot but make some Reflection upon what happen'd to this great Man. Who would not have thought, considering the Happiness with which he had executed all that he design'd, in the most difficult Subject in the World, that he was Eternizing his Felicity, and putting Fortune under his Feet? But that no one may strive to do it, but that all may know how constant is her Volubility, and how perpetual the Motion of her Wheel, and that there is no Humane Power, nor Star, can fix it, I will Relate here briefly what befel him.

Let him who Governs be undeceiv'd once for all, and know, That to sit upon a Throne, and take Possession of Power, is to be a Mark for the Censure of the Good and Bad to aim at; 'tis just putting himself into the Hands of Anatomists, to be taken in Pieces and examin'd to the very Bones; and very often Envy oppresses Innocence by feigned Accusations. This is not the Place to examine that of the Admiral: I only know that there were so many Complaints, and such Appearances of Misdemeanors alleg'd at Court against him, as, That he did not Advance the Conversion of the *Indians*, but make them work to get Gold, desiring more to make them Slaves than Christians, and taking no care to maintain them, and such other Imputations, as mov'd their Catholick Majesties to send the Commander *De Bobadilla* to Examine the Truth of what was alleg'd, and to do Justice in requisite Cases; writing at the same time a kind Letter to the Admiral, That he should let the Commander Execute their Orders.

But he exceeding his Commission, and the Intention of their Majesties, took all the Informations against the Admiral, and his Brothers, and without hearing them, made himself be own'd for Judge and Governor, giving Rewards, and publishing that he came to relieve the Oppressed, and to pay their Salaries, and put all things in good Order: This drew over to him all those who had any Grudge to the Admiral, and most of the common sort sided with him; so he entred into the Houses of the Admiral and his Brother, Seized their Goods and their Papers; all which he might safely do without any Resistance, for the Admiral was away; he sent to seize him and his Brothers, putting Irons upon their Feet, and so Shipping them into a Vessel, call'd a *Caravel*, he sent them away for *Spain*, to give an account of themselves.

When they came to put Irons upon the Admiral, there was none so bold as to do it, out of the Respect that all had for him; and if he had not had in his Family a Rogue of a Cook, who was Villain enough to do it, they had not found any one to Execute so Barbarous a Command. When *Columbus* saw himself put in Chains by his own Servant, 'tis said, that shaking his Head, he pronounced these Words, full of Resentment for his Usage, [ Thus the World rewards those who serve it; this is the Recompence that Men give to those who trust in them: Have the utmost Endeavours of my Services ended in this? Have all my Dangers and Sufferings deserv'd no more. Let me be Buried with these Irons, to show that God alone knows how to reward and bestow Favours, of which he does never repent; for the World pays in Words and Promises and at last deceives and lies. ]

Having said this, the Ship set Sail; and as soon as he came to *Spain*, their Majesties, when as they were inform'd of the Prison of the Admiral, were much concern'd; for by no means, had that been their Intention. They sent for him to come before them; but his Tears and Sighs were such, that in a great while he could not speak; at last he said, assuring their Majesties of his great Zeal for their Royal Service, which had always been his Guide, That if he had fail'd in anything, it was not out of Malice, nor on purpose; but because he knew no better.

Their Majesties comforted him, and particularly the Queen, who Favour'd him most; and after some time, in which the Truth of the Matter was made out, they Order'd, That all that the Commander

*Bobadilla*

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*Bobadilla* had Confiscated of the Estate of the Admiral and his Brothers, should be restor'd to them; as also, that the Capitulation with them, should be observ'd, as to their Privileges and Exemptions. After this, the Admiral return'd a Fourth time to the *Indias*, in an Honourable Way; and Employing himself in new Discoveries, he arriv'd upon the Coast of the *Terra Firma of America*, the 2d of November 1502. and Coasting along by *Cubija*, arriv'd at the Port; which, because it appear'd so good a one, and

the Country so beautiful, well cultivat'd, and full of Houses, that it look'd like a Garden, he call'd *Puerto Bello*, or the fine Port; having discover'd other Islands in the way, and endur'd very bad Storms. At last returning back by some of those Places which he had discover'd, taking, as it were, his Leave of them, and returning to *Spain*, to order there a better Settlement of Affairs, he died at *Valladolid*, where the Court was, making a very Christian end, and giving great Signs of his Predestination.

*Ovalle*  
1646.

*Columbus dies at Valladolid*

# CHAP. VII.

*After the Death of Columbus, the Castilians pursue the Discovery and Conquest of the New World.*

**A**Mong those who accompanied the Admiral in his first Discovery, there was one *Vicent James Pinzon*, who being a Rich Man, set out Four Vessels at his own Charge: He, at his Return to *Spain*, set sail from the same Port of *Balos* upon new Discoveries; he first came to the Island of *St. Fago*, which is one of the *Cape Verd Islands*; he set sail from thence the 13th of *January*, in the year 1500. and was the first who pass'd the *Equinoctial Line* by the North Sea, and discover'd *Cape St. Augustin*, which he call'd the *Cape of Consolation*, taking Possession of it for the *Crown of Castile*; from thence he found the River *Maranon*, which is Thirty Leagues over, and some say more at its entrance, the fresh Water running Forty Leagues into the Sea; Then Coasting towards *Paria*, he found another River very large, though not so broad as *Maragnon*; they took up fresh Water out of it Twenty Leagues at Sea: He discover'd in all a Coast of Six hundred Leagues to *Paria*, and lost Two Ships in a terrible Storm that he endur'd. We have seen also in the last Chapter, that *Columbus* had discover'd the Island of *Cuba*, though he could never sail round it, being hinder'd by the Storms and ill Weather; so he died without knowing whether it was an Island or no, for he judg'd it to be rather a Point of some Continent; but it is a very large Island, with many fair Ports, and Mountains full of Precious Odoriferous Woods, of Cedar, Ebony, and many others; and there are in it several Cities of *Spaniards*, and among the rest the strong Fortrefs of the *Havana*, which is a *Scala* or Rendezvous for the Gallions and Flota's loaded with Silver

from the *West Indias*: This is one of the best Fortifications the King of *Spain* has in all his Dominions. But, in my Opinion, that which makes this Island most valuable, is, the good Nature and Docility of those who are born in it; which was a Product of that Soil before ever the *Spaniards* trod it, as they shew'd to *Columbus*, and those who came after him, receiving them with all Kindness and Humanity.

To further what the Admiral *Columbus* had begun, God rais'd an Instrument in the Person of *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa*, one of the first Discoverers of this New World; a Man of a good Understanding, as he shew'd upon the Occasion which I shall now relate. He was, with others, upon the Discovery with General *Enciso*, the Governor; They came to a Place call'd *Uraba*, and as they enter'd the Port, by negligence of the Steersman, the Governor's Ship struck upon a Sand, and was lost, nothing being saved out of her but the Lives of the Men, who got into the Boats, but naked and in danger of perishing for want of Provision. *Vasco de Nunnes* said, That he remembered there was not far off a River, the Banks of which were Inhabited by much People; he guided them thither; and the thing being found to be as he had said, he gain'd great Reputation among them all: They came thither, and found the *Indians* in Arms against the *Castilians*, whose Name was already become odious to those Nations: They made a Vow to our Lady, to Dedicate to her the first Settlement and Church to the Honour of her Image, under the Title of *Sancta Maria la Antigua*, or the Ancient *St. Mary*; which to this

day

*The Havana*

day is venerated in *Seville*; and to send her many rich Gifts of Gold and Silver; which one of them, as a Pilgrim, should carry in the Name of the rest. Being encouraged by this Vow, they fell upon the *Indians*, and obtain'd the Victory.

Presently they made a Settlement, and built a Town Dedicated to the Virgin, calling it *Sancta Maria El Antigua of Dairen*, because that was the Name of that River. After this, to accomplish their Vow, they sent the promis'd Presents to the Devout Image of the Virgin.

The good Opinion of *Vasco de Numes* encreasing thus daily, and having cunningly order'd it so, that *Enciso* resign'd his Government, they chose *Vasco Numes* in his room; at first with an Associate, but he found Means in time to be alone; as it was necessary he should, in Point of Command, being to overcome such Difficulties as were to be met with at every turn; and, indeed, he knew how to make himself be both fear'd and belov'd, having a very good Spirit of Government. In the new Discoveries he undertook, he came first to the Lands of the *Cacique Ponea*, and not finding him at home, he destroy'd them: He pass'd on to the Lands of the *Cacique Careta*, who not caring to enter into War, receiv'd him Peacefully, and Treated him as a Friend. This *Cacique Careta* had a Kinsman, who was a Lord, that liv'd further in the Country, and his Name was *Suran*; who persuaded another Neighbouring Prince call'd *Comagre*, to make a Friendship with the *Castilians*: This Prince had a very fine Palace, which astonish'd them; and, particularly, when they saw, in a kind of Chapel or Oratory, some dead Bodies lying cover'd with rich Mantles, and many Jewels of Gold and Pearls; and being ask'd whose Bodies those were, they answer'd, of their Predecessors, and that to preserve them from Corruption, they had dried them with Fire. The King Caref'd the *Castilians*, and gave them great Presents: He had Seven Sons, and one of them, more Liberal, gave the *Spaniards* a Regalo of near Four thousand *Peso's* of fine Gold, and some Pieces of rare Workmanship: They weigh'd it, and taking the King's Fifth, they began to divide the remainder: In the Division, Two Soldiers fell out about their Share; the *Cacique's* Son, who had made the Present, hearing the Noise, could not bear it, but coming to them struck the Ballance where the Gold was weighing, and threw it all upon the Ground, saying, 'Is it possible you should

A Noble  
Reproof of  
the Spaniards  
Covetousness.

value so much a thing that so little de-

'serves your esteem? and, That you should leave the Repose of your Houses, and pass so many Seas, expos'd to such Dangers, to trouble those who live quiet in their own Country? Have some Shame, Christians, and do not value these things; but if you are resolv'd to search Gold, I'll shew you a Country where you may satisfy your selves. And pointing with his Finger to the South, he told them they should see there another Sea, when they had pass'd over certain high Mountains, where they should see other People who could go with Sails and Oars as they did; and that passing that Sea, they should meet with vast quantities of Gold, whereof the Natives made all their Utensils; and that he would be their Guide, and Conduct them with his Father's Vassals; but that it would be requisite they should be more in number, because there were Powerful Kings, who could hinder their Passage; giving them by this the first notice of *Pern* and its Riches.

The first  
Notice of  
the South  
Sea and  
its Riches.

This was the first Knowledge and Light which the *Spaniards* got of the South Sea, and of the Gold and Riches of its Coasts, which gave them all great Joy; so that they were Impatient to see the hour of breaking thorough all Obstacles, to see that Sea never before heard of, and enjoy the Riches of it. *Vasco Numes* immediately dispos'd all things, and went out of *Dairen* in the beginning of September, in the year 1513. and going along the Sea-side to the Habitation of the Friendly *Cacique Careta*, he went towards the Mountains, by the Lands of the *Cacique Ponea*; who, though at first, he endeavour'd to oppose their Passage, yet being advis'd by the *Indians* of *Careta*, who accompanied the *Castilians*, he presented them with Gold and Provisions, and gave them Guides; they, in return, giving him Looking-glasses, Needles, Knives, and other Baubles, which they valued very much. Then they began to mount the Mountain, through the Country of a *Cacique* call'd *Quareca*, who appear'd in Arms, and attack'd the *Spaniards*: He had a long Robe of Cotton, but all his Men were Naked: They began to Skirmish, and threaten by their Actions to hinder the Passage; but no sooner did they hear the Noise, and feel the Effects of the Muskets, and find some to fall, but they turn'd their Backs, flying like a Herd of Deer, frighted to see the Fire, and hear the Sound of the Volleys, which appear'd Thunder to them, and thought the *Spaniards* had Thunderbolts at their Command; so they left the Passage free

Vasco  
Nunnes  
has first  
sight of the  
South Sea.

The first  
Notice of  
the South  
Sea and  
its Riches.

free for them. The *Indians* of *Careca* had said, that from their Country to the top of the highest Mountain, there was the time of Six Suns; for by that they meant so many days Journey; but the Ways were so bad, that they employed five and twenty days to get to the top. A little before they were at the highest, *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa* caus'd a Halt to be made, desiring to have the Glory of having himself been the first Man that ever saw the South Sea; and so it was: He goes alone, discovers that vast Ocean, and the large Bays of the South Sea call'd *Pacifick*; and upon his Knees, with Tears in his Eyes, lifts up his Eyes to Heaven, giving Thanks to the great Creator of all things for having brought him from such remote Parts to Contemplate that which none of his Ancestors had ever seen: He made a Sign after this to his Companions to come up, and so they all run in haste, pushing one another on; and when they were on the top, where there is a full prospect of the Sea, 'tis not to be imagin'd the Content they all receiv'd in admiring that vast and smooth Liquid Chrystal, which not being animated, did not on its side, give leaps of Joy, nor go out of its Bed, to the tops of the Mountains, to welcome those who came to deliver it from the Tyranny the Devil Exerciz'd over it, by infesting it with Storms and Tempests, and infecting the Air with the Breath of Idolatry; which was breath'd in all those Parts, both East, West, North and South. Oh! If all the Creatures of that World could have come one by one to see the good that was coming to them

by means of the Gospel, which dawned in those Mountains; Or, if the Predesignated of that new World could have viewed from their Cottages, and Poor Habitations, or rather from the deep Night of their Errors and Sins, the Sun that was beginning to Enlighten them from that high Mountain, and the Virtue and Efficacy of Grace, which then began to appear to reconcile them with God, and the Blood of Christ, which like a great River was falling through those Precipices, till it should bath the utmost Parts of the Earth, and give life to those, who being fallen and cover'd with the dark Shadow, did not only not hope for Life, but not so much as know it; How would the Children have leap'd out of their Cradles, who to go into Paradise expected nothing but Baptism, as has happened to great numbers, who just expired when they were made an end of Baptizing; and the Old Men, who wanted only the knowledge of the Gospel, to shut their Eyes, and being reconciled to God, fly into his Glory; how they would open them, and lying upon the Ground, fly, at least with their Spirit, if they could not with their Body, to receive the Preachers of the Gospel, who brought Peace and a general Pardon for their Sins? All the other Predesignated, every one according to his State, who have by this means been saved, (which are infinite) how they would melt and cry with Joy, to hear this News, which is as welcome to them, as that of the coming of Christ to the Holy Fathers in Limbo, who were expecting it with such languishing desires?

Ovalle.  
1846.

## CHAP. IX.

*Vasco Nunnes de Balboa pursues the Discovery of the South Sea, and Dies.*

**V**asco Nunnes de Balboa, having perform'd his Devotion, and Thanked our Lord, with all his Companions, for so great a Favour done them, as to bring them to that place, and for the Favour he was about to shew to that new World by the means of the Preachers of the Gospel, to whom he thus opened a way to publish it; he then bethought himself of his Second Obligation, which was to his King; in conformity to which, he took possession, in his Majesty's Name, for the Crowns of *Castille* and *Leon*, of the Place where he was, and of the Sea which he discover'd from thence; cutting for this purpose many Trees, and making great

Crosses, which he set up, and writ upon them the Names of their Majesties.

After this, they began to go down from the Mountain, marching always prepar'd for any Encounter that they might have with the *Caciques* in their way; so, though the *Cacique Chapias* oppos'd them with his People, who were Stout and many, yet by setting the Dogs at them, and beginning to fire their Muskets, they were soon routed. This made the *Cacique* offer Terms of Peace, and receive and make much of the *Castilians*, presenting them with Gold; and he prov'd so good a Friend, that he pacified many other *Caciques* who were in Arms to hinder the

Passage, who likewise made their Presents of Gold.

1646. From the Town of Chiapas, *Basco Nunnes* sent out to discover the Coasts of the South Sea the Captains *Francisco Pizarro*, *Juan de Escara*, and *Alonso Martin*, each to a different Place: This last found Two *Canoo's* dry on the Shore, and the Sea below them above half a League; he wonder'd to see them so far from the Sea, and as he was considering it, he perceiv'd the Sea coming very fast in, and did not stay long before it set the *Canoo's* on float; he enter'd into one of them, and took Witnels that he was the first European that had ever been upon that Sea.

The Tides on that Coast Ebb and Flow every six hours, so as great Ships will be left on Shore, the Water retiring so fast, that it gives great admiration when it returns, to see lo great a Space cover'd so fast, that it appears an Inundation.

*Basco Nunnes* having advice of this, came down allo to the Coast; and going into the Sea up to the Mid-Leg, with a Naked Sword in his Hand, said, That he took Possession of it, and all the Coasts and Bays of it, for the Crowns of *Castille* and *Leon*, and that he was ready with that Sword, as often as it should be necessary, to make good that Claim, against all that should oppose him. The *Indians* were in great amaze at this new Ceremony; and they were more surpriz'd, when they saw him, against their advice, and that of the *Caciques*, venture to cross the Gulph of *Pearls*, to discover the Riches of it in that Commodity; though it had like to have cost him dear, for he was near perishing in crossing that Arm of the Sea. Now let us see (in order to undeceive those who shall read this) how little this Courage and Boldness avail'd this Generous Conqueror of the New World, and the great Things his Invincible Mind had brought to pass. All his Military Prudence and Cunning, by which he made himself be respected by unknown Nations, avail'd him little; for this so fortunate a great Captain had a Tragical end: He lost his Life in *Dairen* at his return, finding there the Governor *Pedrarías*, who came to succeed him. The King in sending this Man had Recommended to him the Person of *Basco Nunnes de Balboa*, and order'd him to make use of his Council, as of one

who had Honour'd him by his Bold Undertakings, and to whom for a Reward he order'd the Governments of *Panama* and *Coiba*, and the Admirallship of the South Sea, which he had discover'd, and on which he had already built Four Ships, and got together Three Hundred Men to go upon the Discovery of *Peru*. But the said *Pedrarías* commanded him on Shore, and there seizing him, caus'd him to be Beheaded publicly as a Traytor: The Cryer went before him, crying, as is Customary, that he was a Traytor; which when *Vasco Nunnes* heard, he said it was a Lye, and that no Man had serv'd the King with more Zeal, nor more Fidelity, than he, nor more desir'd to extend his Monarchy; but all his Complaints were like Voices in the Desert, which were of no force against Envy and Emulation, which had prevail'd in his Enemies, and which can never fail against those who govern. His Death was much regretted, and appear'd very unjust in *Spain*; because, indeed, the King lost one of his bravest Captains, and one who would have discover'd *Peru* with more facility, and without all those Tumults, which since happened; for his Prudence, Valour, and Zeal, were above the ordinary size.

It cannot be denied, but that the Sentence may be justified according to the Depositions of Witneses; but yet it was a great Argument of his Innocency, that which he himself said to the Governor *Pedrarías*, which was, That if he had in his Heart to make himself Master and Independent, as they accus'd him, he would not have obey'd his Call as he did, and leave his Ship without any difficulty; for he had then Three Hundred Men all at his Devotion, and Four Vessels, with which he might have been safe, and gone upon new Discoveries, if his Conscience had accus'd him. They add here, That an Astrologer had told him, that that year he should see something extraordinary in the Heavens, he should be in guard against some great Misfortune that threatened him, and that if he escap'd from it, he should be the most Powerful and Happy Man in the whole *India's*; and that accordingly he did see this Sign, but laugh'd at it, as thinking himself in so high a State.

The barbarity of the Spaniards one to another.

Vasco Nunnes Beheaded.

The Tides very rapid.

A famous Digfright the poor Indians.



CHAP. X.

*The Discovery of the South-Sea, its Ports and Islands, is continued.*

*Ovalle.  
1646.*

IT is a Common Passion in those who govern, either to oppose the Designs of their Predecessors, or at least not to execute them by their Means, nor by their Creatures; that their Assistance may not lessen the Glory, which they pretend by making themselves the Authors of the Enterprizes. As we have already said, *Pedro de Arrias* succeeded *Vasco Nannes de Balboa*, in the Government, just as he had made the Discovery of the South Sea; and though the King had recommended the Person of *Nannes* to him, yet he could not be brought to grant him Leave to follow his Discovery, though the Bishop of *Dairen* advis'd it very earnestly; but he had resolv'd to give this good Morfel to a Creature of his, call'd Captain *Gaspar Morales*, to whom he added, as Companion, Captain *Francisco Pizarro*, because of the Experience he had, having been already employ'd in the Discovery.

They set out from *Darien*, and got to the South Sea, and Embarking there in Canoes, they came to the *Isle of Pearls*, which the *Indians* call'd *Taragui*. There by this time began to endeavour to hinder the *Spaniards* from settling in their Lands; but they were not able to do it, their Forces being so much inferior to those of the *Castilians*, who passing from one *Island* to another, came at last to the largest, where was the King of almost all those Nations, who took Arms against the *Spaniards*, having a brave number of Men, and well chosen; but they not being us'd to Fire-Arms, they soon yielded and came to Composition: To which they were brought also by the fear of a Fancious Dog, that was in the Christian Camp, who us'd to fall upon them like a Lion; and they having never seen an Animal of that sort, did flee him as a Devil, because of the mischief he did amongst them; for they being naked, he could sicken any where without danger. The *Chieftes*, our Friends, presently interpos'd, and telling the King what dangerous Encuties the *Spaniards* were, and of what Importance their Friendship was, they being Invincible, he at last was prevail'd upon to grant them Peace. They came to his Palace, which was very Sumptuous, and as they judg'd better than any they had seen yet. The King receiv'd them with Marks of Friendship, and as a Token of it, caus'd

a Basket of Rushes full of Pearls, which weigh'd five Marks, to be given them; amongst which, there was one which had but few Fellows in the World, (for it weigh'd six and twenty Carats, and was as big as a small Walnut) and another as big as a Muscat-Pear, perfect and Oriental, and of a fine Colour, weighing ten half Scruples. The first came from Hand to Hand, till it was in the *Empresses*, who valued it as it deserv'd, as is told by *Antonio de Herrera* and others. They presented the King, in return, with the usual Presents of Pins and Needles, Beils, Knives, and other Baubles of Europe, which the *Indians* valued much. The *Spaniards* not being able to forbear laughing, to see the Value they put upon them, the King said to them, *what do you laugh at?* And having heard what it was, he said, 'We might more justly laugh at you, for valuing things so much, which are of no use in Life, and for which you pass so many Seas: As for these Knives, and Hatchets you, give us, they are very useful Instruments to Men. This was not the only Return the King had for his Pearls; for he had the precious Pearl of Faith by their means: For growing very fond of them, and being by them instructed, he and all his Family receiv'd the Christian Religion, which was the Principal End to which the *Castilians* directed all their Enterprizes. They made a Solemn Christening; and the King, to treat his Spiritual Fathers, who had Engendered him in the Gospel, carried them to see the Pearl Fishing which was in this manner. The *Indians* Div'd to the bottom, having about their Necks a Bag full of Stones, that they might sink the faster; and it serv'd them for a Ballast to keep them steady while they gather'd the Oysters, that the Water might not Buoy them up. The greatest Oysters are about Ten Fathom deep; for when they do not go to feed, they keep as low as they can, and stick so fast to the Rocks, and to one another, that it is very hard to loosen them; nay, it happens sometimes, that while they spend too much time in doing it, their Breath fails them, and they are drown'd. But generally speaking, they are not in danger, because as they gather the Oysters, they put them in their Bag, and Lighten it of the Stones, and before their Breath fails, they come up again with

*Pearls of a prodigious bigness.*

*A wise Repartee of an Indian King.*

*The Pearl Fishing*

*A famous Dog frights the poor Indians.*



their Fifth They open the Oysters, and take out the Pearl's, which use to be many if they are small, and few if they are large. They say that among those they presented the *Castillans* at this time, were several of the bigness of Large Pease, and

Hazle Nuts; with which they return'd very well pleas'd to have made a Discovery of so rich a Treasure, as well as of the rich one they had given in Exchange to the King and his People, by making them Christians.

## CHAP. XI.

### Of the Discovery of the River of Plata, and the Coasts of Chile, by the Straights of Magellan.

WE have hitherto gone by the North-Sea to the *Terra Firma*, and the Discovery of the South-Sea, with Intent to follow the Discoveries of this new World to its utmost Bounds, which is the Kingdom of *Chile*, to which all this Narrative is directed: We shall follow this Order by the same Steps that the first Conquerors went; but while they are disposing all things for this great Enterprize, it will not be amiss to leave the South Sea and follow those who endeavour'd to discover the Coasts of *Chile*, by the North-Sea. The first we shall follow is Captain *Juan Dias de Solis*, who Sailing from *Spain* the 8th. of October, 1515. run along the Coasts of *Brasil*, till he discover'd the Famous River of *Plata*; which was so nam'd, not from any Silver that is found near it, or on its Banks, but from some Plates of that Metal, which the *Indians* gave the *Spaniards*; which Silver they had brought from the Country about *Potosi*, with which they had Communication by the means of the *Tucuman Indians*, who are the nearest on that Side to *Peru*. *Solis* entred that mighty River, which, if I am not mistaken, is threecore or seventy Leagues over at its first Entrance, and is known at Sea by its fresh Water, at first, till being further in, they can see the Mountains and Lands that bound it. This River is one of the most Famous in the World, of sweet and excellent Water, being observ'd to clear the Voice and Lungs, and is good against all Rhumes and Dejections; and all the Nations of the *Paraguays*, who drink this Water, have admirable Voices, so tunable, that when they sing they appear Organs; and therefore they are all inclin'd to Musick, and those who come from abroad mend their Voices by living there. I knew one who was born in *Chile*, and had naturally a good Voice, which he mended extremely by living in *Paraguay*; but when he left that Country, and came to *Tucuman*, he lost his Improvement, as he himself told me.

This River has another Property, which is, That it Petrefies the Branches of Trees which fall into it. The Governor *Hernan Darias*, born in *Paraguay*, a Gentleman of a singular Talent for Government, had in his House a whole Tree all of Stone, which had been taken out of this River. Likewise there are form'd naturally, of the Sand of this River, certain Vessels of various Figures, which have the Property of cooling Water. There are also certain *Cocos de Terra* which contain Stones in them, which at a certain time are as it were ripe, and burst, Discovering Amathists within them; they burst open with a great noise.

There are also bred upon its Banks most beautiful Birds of several kinds, and in its Streams, great variety of Fishes, very dainty, and in great quantity. The River is Navigable every where in *Camoo's*, but not with the same *Canoo's*, because of the prodigious Fall that is in the midst of it; the whole River precipitating it self into a deep Gulph, from whence it runs many Leagues, till it empties it self into the Sea. The Noise that this Fall makes, the Foam that it raises, the Whirlpools it causes, by the Rencounter of its Waters, is not to be imagin'd. The Land on both sides this River is very fertile: On the West side, which is the *Tucuman* side, corresponding to *Buenos Ayres*, there are several Cities, as *St. Jago de Estero Cordona*, *St. Michel la Rioga*, and *Esteco Juzuy* and *Salta*, which border upon *Peru*: These Cities are not very Populous, because they are in the midst of the Land, and far from Commerce with both Seas; but they do encrease very much, particularly *Cordona*, which amongst other Properties, has that of producing rare Wits, in the University govern'd by the Jesuits, who may match their Professors and Schollars with those of any other Part, as I my self have experienc'd. There are likewise in this District many Houses and Families of Men of Quality and ancient Nobility. Higher up the River to the West, are also the Cities

The Rio de La Plata Discover'd, 1515.

The Virtue of the Water of the Rio de La Plata.

A Religious Digression of the Author's

It's Fall

An University and rare Wits at the West Indian Cordona.

ties of the *Assumption*, *Santa Fee de las Corrientes del Guaya*, and others. The City of the *Assumption* is the chief, and w<sup>r</sup> Peopled by Gentlemen that came first to the *India's*, and is since much encreas'd in People, but not in Riches; because it being so far within the Land, cannot have sufficient Vent for its Commodities, which are chiefly *Sugar* and preserv'd Fruits: among the rest they are Famous for a dried Sweetmeat, call'd *Ladrillos*, which are Slices of *Cedro*, done up in *Sugar* in the form of a Tile: But the best Sweetmeat they have they will give in great abundance for an Apple, or any European Fruit. In all this Tract of Land there are three Governments, which are also Bishopricks, to wit, *Paraguay*, *Rio de la Plata*, and *Tucuman*.

Higher yet on the East Side are many Heathen Nations, who have others that answer them on the West; and among these are distributed those Famous Missions which our Fathers of the Society of Jesus have founded.

A Religious Digression of the Author's.

I am sorry I am insensibly engag'd in this Matter, and I must own I have mention'd that which I cannot well explain: This is not a Place for Panegiricks, nor does the Thread of my History admit of such large Digressions; yet I cannot but stop a little, and give some Consideration to that we may call Miracles of Grace, which are perform'd in those Deserts, of which I my self have been an Eye-witness, having liv'd some time in that Holy Province, to which I owe all that I am: But who can explain what those Apostolical Men deserve in the Sight of God, who seem to have nothing of Man, but what is necessary to make their Life more admirable, which they lead like Angels in Humane Bodies?

Who would not wonder to see in those Mountains and Soliditudes Men ill fed, worse, lodg'd, naked, painful and in Anguish for the Souls of others, when they might save their own with less trouble, enjoying the good Morfels and merry Days which without Sin, and sometimes Meritoriously, they might have in their own Country among their Friends, and in the best of Europe? Who can but admire to see so many Youths banish themselves, and renouncing all Preferment, resolve to pass all their Lives like Hermits, for the Love of God and Zeal of the Salvation of Souls? Is this a Work of Nature; and can Humane Force arrive to this of it self? Let us go out from this Consideration, lest it be like a Load-stone to draw us in further; and yet let me fly as far as I will, I cannot hinder my heart from being with them,

and desiring to end my Days in this Employment. They who desire to see the Fruit of these Missions of our Company, the numbers of the Gentiles which they have brought from Solitudes, to live in Cities, the great Progress of the Faith, and the numbers of Martyrs they have consecrated to God; let him read the Book made of all this by that Apostolical Man, *Antonio Ruiz de Montoya*; and then he will be extremely edified, and admire the Work as well as the Author. And so I return to the Thread of my History.

*Juan de Solis* being Landed here, found little Resistance from the *Indians*, who are not so Cruel nor Warlike as in other Parts; so he took Possession of all that Tract, in the Name of their Majesties, for the Crowns of *Castille* and *Leon*, as was always the Custom of the first Discoverers: And he for himself took Possession of those seven foot of Earth which Death allows to those he seizes, let them be never so Ambitious, though while they are alive a whole World will not suffice them. He lies buried there; and an end was put to his Discoveries.

Much about the same time, there were at his Catholick Majesty's Court, the two famous Captains *Ferdinand Magellan*, and *Ruy Falero*, offering their Persons, Valour and Industry, for to find out, either towards the South or West, an end to *Ame. Magellan* *Offers his Service to Discover the Streight.* *rica*, or some Canal or Streight by which both Seas might Communicate with each other, and so the Navigation from *Europe* might be made in the same Ships, in which they might go round all its Coasts: They were treating upon this Subject, and the *Portugal* Embassador made it his business to oppose *Magellan*, because being fallen out with his King about this Discovery, he desir'd he might not make it for the Crown of *Castille*; but at last the King having heard at *Saragosa*, in Presence of his Council, the Reasons and Grounds that *Magellan* and *Falero* went upon, he accepted their Service, and honour'd them with the Habits of *St. Jago*; and having settled the Capitulation with them, his Majesty commanded the Squadron to be made ready, and nam'd the Captains and Officers of it; and having heard that there was a dispute risen between *Magellan* and *Falero*, about who should carry the Royal Standard or Flag, and the Light, he order'd *Falero*, as not yet well recover'd of a Distemper he lay under, to stay at Home and mind his Health, and in the mean time that another Squadron should be got ready, in which *Falero* should follow.

The

Ovalle 1646.

The First Squadron being ready, his Majesty Commanded the Assistant of Seville that he should deliver the Royal Standard to *Magellan*, in the great Church of *Santa Maria* of Victory of *Triana*, taking at the same time from him an Oath of Fidelity, or Hommage, according to the Custom of *Castile*, that he should perform the Voyage with all Fidelity, as a Good and Loyal Vassal of his Majesty. The Captains took likewise an Oath to obey *Magellan* in all things. He after many Vows, having recommended himself and his Voyage to our Lord, went on Board the Ship call'd the *Trinity*, and the Treasurer-General in the *Victory* (so famous for being the First that went round the World.) The other Ships were the *Concepcion*, *St. Jago*, and *St. Antony*.

*Magellan sets Sail for his Discovery.*

They set Sail the 10th. of *August*, in the Year 1492. They took the Ile of *Tenerif*, then made the Coast of *Guinny*, and arriv'd at *Rio Genneiro*, from whence they sail'd on *St. Steven's* day, and having had a great Storm, they entred into the River of *Plata*: Here they stay'd eight days; and then following their Voyage, they had another terrible Tempest, which carried away their Forecastle, and forced them to cut away their Poop. They made Vows to our Lady of *Guadalupe* and *Monferrat*, and to *St. Jago of Galicia*: It pleas'd God to hear them, and they took Shelter in the River of *St. Julian*, but not all, for one of their Ships was lost; the Men got on Shore, but endur'd so much by Land to Port *St. Julian*, by Hunger, that they seem'd Skeletons when they came to their Companions.

*Magellan's Men Mutiny.*

While they were Wintering in this River, either Idleness, or the great Sufferings they had undergone, and those which they fear'd, made them Mutiny against *Ferdinand Magellan*. There were some of his Ships that Revolted; but he with great Boldness, and no less Art, made himself Master of them; punishing some of the Guilty, and pardoning others; and for *Juan de Carthagena*, and his Companion in Rebellion, he set them ashore when he set Sail, leaving them a good Provision of Bread and Wine. It was never known whether this was sufficient to sustain them, till they should meet with some of those Gyants, which had been with the Ships, and had been treated by *Magellan*, who perhaps receiv'd them.

*Passes the Straight of his name in 20 Days.*

*Magellan* seeing the Winter over, as he thought, set Sail the 7th. of *November*, which is when the Summer begins in those Parts, and having by Land observ'd what he could of the Straight, they pass'd with great good Fortune in twenty Days, and

then Steering North, they coasted along *Chile*, which they left somewhere at large, as having no knowledge of that Land, *Peru* being not yet Discover'd. After this, they came to the *Philippine Islands*, in one of which this most courageous Captain and famous Portuguese, *Magellan*, died by the Hands of the Natives, or to say better, by his own rashness and overboldness.

*Magellan killed.*

Some Years after which, was that of 1534. *Simon de Alcazova* a Portuguese Gentleman of the Habit of *St. Jago*, and Gentleman of the Chamber of the King, a great Cosmographer and one very expert in Navigation, having been employed many Years for the Crown of *Castile*, made an Agreement with the King to Discover and People 200 Leagues from the Place where *Almagro's* Government should end, which was in *Chile*. He sail'd from *St. Lucar* on the 21st. of *September*, 1534. with five good Ships, and two hundred and fifty Men, and without seeing Land from the *Gomera* to the Straight of *Magellan*; only having touch'd at *Cape Abis Ojos* and the *Rio de Gallegos*, about 25. Leagues from the Straights Mouth. He enter'd them on the 17th. of *January*, 1535. having endured so much Thirst, that the Cats and Dogs were come to drink Wine, and the People were ready to perish. They found a great Cross erected by *Magellan*, and the wreck of the Ship which he lost there. There appear'd about 20 *Indians*, who gave Signs of much joy to see the *Spaniards*: They followed their Crouse, keeping still the right Hand, as the safest; but yet they had so furious a Storm, that it carried away half their Sails; it blew so, that they thought the Ships would have been carried, away through the Air. They took Shelter into a Port; and because the Season was so far advanced, they perswaded their General *Alcazova* to go out of the Straights, which he did, and return to the Port of *Lions*, or of *Wolves*, which was a very good one.

While they were Wintering in those Parts, they resolv'd to enter further into the Country, and make Discovery of those Riches which the *Indians* told them were there; so having Celebrated Mass, they blessed the Banners, and the Captains took a new Oath of Fidelity and Obedience, and with this they set out about 225. Men, having fifty *Arca-buses*, seventy *Cross-Bows*, four Charges of Powder and Ball, which every one carried with his Bread, which was about 26 Pound Weight. Thus they march'd about 14 Leagues; and there *Alcazova*, being a heavy Man, could go no further, which was his ruine; he

1502.

1513.  
1515.

1517.

*Panama founded in the year, 1518.*

he nam'd a Lieutenant, against whom the Men Mutinied; for having gone ninety Leagues, and their Provision failing, they resolv'd to go back, as they did, though they had met with a River full of Fish, and that their Guides told them that a little further they should come to a great Town, where there was a great deal of Gold, for the Inhabitants wore Plates of it in their Ears, and upon their Arms: But nothing could move them; and as one mischief seldom comes alone, they resolv'd to make

themselves Masters of the Ships at their return, and to kill all that should oppose them; and so they Executed it: But God Almighty punish'd them immediately; for as they were going out of Port, they lost their Admiral, and then having but one Ship, durst not venture for Spain, but put in at *Hispaniola*, where Doctor *Saravia*, of the Audience of *St. Domingo* chastiz'd the most guilty. And thus the Discovery of *Chile*, for that time, and that way, was disappointed; for God reserv'd that Honour for another.

Ovalle.  
1646.

CHAP. XII.

*Of the Discovery of other Parts of America, before that of Chile.*

While the Ships are making ready to go to the Discovery of *Peru*, it will not be amiss to touch upon the Discovery of some other Parts of *America*, by the by, that at least the Order of time, with which the Discoveries proceeded each other, may be understood; and what we are to say afterwards, about *Chile*, will be made plainer, that being our chief design.

It has been said already in its proper Place, how the Admiral *Columbus* discover'd the *Terra firma*, or Continent of *America* in his 4th. Voyage from *Spain* to the *India's*, and found the Port of *Puerto Bello* the second of *November*, 1502. We have also said how *Vasco Nunnus de Balboa* having founded *Santa Maria la Antigua* of *Dairen*, discover'd the South-Sea, and took Possession of it, in the Month of *September*, or *October*, in the Year 1513. as as also that in the Year 1515. *Juan Dias de Solis* discover'd the River of *Plata* first of all Discoverers.

Now we will add what is known about the Discovery of other Lands; amongst the which, one of the first was that of *Yucatan*, which was undertaken by Captain *Francisco, Hernandez de Cordova*, in the Year 1517. and the *Adelantado* of it is at this day *Don Christoval Soares de Solis*, a Gentleman of an Antient and Noble Family in *Salamanca*. This same year other *Castilians* discover'd the Land of *Campeche*, where in a Chappel of the *Indians* full of their Idols, they found Painted Crosses, of which they were not less astonish'd, than rejoiced, seeing Light in Darkness, and the Tropics of Christ by the side of *Belial*; which at last, by the *Spaniards* Arrival in those Parts, were better known to those Barbarous People. In the Year 1518. the *Licenciado Espinosa*, who

was nam'd Deputy to the Governor *Pedro Arias*, founded the City of *Panama*, which is the Canal, by which all the Treasure of *Peru* passes to *Spain*, in the Gallions. This City has not encreased so much as many others of the *India's*, because being situated near the Equinoctial Line, it's Temperature does not agree with those born in *Europe*; but yet there are many Constitutions that do very well there, because of the great Riches that are easily acquir'd there; and those who seek them, think no Air bad. There are a great many People of Quality; for there is a Bishoprick, a Royal Audience, or Court of Judicature, a Tribunal of Royal Officers, and a Chapter of Canons Seculars and Regulars. But that which in my judgment is most commendable in it, is the Piety, Mercy, and Liberality of its Inhabitants. I have this Year receiv'd advice, that by the negligence of a female Slave, the greatest part of the City was burnt; for the Houses being of Wood, if one take Fire, 'tis hard to stop the Flames: There was lost in this a great Mass of Riches, a great part of the loss falling on the Cathedral; and a little after, there being a Gathering made, though this Misfortune had concern'd almost every body, who for that reason were less in a Condition to contribute by way of Alms, which some of them wanted; yet they give above 20 Thousand Pieces of Eight, and went on contributing: This was an extraordinary Mark of their Charity; but the ordinary ones, in which they constantly show their Generosity, are to Strangers and Passengers, who pass from *Spain* to the *India's*, who most of them are at a loss till they meet with some Patron, or Friend, or Countryman, to assist

Panama  
founded in  
the year,  
1518.

**Ovalle.**  
1664. silt them, and they would often be reduced to great Extremity, if this were not, as it is, a common Inn for all those People; for in the Colledge of our Company alone, though it is not yet founded, but lives upon Alms, I saw, when I was there, a Cloth laid at the Porters Chambers, where every day they provided for and fed about 50 or 60 Passengers with Bread and Fleth in abundance: The same is done by other Convents; and the Seculars, I saw, gave them Money and other Necessaries. This, as to the City of *Panama*, founded in the year 1518. In which year the Religious Friers of *St. Dominick* and *St. Francis* pass'd from the Island of *Hispaniola*, and began to found Convents in *Terra Firma*, and the *Pearl Coast*; from whence these Two Holy Orders pursued their Mission through all the Land, enlightening it with their Doctrine and Holy Examples; by which they have made such a Progress among the *Indians*, that the present flourishing of the Faith is owing to them, to the great saving of the *Indians* Souls. The year 1519. *Ferdinand Magellan* made the Discovery of the Coast of *Chile*; and the same year *Hernando Cortes* went from the Point of *St. Anton*

1519. *Hernando Cortes* went from the Point of *St. Anton* *ne la Havana* to *Corooba*, which is the first Point of *Yucatan*, East, to begin the Conquest of the Great Empire of *Mexico*; of which, and the Noble Actions of that Great Man, 'tis better to be silent, than to touch upon them, only by the by, as we should be forc'd to do; this being not a place to explain the State and Grandeur of that Mighty Monarch *Montezuma*, who was Sovereignly obeyed in so many and such great Provinces. Who can express in few Words all this, and the Felicity that accompanied *Cortes* in all his Undertakings, which were such as they appear'd possible only after they were done, seeming otherwise so high and difficult, as to be inaccessible to the extreamest Boldness? Indeed it cannot be denied, but that he was assisted by Heaven, whose Instrument he was in planting the Christian Faith among those Gentils, and shewing such Reverence to the Preachers of it, as might serve the *Indians* for an Example; a Quality which will always give Reputation to Princes, both before God and Men.

**Buenos Aires**  
founded in 1523. In the year 1528. the King sent a Colony to the *Rio de la Plata*, having agreed with the Merchants of *Seville* for that purpose: The City was founded was that of *Buenos Aires*, which is on the side of that River, in that part of it where it grows narrow from its large entrance at

Sea; and the River there is not above Nine Leagues over. In the year 1532. *Cedro de Heredia* of *Madrid* sail'd from *Spain*, and founded the City of *Carthagena*, which is the first *Scala* which the *Carthage-Spanish* Galleons make coming from *Spain* for the *India's* to fetch Silver: It was so call'd because its Port was like that of *Carthagena* in *Spain*; for the old Name of the *Indians* was *Calamari*: He had at first an Engagement with the *Indians*, and though they shewed themselves very Brave, yet he beat them, and founded the City, which is at present one of the best of the *India's*, being Wall'd with Stone, and so strong, that we may name it as an Impregnable Fortrefs.

It is situated in an Island, divided from the Continent by a small Arm of the Sea, which ebbs and flows, and comes to the *Ciempga* of *Canapote*. There is a Bridge or Causeway there that goes to the *Terra Firma*: The Port is very safe, and good Ships go into it by Two Mouths or Entrances, a greater and a less; the great is Sandy; and the year that I was there, they told me it was almost shut up by the Sand which a River casts up against it; and now they write me word, that it is quite fill'd up, so that there is no going in, but by the lesser Entrance, which makes it so much the stronger; and it is defended by a good Castle; besides which, the City is well garnished with Artillery, so as not to fear an Invasion. The Plot of the City is very beautiful, all the Streets being handsomely dispos'd, the Houses of Free Stone; high and noble; so are the Churches and Convents, particularly that of the *Jesuits*, which makes a beautiful Prospect to the Sea. Here is a Custom-House for the King, and a House call'd of the *Rigimiento*, with other Publick Buildings: it is very Populous, and of a great Trade by reason of the coming of the Galleons; and from them they have Wine and Oyl: Corn they have in their own Territory; There resides a Bishop, and there is a Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition. The Governor hath both the Civil and Military Command: It encreases every day in Riches, being so situated, that it shares all the Riches of *Pern*, *Mexico*, and *Spain*.

In the year 1540. Captain *Francisco de The Rev. Orellana* discover'd the great River of the *Amazones*, which is call'd also *Orellana*, and by a common Mistake *Marannon*, and went from it to *Spain*; where, upon *Orellana* the Relation he gave of its greatness, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth order'd him Three Ships, with People, and all things Necessary

In the year 1507.



Necessary to make a Settlement: but this had no effect, because having lost half his Men at the *Canaries* and *Cape Vert*, he was too weak when he got thither; yet he attempted to go up the River in Two large Boats, to which his Fleet was reduced; but finding his Wants of every thing, he came out again, and went by the Coast of *Caracas* to the *Margarita*, where he and his People are said to have died. About Twenty years after, the Viceroy of *Peru* sent a good Fleet under *Pedro de Orsua*, but this miscarried also, because he was kill'd treacherously by *Lopez de Aguirre*, who rebell'd with the Fleet; but having mis'd the entrance of the River, he landed on the Continent, near the Island of *Trinidad*, where he was Executed by Order from Court. Some years after this the Sergeant General *Vincente de los Reyes Villalobos*, *Alonso de Miranda*, and the General *Josep de Villa Mayor Maldonado*, undertook the same Design, but with the same Fortune, Death taking them away; so that they gave over at that time all Attempts on *Peru* and *Quito* side. But still the Fame of this River continuing, *Benito Maciel*, General of *Para*, and since that Governor of *Maranbon*, and *Francisco Cuello de Cevallo*, Governor likewise of *Maranbon* and *Para*, attempted its Discovery up the River; and though they were back'd by the King's Royal Commands, yet there were many cross Accidents as to hinder the Execution of their Enterprize.

In the year  
1507.

The Fathers of our Company of *Jesus* attempted likewise this Discovery, by the Motive of saving so many Souls; but beginning with a Nation call'd the *Cofanes*, their progress was stopp'd by the cruel Death given to Father *Raphael Fernandes*, who was Preaching the Faith to them. Thirty years after, which was 1537, some Friars of the Order of *St. Francis*, mov'd by the Zeal of amplifying the Glory of the Gospel, and by Order of their Superiors, went from *Quito* in Company of Captain *Juan de Palacios*, and some Soldiers; they began to sail down this River, and came to the *Encabellado's*, or People with long Hair; but not finding the Harvest ready, they return'd to *Quito*, except only Two of their Lay Brethren, which were *Domingo de Brieua*, and Friar *Andres de Toledo*, who with Six Soldiers more sail'd down as far as the City of *Para*, a Settlement of the Portuguese, about Forty Leagues from the Sea. They pass'd by the City of *St. Luis de Maranbon*, where the Governor *Jacomo Reynondo de Moronna*, by the Information he had from these Friars, caus'd Seven and forty Canoes to

be got ready, and embark'd upon them Seventy Spaniards with 1200 Indians, some of War, and some to help to Row, under the Command of Captain *Pedro Texeira*, who having spent a whole year in his Voyage, came at last to the City of *Quito*, having Discover'd and Navigated the whole River of the *Amazonas*, from its Entrance into the Sea to its Source or Rise.

The Viceroy of *Peru*, who at that time was the Count de *Cobinson*, being inform'd of this Voyage of Captain *Pedro Texeira*, resolv'd to send Two Persons back with him for the Crown of *Castile*, who might give a perfect Relation of the Discovery.

At this time the City of *Quito* was govern'd by Don *Juan Vasquez de Acuna*, as Corregidor for his Majesty over both Spaniards and Indians, and who at present is Corregidor of *Potosi*, who very Zealously offer'd his Person for one, and his Fortune to raise People at his own Charges, and provide them with all Necessaries; but the Royal Audience, considering how much he would be wanted in his Office, where his Prudence, Experience, and Zeal, had shew'd themselves, refus'd to let him go, and chose a Brother of his, that they might not totally deprive his Illustrious Family of that Glory. This Brother was a Father of our Company of *Jesus*, and nam'd Father *Christoval de Acuna*, who was Rector of the College of *Cuenca*, and gave him for Companion Father *Andres de Arrieda* of the same Company, who was Professor of Divinity in the same College.

They set out from *Quito* in the year 1539. and having Navigated the whole River, which, according to their Account, is Thirteen hundred and fifty six Leagues long, (though *Orellana* makes it 1800 Leagues) observ'd exactly the rise of this great River, its Situation, its Course, Latitude, and Depth, the Islands it makes, the Arms into which it is divided, the Rivers it receives, the Riches, Quantities, Temperature, and Climate of its Shores, the Customs and Manners of that Multitude of People that inhabit it, and particularly of those Famous *Amazones*. All which may be seen in a Treatise made of it by Father *Christoval de Acuna*, Printed in *Madrid*; and it is a Relation that deserves Credit, he being an Eye witness, and having Examind various Nations as he went.

These Informations were well receiv'd in *Madrid*, but the Revolutions which succeeded in those Kingdoms hindred all

P

further

Oville.  
1646.

The River  
of Ovel-  
lana Navi-  
gated from  
the Sea to

And back  
again to  
the Sea.



*Ovalle.*  
1646. further Progress, and prevented these holy Designs for the Conversion of that great part of *America*. There are infinite numbers of *Indians* that inhabit the Islands, and other parts of this River: 'Tis said they have one Settlement, that is a Town of above a League in length. And now omitting many other Conquests, made much about the same time in the Islands

and Coasts of the North Sea, and that which was made in the South Sea by *Xil Gonzales de Avila*, in the Land of *Nicaragua*, in the year 1522. let us attend (for it is high time) to the Discovery of *Peru*, of which we shall Treat more at large, because it has a Connexion to that of *Chile*.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Discovery of Peru is given to Don Francisco Pizarro, and Don Diego d'Almagro, and Hernando Loque; and how much they endur'd in it.*

*The first  
Discovery  
of Peru  
attempted.*

THE Captains *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and *Don Diego Almagro*, in Company with the Scholastick of the Cathedral Church of *Dairen*, call'd *Hernando de Loque*, came to the Governor *Pedra-rias*, and desir'd of him as Friends, the Favour of being Employed in the Discovery and Conquests of those Coasts which run South from *Panama*, where lies the Powerful Kingdom of *Peru*, of which at that time there was little light; and for this they propos'd their Reasons; among which, that which was of least value, they relied most upon, and that was their Experience they had attain'd under their General *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa*. They met with little difficulty with the Governor; for so long as they did not desire any assistance of the King's Treasure, but ventur'd their own and their Lives, they easily obtain'd leave to undertake what they would. They presently bought one of the Ships which *Balboa* had built for that Design; and having got together Threescore Men, and Four Horses, (for at that time Horses were a great Rarity) *Hernando de Lucque* said Mass; and when he came to Consecration, he divided the *Hostia*, or Sacrament of the Body of Christ, into Three Parts, of which he took One, and gave the other Two to his Two Companions, offering themselves to God with intention to propagate among those People his Glorious Name, and plant the Christian Faith amongst them by the Predication of the Gospel. Those who were present shed Tears out of Devotion, and at the same time pitied these Undertakers, looking upon their Enterprize as a Mad one.

About the middle of November 1524. *Don Francisco Pizarro* having left *Don Diego Almagro* behind him, to get more People together, sail'd from *Panama* to the Isle of *Pearls* to the *Pinnas*; and afterwards *Pascual de Andagoia* went up the

River of the Cacique *Biru* or *Biruquete*, to the Country of *Chocama*, where he stop'd to wait for his Companion *Almagro*. The Hardships that the *Castilians* endur'd, of Hunger and other Inconveniencies, are not easily to be told: Twenty died starved, and the rest were Sick, having no other Sustainance then the bitter *Palmeto's*; yet Captain *Pizarro*, without shewing the least Weakness, took Care of them all with great Affection; which made them all love him. At that time *Don Diego de Almagro*, his Companion in the Undertaking, came to him: He was receiv'd like an Angel, for the Relief he brought: He had lost one of his Eyes by the Shot of an Arrow, in a Rencontre he had with the *Indians*. They both together pursued their Conquest; but Provision failing them once more, and their Soldiers being almost naked, and so persecuted with *Mosquito's*, which are infinite there, that they could not live, they began to talk of returning to *Panama*; to which *Pizarro* himself was well enough inclin'd; but *Almagro* exhorted them rather to dye, than lose Patience; offering to return to *Panama* for new Succour, while he should leave his Companion in the Island of *Gallo*.

The Effect that this had, was, That he found the Government alter'd in *Panama*, and *Pedrarias* succeeded by *Pedro de los Rios*; who hearing of the Miserable Condition of those *Castilians*, would not suffer *Almagro* to return to them, being desirous they should give over the Enterprize as Impracticable. He sent for this end a Gentleman of *Cordova*, call'd *Juan Tovar*, a Man of Excellent Parts equal to his Noble Descent, with a Commission to bring those People back, that they might not all perish. He came and signified his Order to *Pizarro*, at which he was out of all Patience, seeing it would be the ruine of his Project. *Tovar* seeing this, took a Prudent

*Pizarro  
main-  
tains  
Thirst  
and a  
Jatto  
Ile of  
Gorg*

*A Ship  
comes to  
them fr  
Panam*

*Tumb  
discover*

Pizarro remains with Thirteen and a Mulatto in the Isle of Gorgona.

prudent Medium, which was, that he should draw a Line between him and Pizarro, who should be at the Head of his Men; and Tofur told them that all those who resolv'd to return to Panama should pass the Line and come on his side: Having said this, they began to pass the Line, all to Thirteen and a Mulatto, who said they would Dye with Pizarro; and so Tofur return'd with all the rest to Panama.

Captain Francis Pizarro remain'd with his Thirteen Companions in an Island, which, for the greater Proof of his Courage and Constancy, happened to be the Gorgona, which is a Picture of Hell for the Closeness of its Woods, the Alperity of its Mountains, the Infinity of its Mosquitos: The Sun is scarce ever seen in it for the continual Rains that fall.

When Tofur came to Panama, and his two Friends Almagro and Lucue found that Pizarro stay'd behind with so few Companions, it is not credible how much Affliction they showed; they Solicited the President, That at least another Vessel might be sent to bring them away, in case they found them alive; and after many difficulties, at last a Ship was order'd after them, but upon condition to be back at Panama in Six Months: The Ship Sail'd, and came to the Place where Pizarro and his Companions were left. Who can express the Joy and Surprize of those poor abandon'd Wretches, when they defcried at a distance the Sails of the Ship? At first they could not believe their own Eyes; for the desire and longing for a thing makes it appear less probable to come to pass: But at last it arriv'd, and Pizarro seeing himself Master of a good Vessel, could not forbear attempting some Discovery.

A Ship comes to them from Panama.

Tumbese discover'd.

They Sail'd as far as the Country of Tumbese, which is very Rich, though the Tumbese Indian said that their Riches were nothing in Comparison of what they might see further. The Lord of that Country having heard of the arrival of the Castilians, he sent presently to visit them at their Ship with Twelve Baskets of Provisions, and among the rest a Sheep of that Country, which was presented to them by the Virgins of the Temple, as to Men who seem'd descended from Heaven, and sent by God for some great thing. The Ambassadors came, and wondering to see the Ship with white Men who had Beards, they ask'd them who they were, whence they came, and what they pre-

tended? They answered them, That they were Castilians, Vassals of a powerful Monarch, who though so great, had yet a greater over him, whom he own'd with all other Kings; and who is in Heaven, and is call'd Jesus Christ, in whose Name they came to undeceive them of their Errors in Worshipping Gods of Stone and Wood, there being but one God, Creator of all things, whom we all ought to Worship. They explain'd to them, That there was a Heaven and Hell, the Immortality of the Soul, and the other Misteries of our Faith.

The Indians stood staring and gaping, hearing this Doctrine, which had never been heard of before in their Country; for they believed that there was no other King in the World but their King Guayanacapa, nor other Gods but their Idols. Among all the things they admir'd, there were two chiefly: The one was a Negro, for they never had seen one, and did believe that his Colour was some strong Dye, for which reason they bestow'd much pains in washing his Face to get it off; but when they saw that he was rather blacker, and that he showed at the same time white Teeth, for he could not hold Laughing to see their simplicity; they fell a Laughing too, and could not but admire such a sort of Men. The other thing was the crowing of a Cock, which the Captain sent them, with a Hen of Castille: Every time he crowed, they ask'd what he said, for they thought his voice articulate, like the humane Voice, which is an Argument that they had not that kind of Fowl: And Garcilasso de la Vega is of that Opinion, answering the Objection of the Indian Name they give a Hen, that is *Atagualpa* which he says was a Name given by the Indians, after the coming of the Spaniards. The Spaniards having refresh'd themselves well on Shore, began to desire of Pizarro to return to Panama, and gather a greater Force, that which he then had being very disproportioned to his Undertaking; he yielded to their Persuasions, having for this time made Discovery only as for a Place called *Santa*, which is very near the Equinoctial Line; and having had a more certain Account of Cusco, its Riches and the mighty Empire it was head of; so taking with him some Indians, and some Patterns of the Gold, as a Testimony of the Discovery, he return'd to Panama.

Ovalle.  
1646.

They Wonder at the Crowing of a Cock.

Ovalle.  
1646.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Captain Francisco Pizarro returns to Panama, goes from thence to Spain, and Pursues his Conquest.*

Pizarro being come to Panama, went with his two Companions to the Governor Don Pedro de los Rios, to represent to him their Reasons for continuing their Discovery, upon the Account of the Riches of the Country, as well as the Planting the Faith in the Capital of so great a Monarchy, and so in all its Dominions. But the Governor would not agree to it; and so they resolv'd that Pizarro should go to Spain, to propose it to the King himself. He undertook the Voyage; and to give more Credit to what he should say, he took along with him several things proper to the Country he had discovered, as Pieces of Gold and Silver, some of those Sheep we have mentioned, and some of the Indians themselves clothed after the manner of their Country. The King was much pleas'd with them; and Pizarro, in his first Audience, began to propose the intent of his Discovery, the great Hardships he had endured, he and his Companions going naked, and almost starved, expos'd to the Mosquito's and Poisoned Arrows of the Indians, and all this, having spent Three years in this sort of Life, for the increase of the Gospel and his Majesty's Royal Dominions. His Majesty heard him with much Attention and Goodness; showing great Compassion for his Sufferings, and ordering a Gratification for himself, and his Two Companions, as also the Thirteen who would not forsake him: He receiv'd all his Memorials, and order'd them to be dispatch'd to his mind, having first made an Agreement with him proportionably to his great Merits. They did not believe in Spain (and that is an old disease every where) all that Pizarro said of the Riches of Peru, and of the Pallaces and Houses of Stone which he had seen, till he showed them the pieces of Gold and Silver which he had brought with him; and then the Fame of that Land began to spread its self, and with it the Covetousness of sharing those Treasures, every one blaming the Governor of Panama for not having given the necessary assistance to the Discovery.

Pizarro being dispatch'd with the Title of *Adelantado* of the first Two hundred Leagues he should Conquer, having also a new Coat of Arms, and other Privileges granted to him; and taking with him

Four Scout Brothers that he had, he Embark'd for the *Indias* with one hundred and twenty five *Castilians* more. He left *Sauclucar* in January 1530 and arriv'd at *Puerto Bello*, where he was receiv'd with great joy by his Companions and Friends, who were all pleas'd with the Favours the King had bestow'd upon them by his means: Only Don Diego de Almagro was not so well pleas'd that Pizarro had made a better Bargain for himself than for him, his Partner in all the undertaking; he made his Complaint to him, and resolv'd to part Company, and discover and conquer by himself: But being assur'd that as soon as the first Two hundred Leagues should be conquer'd he would use his Interest to have him made *Adelantado* of 200 more before any of his Brothers, and so suffering himself be perswaded, they agreed anew, and fell to preparing every thing for their Enterprize. He remain'd at Panama; and the *Adelantado* with his Brothers went from thence with a good Crew of Men, being to be followed by Almagro, as before. To make short about the things perform'd by this great Conqueror, the great Riches he got, and among the rest an Emerald as big as an Egg, which was presented to him, we will suppose him at the Island of *Pura*, in War with the *Tumbezino's*; and there he came to a clearer Information of the Riches of *Cusco*, and the State in which that Monarchy was at present: And because he had receiv'd a special Command, and was himself inclin'd to Propagate our Sacred Religion, as the best means of furthering his own Design the first thing he did in Landing upon the Continent of Peru, was to build a Church to God, to give a beginning to the Spiritual Conquest of Souls. His first settlement was at *Piura*, where was built the first Church, that was ever erected in those Kingdoms. While he was employed in this, he sent out to discover more Lands, to know more of the State of the Country. There he learnt the Division that was between the two Brothers, *Guscar* and *Atagualpa*, which was occasioned by the Death of their Father *Guaïnacapa*, who was a most powerful Monarch, and among other Sons had these Two, which were now in War, and some of his Subjects followed the one and some the other.

*Guscar*

The Riches  
of Peru  
not believ'd  
in  
Spain.

1530.

All the  
Indians  
surprised  
at the  
of the  
f.s.

Atagualpa  
designs to  
surprise &  
destroy the  
Spaniards

Peru design'd  
a Church  
built.

A Civil War between the Heirs to the Empire of Peru.

*Guafcar* was the lawful Heir, but not so brave and Warlike as *Atagualpa*; who, though a Bastard, yet because he had followed his Father in his Wars from a Child, drew to himself a great Part of the Kingdom, with which he made War upon his Brother, with hopes to prevail.

The *Adelantado Don Francisco Pizarro* resolv'd to have an Interview with *Atagualpa*, who was the nearest to the Place where he was. So putting his trust in God, he set out with his small Army, more to be valued for its Bravery than its number, which nevertheless was fear'd and respected in its March. He came near the Place where *Atagualpa* had his Camp, which was near Fifty thousand Men, and sent him his Embassadors on Horseback, which was a new thing in that Country, to give him advice of his Arrival, and the reason of it, which was to persuade his Majesty, and his Vassals, to give Obedience to the true King of Glory, from whom is deriv'd all the Power and Command that Princes have on Earth. *Atagualpa* receiv'd the Ambassadors in a stately Tent, showing in all his Behaviour a Sovereign Majesty; and though his Courtiers were in great Admiration of the Horles, which they had never seen, yet he kept his Countenance, and concealed the Effects such a Novelty might have over him; he look'd upon them with some pleasure, and not as on a strange thing he had never seen; for the Horles beginning to Corvet, some of his *Indians* run away, whom he presently caus'd to be put to death for having showed Cowardice in his Royal Presence. He answer'd the Ambassadors courteously, showing the pleasure he should have to see and hear their Generals, and set a day for it; telling them, That they should not be disturb'd nor afraid to find him and his People in Arms, for it was his custom to use them to it.

The day came; and *Atagualpa* marching in Order with his Army to the Place where the Spaniards were drawn up, he discover'd to his Captains the Mind he had to make an end with those Strangers, who had been so bold as to enter into his Country, and come so near him, without having any Respect to his Royal Power: But he order'd them not to kill them, but to take them alive, because he would use them as his Slaves; and as for the Dogs and Horles, he resolv'd to offer them in Sacrifice to his Gods. The *Castilians*, who were not totally ignorant of this false appearance of Peace and Friendship, though they were so few that the *Indians* were Four hundred to one, yet they did not lose Courage

but with Confidence in God expected the Encounter, taking their Posts and preparing every thing for it, though secretly, that they might not be thought the aggressors. Therefore he drawing near, the *Adelantado* stay'd for him with only fifteen Men, the rest being retir'd and hid, and sent him an Embassy by a Fryer, who *Atagualpa* carried the Gospel, and told him, That if *Atagualpa* and his People might be saved, and they brought it him from God Almighty.

The King heard the Fryer, and took the Ma's Book out of his Hands, looking earnestly upon it: But not knowing how to read it, and taking it all for a Jest and a Fiction, he threw the Book up into the Air, making a Sign at the same time to his People to fall on, which they did: And then the *Adelantado* lifting up a Hardkerchief, which was the Signal to our Men, they play'd upon them with their Muskets on one hand, and the Dogs and Horlemen attack'd them on the other, so that the Victory soon appear'd for the *Castilians*; God Almighty having resolv'd to destroy that Monarchy of the *Incas*, and to remove that Obstacle to the Propagating of the Faith, and to put that Land into Hands that should encrease it, as their Catholic Majesty's have done. They took the King *Atagualpa* Prisoner, but treated him with all Respect due to his Royal Person, as the Historians relate more at large. While this happen'd, which was on a Friday, a day dedicated to the Cross in the Month of May, in the year 1533, the Army which *Atagualpa* had sent against his Brother *Guafcar*, near *Cusco*, overcame him, and took him Prisoner, and were bringing him to *Atagualpa*, without knowing any thing of what had happened between him and the *Castilians*; but on the way *Guafcar* learn'd that his Enemy was a Prisoner too, and *Atagualpa* was at the same time inform'd of the Victory he had obtain'd; he hearing it, shook his Head, and cried, *Oh Fortune! What is this, that I am this day a Conqueror, and conquered? Guafcar*, moderated his Grief with the News of his Enemy's Misfortune, thinking that the *Castilians* would revenge him on the Tyrant, who pretended to take from him his lawful Inheritance.

*Atagualpa*, though a Prisoner, began to make Reflections in this manner. If cause my Brother to be put to Death, how do I know how the *Castilians* will take it, and whether they will not put me to Death for this, and remain Lords of the Land. If I let him come on, and he speaks with them, the Justice of his Cause

will

All the Indians surprised at the Horles.

*Atagualpa* designs to surprise and destroy the Spaniards

Ovalle.  
1646.

1533.

taken Prisoner alive.

*Ovalle.* will speak for him, and I must perish; for I cannot expect Mercy from any. What Remedy? He found it cunningly as he thought; he feigned a great Sickness, with a design that the *Pizarro's*, who visited him every day, should ask him what was the matter. They did accordingly, and seeing him so Afflicted, desired to know the cause of that extraordinary Grief: He answered deceitfully, That having receiv'd the News that his Generals had put to Death his Brother *Guascar*, it gave him an exceeding Grief, of which he was not to be comforted; because though they were Enemies, yet he was his Brother, and he could not but be much concern'd at his Death. All this was feign'd, to see how the *Spaniards* would take it; and finding they did not seem offended at the thing, he sent Orders immediately to his Generals, who were coming on with his Brother, that they should put him to Death presently by the way; which they did, by drowning of him in a River, which amongst them is an Infamous Death: His Cries to Heaven, to revenge his unjust Death, were useless at that time.

*Guascar*  
Died  
Death by  
the Order  
of *Ata-*  
*gualpa*.

*A Prodig-*  
*ous Ran-*  
*som.*

But let no Man give it to another to save his own Life, for there is not a shorter, nor a more certain way for him to lose it; let him not strive by Politick Maxims, which an unjust and ambitious Passion suggests; for though that may be an appearance of Stability, yet divine Justice breaks thorough it all like Cobwebs and at length leaves no Crime without its Chastisement. *Atagualpa* proved himself a great Example of this Truth; all his Artifices serving only to afford his Enemies a Pretext to take away his Life: He had promis'd to fill the Room where they kept him Prisoner, which was a very large one, with Gold and Silver, besides Ten thousand Bars of Gold, and some heaps of Jewels, as an Earnest, for his Ransom: And though this was accepted, and that he perform'd it according to his Promise, yet he did not obtain what he pretended; for instead of his Liberty they pronounced to

him a Sentence of Death, which he had justly deserved for having put his Brother to it, and tyranniz'd over that which was none of his own; and because of the Advice the *Spaniards* had every day of the Army that was gathering together, which if it were true, and *Atagualpa* at liberty at the head of them, there would have been good Reason to fear from his Subtlety great and irremediable Inconveniencies, which they thought they could no ways avoid so well as by taking his Life, tho' with some Hopes of his Exchanging it for a better and eternal one, if it be true that before he died he was instructed, and receiv'd Baptism, as some say he did.

About this time, which was in the year 1533. *Don Diego D'Almagro* being made Marshal came from *Panama* to *Tombes* with a good Body of Men and Arms, and from thence he went on to help his good Friend, the *Adelantado Pizarro* in his Conquests; not letting his Men do any Injury to his *Indians* as he went. There were a Hundred thousand Pieces of Eight given them upon their Arrival; for though they were not at the Batrel, yet their Presence confirm'd the Victory, and help'd to keep *Atagualpa* Prisoner. The Remainder of the Treasure, which was above a Million, was divided among *Pizarro's* Men; and they being few, were all made Rich, and in a Condition to make Discoveries of their own. The *Adelantado* sent his Brother *Hernando Pizarro* to *Castile*, with the News of this happy Progress of their Discoveries, and of the Propagating the Christian Faith in the Conversion of the *Indians*; and he also carried with him the Claim of *Don Diego d'Almagro* to 200 Leagues of Land beyond his Brothers, of which he was likewise to be *Adelantado*: All this he Negotiated very much to the content of all; and in the year 1534. there was granted in *Toledo*, to *Don Diego Almagro*, the Government of that which they call'd the new Kingdom of *Toledo*, which began at a Place call'd *Las Chinchas*, where the Territory of *Pizarro* ended, and extended it self to the Streights of *Magellan*.

*The Spaniards take the Ransom and Perfidiously put Atagualpa to Death.*

1533.

*Almagro and Pizarro fought.*

1534.



CHAP. XV.

Ovalle  
1646.

*The News of the Government of Don Diego de Almagro is brought to him; and he goes upon the Discovery of that of Chile.*

**D**ON Francisco Pizarro had given Commission to Don Diego d'Almagro, to take Possession of *Cusco*, when the News came of the Government of Two hundred Leagues given him by his Majesty, to begin from the *Chincha*: This caus'd great Disturbance; for it was believ'd that *Cusco* would fall into this Division; and the Friends of Don Francisco Pizarro, judging this of great Prejudice to Pizarro, that the Marthal, even by his Commission, should find himself in possession of *Cusco*, they advis'd him immediately to revoke the Powers he had given, which he did; and this was the first Cause of the Disturbance in *Peru*, which made afterwards so great a noise, and for which they both lost their Lives. But I being to write the History of *Chile*, and not of *Peru*, shall leave the Reader to those Historians who Treat of it at large. This News being known in *Truxillo*, one Diego de Agüero set out to carry it to Almagro, who was upon his march to take Possession of *Cusco*; he overtook him at the Bridge of *Acambay*; and he having receiv'd it with great moderation, shew'd himself above the greatness of his Fortune, and gave him as an *Albricias* or Present for his good News, Seven thousand *Castilians*; which are near Twenty thousand Ducats; and by this News he was mov'd to change his Design of Conquering a People call'd the *Cbiriguenaes*, and Treated of that of *Chile*; for he suppos'd it would fall into the Government he was to have; and (as *Herrera* says) mov'd by the Informations he had of the great Riches of *Chile*.

To prepare himself for this Enterprize, which was like to be very chargeable, he caus'd a great deal of Silver to be melted in *Cuzco*, to draw out the Kings Fifths. Amongst other things, there was a Man's Burden of Gold Rings to be melted down; and one *Juan de Lepe* being by, and taking a fancy for one of them, begg'd it of Marthal Almagro; who shew'd himself so much a Gentleman, and so Liberal, that he said presently, that he should not only take that Ring, but that he should open both his Hands, and take as many as could lie in them; and hearing he was Married, he order'd him besides 400 Crowns as a Present for his Wife. He shew'd another Piece of Liberality to one *Bartholomy*

*Perés*, for having presented him with a Shield; which was, to order him likewise Four hundred Pieces of Eight, and a Silver Pot weighing Forty Marks of Silver, and had for Handles Two Lyons of Gold which weighed Three hundred and forty Pieces of Eight: And to one *Montenegro*, who presented him with the first Spanish Cat that ever came to the *India's*, he order'd him Six hundred Pieces of Eight. There are a great many Stories more of his Liberality and Charity too, he being very generous and noble minded. Having dispos'd all for his Enterprize of *Chile*, he caus'd Proclamation to be made, That all those who had not some particular Employment to stay them at *Cuzco*, should make themselves ready to go along with him: They were all overjoyed at this, he being extremely belov'd for his Liberality and Courtely; and that they might furnish themselves with Arms and Horses, he caus'd One hundred and eighty Load of Silver to be brought out of his House, (in those days a Load of Silver was as much as a Man could carry) and Twenty more of Gold; This he distributed among them all: Those who were willing, gave him Bonds to pay him out of what they should Conquer in the Land they were to discover; for this was the way of these Conquerors in gaining to his Majesty this New World, having no other Pay but what they could purchase.

The *Inga Mingo*, who was Brother to *Guascar* and *Atagualpa*, had succeeded them in the Government as the Son of *Guayanapa*, who had also many others. This *Inga* had taken a great Kindness for Marthal Almagro; so he gave him as a Companion in his Enterprize, a Brother of his call'd the *Inga Paulo Topo*, and the High Priest *Villacuma*; the Spaniards call him *Villacoma* or *Vilcboma*; that they might by their Authority not only keep all his Vassals from falling upon them in the way, but rather should receive him, and make him Presents. The Marthal desir'd these Two Persons to go before, in Company with Three *Castilians*, and make a Settlement or Habitation at the end of 200 Leagues: The other People, and *Juan de Sacedra*, went by another way; and when they had gone One hundred and thirty Leagues from *Cuzco*, they founded

A Cat: Indian Animal

The Vast Riches of the first Conquerors in India.



**Ovalle.** 1664. founded the Town of *Paria*. Here the Marshall overtook them: And he was likewise assur'd of the Title of *Adelantado*, granted him by his Majesty, with the Government of the new Kingdom of *Toledo*, which was to begin from the Borders of *New Castille*; for so they call'd *Pizarro's* Government. His Friends adviz'd him to return immediately, wherever this Express overtook him, because there was one come to the City of *Los Reyes*, with a Commission from the King to Regulate Limits of both Governments to each of the *Adelantado's*: But *Almagro* was so possess'd with the Ambition of Conquering so great and rich a Kingdom as that of *Chile*, that he did not value the Land he had discover'd, in comparison of what he was to discover; out of which he design'd to Reward his Friends, and the many Gentlemen that accompanied him; so he pursued his Journey; where it will not be amiss to leave him engaged with the Snows, and ill Passages of the *Cordillera*, while we give a Visit to the great City of *Lima*, call'd otherwise *De los Reyes*, because it being the Head of those Kingdom, we cannot well pass it by.

This City was founded by the *Adelantado Don Francisco Pizarro*, in the year 1535. in a very pleasant Plain, about Two Leagues from the Sea, upon a fine quiet River; which being deriv'd by Drains and Cuts all over the Plain, fertilize it so copiously, that it is all cover'd with several sorts of Products; as Vineyards, Sugar-Works, Flax, Garden Product, and other Delightful Plants: And if there be any thing they want from abroad, 'tis brought them so punctually, that all their Markets are supplied with all manner of Delicacies that can be wish'd for.

Its Situation.

A Delic-  
ious Place.

For this and many other Delights of this City, it happens to most People who live there, that they cannot endure to think of leaving it for any other place; so that it seems an Enchanted place, where the entrance is easie, and the getting out difficult. I my self heard the *Spanish* Merchants, who, the year I was there, had sold their Goods themselves at *Lima*, whereas they us'd to sell them at *Puerto Bello*, so enamour'd of it, though they stay'd but a little while there, that during our whole Navigation, they could talk of nothing else; and to say truth, it deserves their Praises; for, though it cannot be denied, that some Cities I have seen in *Europe*, do outdo it in some things, yet few come near it, take it all together. For first, for Riches, it is the Fountain

from whence all the rest of the World drinks; its Bravery in Clothes, and Magnificency of the Court, outdoes all others; 'Tis extraordinary Populous; for a Father of our Company, who had the Care of Catechizing the Negroes, told me, they were at least Sixty thousand, and more, that came to Confession; They have Sumptuous Buildings, though outwardly they make no shew, having no Tiles, for it never Rains all the year round: All the Furniture, as Pictures, Beds, &c. are mighty rich; There are great numbers of Coaches, and abundance of Gentry; all the Inhabitants very rich, Merchants of great Stocks, Tradesmen and Handycraftsmen of all Professions. But that which is to me most considerable, is, what belongs to the Worship of God, and Cult of Religion; for the Cathedral Church, and all the Parish Churches, are very Sumptuous, and provided of admirable Learned Men, which come out of that University; of which those of the Country are not the least to be valued, having furnish'd so many Preachers and other Subjects for all other Dignities, even to the highest Government. What shall I say of the Order of Friars and Nuns? I scarce know one Order that has not Two or Three Convents in the City, Beautiful Cloisters, great Buildings, and yet greater Churches; some after the old Fashion; all with Burnish'd Gold from top to bottom; as are those of *St. Augustin* and *St. Dominick*; others alter the Modern way, with curious well wrought Ceilings, as is that of the *Jesuits*, and of our Lady of *Mercedes*, which are of a very fine Architecture. There are Eight Nunneries, some of which have above Two hundred Nuns in them; There are besides many Oratories, Confraternities, Hospitals, and Congregations; In our Convent alone of the *Jesuits*, I remember there were Eight Foundations of several Kinds, and for People of as many different Ranks and Estates in the World. The Great Congregation has few in the World equal to it; the Chappel of it is very large, and of a very rich Material, cover'd with Silk and Gold, and rare Pictures, with other rich Ornaments belonging to it. There is here great frequentation of the Sacraments by Monthly Communions; The Body of Christ is expos'd, and the Church so adorn'd with Musick and Sweet Smells, that it is a Paradise upon Earth. And amongst other Pieces of Devotion, perform'd by this Congregation, there is a great Entertainment or Treat given once a year, at an Hospital,

Its Magnificence.

It never Rains at Lima.

Hospital, which is so Magnificent, that it is worth seeing; The same is done in proportion by the other Congregations.

This City is the Seat of a Viceroy, who indeed is a King in Greatness and Authority, disposing of a vast number of Places, Commands, and Posts of Honour and Profit. There is likewise a rich Archbishoprick of great Authority; Three Courts or Royal Audiencia's; a Merchant Court, which decides all Matters of Trade; a famous University, in which are Professors very Learned in their Professions; Three Colleges or Schools for Youth, under the Care of the Fathers of our Company of *Jesum*, in which are about 130 Professors or Masters; There are every day new Foundations for Orphans, Widows, and to retire Women from Lewdness; There is the famous Hospital of St. Andrew for the *Spaniards*, and

St. Ann for the *Indians*; all which would require a Relation by themselves.

This is what I could not avoid saying about this great Capital of *Peru*; and if it continues encreasing as it has done for this First Age, it will not have its Fellow in the World. The same may be said of *Cusco*, *Arequipa*, *Chuquizaga*, and the great Town of *Potosi*, which encrease so, that he who is absent a few years, does not know them when he sees them again; and the reason is, that the Veins and Mines of Gold and Silver, which like a Loadstone, have drawn so many People thither, are so far from lessening, that new ones are discovered every day, and those richer than the old ones; for which reason there comes yearly more People, and among them much Gentry, as well as Tradesmen of all Arts and Professions, who most of them settle and encrease there.

Ovalle.  
1646.

The best  
Cities in  
Peru next  
to Lima.

CHAP. XVI.

*The Adelantado Almagro enters into Chile, having suffered extremely by the Way.*

1535.

WE left the *Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro*, in a Place call'd *Paria*; from whence he was to pursue his Journey to *Chile*; as he did in the beginning of the year 1535. He himself going before, order'd *Juan de Saavedra* to follow with 12 Horse by the Royal High Way, thorough the Province of *Las Chichas*; the Chief Place of which was *Topisa*, where he found the *Inga Paulo*, and the Priest *Vil-lacmu*, who presented him with Ninety thousand *Peso's* of very fine Gold; it being the Tribute they us'd to send the *Inga* from *Chile*; and which they were now sending, without being inform'd of the Tragical Accidents that had befallen the Family; and there he sent back a great many *Caciques* of the Countreys he left behind him, and who had waited upon him thither.

The Three *Spaniards* whom he had sent with the *Inga Paulo*, and Two more who joined themselves to them, being desirous of making new Discoveries, and acquiring Honour, and withall making their Court to the Marshal, went before till they came to a Place call'd *Fujuy*; which is a Place or Country where the People are very Warlike, and eat Humane Flesh, and who kept the *Inga's* always in great awe. This Boldness cost Three of the *Spaniards* their Lives, though they

fold them dear. The *Adelantado* being resolv'd to revenge their Deaths, sent Captain *Salsedo* with Sixty Horse and Foot, to chastise those *Indians*; but they, being allarm'd, had call'd together their Friends, and made a Fort to defend themselves in, and many Pits with sharp Stakes in them, that the Horses might fall into them; with which, and many Sacrifices and Invocations made to their Gods, they had resolv'd to expect their Enemies. Captain *Salsedo* found them thus fortified, and being himself inferior in Strength, sent to the *Adelantado* for Relief, who sent it him under the Command of Don *Francisco de Chares*; but the *Indians* then avoided Engaging, and resolv'd to abandon their Fort; though, not to lose all their Pains, they resolv'd first to attack Don *Francisco de Chares*, where they kill'd a great many, and particularly of the *Indians Yanacona's*, and carrying off the Spoils, they made a safe Retreat: The *Spaniards* return'd back to their chief Body. Since we mention'd the *Yanacona's*, it will not be amiss to explain the Signification of that Word, for the better understanding of what follows.

The *Yanacona's* were, among the *Indians*, a People subject to perpetual Slavery; and to be known, were bound to wear a sort of Habit different from the

Q

reit.

rest. These seeing the Bravery of the *Spaniards*, and how much they made themselves be fear'd and respected, began to rise against their Masters, and adhered to the *Spaniards*, hoping thereby to shake off the Yoke of Slavery; and became cruel Enemies to the other *Indians*. That which this Word *Tunacóna* now signifies in *Chile*, is, those *Indians* who do not belong to any particular Lord; for as to Freedom, there is no difference, the King having made them all free alike.

The Re-  
surrection of  
the Indi-  
ans of  
Chile.

From *Jujuy* the *Adelantado* march'd with the Vanguard, pursuing his Journey, leaving the Rear to the Care and Command of *Nogara de Ulloa*. He came to a Place call'd *Chaquana*, where he found the *Indians* in Arms; for though at first they were frighted with the swiftness of the Horses, yet at last they grew so little afraid of them, that they took a Solemn Oath by the Great Sun, either to die or kill them all. The *Adelantado* attack'd them, and was in great danger, for they kill'd his Horse under him in the Engagement; but he continuing still to fight them, they resolv'd at last to retire. Then he pursued his Journey with his whole Army; which was of Two hundred Horse, and something above Three hundred Foot; with a great many *Indians*, as well *Tunacóna's*, as others, who assisted the *Inga Paulo*. The Army being thus numerous, they began to want Provisions; and which was worse, they were without hopes of finding any, there being no place thereabouts that could afford it, the Country being a Desert, which lasted seven days, all barren Ground, and full of Salt Niter; and for their Comfort, as they descended a Hill or Precipice, after which they hop'd for some Relief, they met with the Snows of the *Cordillera*, which was a sight able to freeze the Boldest Undertaker, considering the Dangers and Sufferings they were threatened with. *Herrera*, when he comes to this Passage, says, speaking of the Bravery of the *Spaniards*, and their Patience in suffering a great deal; which I shall not relate, that I may not be thought to Praise my own Countrymen with Affectation; but I cannot omit some part of it: He says then, That to overcome such difficulties, none could have attempted it, but such as were us'd to endure Hunger and Thirst, and to enter into a Country without Guides, through Forests, and over great Torrents, fighting at the same time with their Enemies and the Elements, and shewing Invincible Minds; marching both day and night, enduring Cold and Heat, loaded with their Arms

The Hard-  
ships the  
*Spaniards*  
endur'd.

and Provision; being all of them ready to put a Hand to all things, even the most Noble among them being the first, when a Bridge or any thing was to be made, to turn Pioneers and Carpenters, and cut down Trees, by which they were fit for the greatest Enterprizes.

The *Adelantado* seeing the new, and, in all appearance, the insuperable difficulty that attended this Journey, did not lose Courage, but made a bold Exhortation to his Men, telling them, That these were Accidents that us'd to befall Soldiers, without which no great Honour could be gain'd, nor any of those Riches which they fought after; That they should put their trust in God, who would not fail to assist them, since the Planting of his Faith depended upon their Preservation. They all answer'd cheerfully, that they were ready to follow him to death; and because Example is the best Rhetorick, he first began to enter into the *Cordillera* or Snowy Mountains, with a Detachment of Horse, going before, that if he found any Provisions, he might send a Share to the Army; which began to faint for want of it; but the more he advanced, he met with nothing but vast Deserts, with a Wind so cold, that it struck them through; and the Passage grew straighter and straighter, till at last, it pleas'd God, that from a high Hill, they discover'd the Valley of *Copiaso*, where the Kingdom of *Chile* begins, where they were receiv'd very kindly by the *Indians*, out of the respect they bore to the *Inga Paulo*, and afforded them Provisions enough to send some to the Army which follow'd. 'Tis not possible to imagine how much they were press'd both by Cold and Hunger, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*; here one would fall into the Snow, and be buried before he was dead; another would lean against a Rock, and remain frozen just as if he had been alive. If any did but stop to take Breath, immediately a Blast of Cold Air left him fix'd and immovable, as if he had been of Iron: And a *Negro* who had a Lead Horse in his Hand, did but turn his Head, and stop to see who call'd him, as some body did; and both he and the Horse remain'd like Two Statues: So that there was no Remedy but to keep moving, for it was a certain death to stop a little; but it could not be, but People so weary and so weak, must stand still sometimes; and therefore they lost a great many Men strowed up and down the Mountain.

Particu-  
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*Garcilasso* says there died Ten thousand *Indians* and *Negros*, of the Fifteen thousand which went with the *Inga Paulo*; only Five thousand escaped: For being all Natives of *Peru*, and not having ever felt such Cold, for which they were totally unprovided with Cloaths, they dyed apace; the *Spaniards* being better provided endur'd less, and yet *Garcilasso* says they lost above a Hundred and fifty Men, and Thirty Horses, which was a great Loss. Others lost their Fingers and Toes without feeling. Their greatest Sufferings were in the

Night time; for they had no Wood to make Fire, and the *Indians* eat the very Dead Bodies out of Hunger: The *Spaniards* with all their Hearts would have Eat the Dead Horses, but they could not stop to flea them. At last the Provisions, sent them by the *Adelantado*, met them; so they pass'd the rest of the way pretty well. When they came to the Valley the *Indians* made much of them; where we will leave them, to see how others, that came after the *Adelantado*, pass the Mountain.

*Ovalle*  
1643.

CHAP. XVII.

*Others pass the Cordillera. What happened to the Adelantado in Copiapo. His return from Chile. His Misfortune and Death.*

I do not find clearly the time of the Year in which this Army pass'd the *Cordillera*; 'tis certain it could not be in the middle of Summer, nor in the heart of Winter, because not one of them would have escaped, since the first high Wind would have overwhelm'd them in the Snow: Therefore they pass'd it, either in the beginning, or the end of the Winter; and most probably it was at the entrance of the Winter, for if it had been at the going out of the Winter, those who followed would not have run so great a hazard.

The first of these was one *Rodrigo Ogonnes*, who was left by the *Adelantado* in *Cuzco*, to raise Men and follow him, as he did. He lost his Nails, and would have lost his Fingers, if he had not taken his Hand off the Pole that held his Tent up: Others lost their Eyes, their Ears, and many their Lives; particularly all those who were in one Tent, which a Storm rising carried up, and in the Morning they were found all dead in the Snow. They lost also Six and twenty Horses.

The next who pass'd after *Rodrigo Ogonnes*, was one *Juan de Arrada*, who brought the *Adelantado* the Kings Dispatches and his Commission for his Government, whom we left in *Copiapo*; and it will not be amiss to see what befel him there, before he receiv'd his Commission, and saw his Friends. The First thing he did in this Valley, was a Work of Charity and Justice, in favour of the true Lord of that Land; who was not in Possession of the Government, because he was left a Minor under the Guardianship of his Uncle, who not only did not think of putting him in Possession, but contriv'd to take his Life which he would have effected,

if he could have got him into his Hands: But the Subjects, more Loyal than he, had hid him out of the way. The *Adelantado* being inform'd of the truth of this matter, and being entreated by the wrong'd Prince, restor'd him to the Possession of his Government, putting the Tyrant to Death.

Before this happened, at their first Arrival at *Copiapo*, the *Inga Paulo* took care to look out for some Gold in that little Province; and in one day having got together the value of above Two hundred thousand Ducats, he presented the *Adelantado* with it in the name of his Brother, the *Inga Masco*; which gave the *Spaniards* great cause of Admiration, seeing that in one Village, and in so little time, so much Gold had been found; gathering from this, how prodigious Rich the Country must be: And therefore *Almagro* was content to think all his Pains well taken, that he had been at to come into it.

The *Inga Paulo* finding his Present so well received, being desirous to make his Court, got from the Neighbouring Parts Three hundred thousand Ducats of Gold more, which he presented to the *Adelantado*; which gave him such joy, to see that so rich a Country was fallen to his Lot; that he caus'd all his People to be Asssembled, and pulling out all the Bonds and Obligations made to him in *Cuzco*, for the Gold and Silver which he had there lent them, he cancell'd them all one by one, declaring to his Debtors, That he freely forgave them their Debts, and was sorry they were not greater: And not only so, but opening his Bags of Gold, he began to use great Liberalities; which so pleas'd them, that they forgot the Dangers they had gone through, every one

*Ybe First*  
*Riches of*  
*Chile.*

promising himself vast Riches from such a Conquest. *Francisco Lopes de Gomara*, who *Ovalle*.  
1664. Writes this History, says, That it was a Liberality becoming a great Prince, rather than a private Souldier's; but he adds, as a Consideration of the little Stability of humane Affairs, and the Prosperity of this World, That when he died, he had no body to give a Pall to cover his Coffin.

But let us not afflict the Reader so soon with the Memory of that lamentable Tragedy; let us rather follow this Great Captain in his good Fortune. As he went further into the Country, he was respected and treated as if he had been the *Inga* himself, in all the Places he came too; but when he came to a Nation called the *Promocae*, which was the Limits beyond which the Kings of *Peru* could never extend their Empire, he found the same Resistance as they had done. The *Adelantado* perceiving this, demanded Succour from the *Inga Paulo*, who gave it him, by calling in the *Inga's* Garrisons of the Neighbouring Frontier; and so the War began.

Great opposition by the Indians.

Here the *Spaniards* met with their March, and began to experience that the Conquest of this Part of *America* would not be compass'd by their bear appearing with their Horses, Dogs, and Guns, or that a Kingdom might be got by taking a King Prisoner, and separating his Army to their purposes, and to remain absolute Masters of the Field: For here they met with a Nation, who tho' they admir'd their Horses, and were surpriz'd to see them, yet the Greatness of their Courage overcame that Surprize; So they met and engaged them with great Valour, and many were kill'd on both sides; the *Spanish* Blood, which us'd to be so little spilt, was here shed in abundance; and from that time to this the Slaughter of them has not ceased, so as to make either side safe.

However the Valour of the *Spaniards* and the Advantage they had over them by Horses and Guns, was such, as they might well depend upon; which made them conceive the Conquest of *Chile* to be a Work of about Two Years at most; as tis probable it would have been, if the Divisions between *Almagro* and *Pizarro* and his Brothers had not cut the Thread of that Enterprize, as it did that of their own Lives; for they perill'd by one another's Hands, upon Points of Contest about Jurisdiction.

About this time the *Adelantado* being engaged with the *Indians* in a Bloody War, *Rodrigo Orconnes* arriv'd with his *Spaniards*, and so did *Juan de Arrado* with

the Kings Royal Patents, and a Commission for the Government of a Hundred Leagues, of the Country: Which was just as if a Deluge of Water had been poured upon the Fire already lighted of the War with the *Promocae*, *Cauquenas* and *Pencos*, who were the Nations that had withstood this Invasion. As for the *Indians* they pretended to no more than to defend their Country, and their Liberty, from Foreign Invaders; and the *Spaniards* found themselves call'd away by more earnest Motives of Interest, and so turn'd another way. Not but that there were different Opinions about what was to be done: Some thought that it was better to settle where they were, the Heavens and Earth being both the best that they had yet discovered, and its Riches such as they were Witnesses of: Others were of Opinion to be content with what they had Discovered, without exposing themselves to new Dangers, and the Accidents of War. But those who brought the King's Commission, insisted extremely, That the *Adelantado* should go to enjoy the Effect of the King's Favour to him: And above all, that which mov'd *Almagro* most, was the Jealousy of seeing the *Pizarros* Masters of *Peru*; to which might be added, That if he did not take Possession of *Cuzco*, by Virtue of the King's Patent, he might be in danger, of Remaining at last without any Title to any thing he had. In this Confusion of Motives, the *Adelantado* stuck to the worst, as it happened, since he lost his Life: He had it seems arriv'd to the top of Fortunes Wheel; and tis the same thing with her to stand still and to begin to go down, which he did, till he tumbled quite to the ground, and had his Head separated from his Shoulders.

The World seldom performs its promises: Otherwise who could have told this great and generous Man, That he should fall by those Hands, to which he had lent his? The *Pizarros* would not have been at that height, if the Frankness and Friendship of *Almagro* had not assisted them from the beginning, with his Fortune and good Counsel; but nothing of all this was sufficient to save him from Death by their Procurement: The Differences between them grew to that height, that they engaged in a Battle against each other; in which the *Almagro* *Pizarros* were Conquerors, and *Hernando* *is* *beheaded by Order of the Pizarros*. *Pizarro*, the chief of them, order'd *Almagro* to be Beheaded, being no ways touch'd with their Ancient Friendship, nor the Submissions and Tears of *Almagro* himself, though a Venerable old Man, begging his Compassion with a Body full of Honourable

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nable Wounds; but as if he had been a Statue of Marble or *Arenza*, showed no signs of Compassion. 'Tis granted that *Almagro* did ill, to leave the Conquest of *Chile*, so well begun, and where he might have settled himself and his Friends to such Advantage, to go back to *Cuzco*, to Govern there by Force, in case the *Pizarros* should oppose him; but they all were much to be blam'd, in not coming to some Agreement with their antient

Friend, and Companion: But they are unexcusable in showing so much Cruelty as to put him to Death. Accordingly all their own Prosperity seem'd to end with his, and to turn to a lamentable Tragedy, in which they died by one anothers Hands, as may be seen more at large in the already Cited Authors. For me, it is my Business to pursue the Conquest and Settlement of *Chile*, which is my Theme.

*Ovalle.*  
1646.

T H E



Ovalle.  
1646.

# The Fifth Book.

## OF THE Conquest and Foundation OF THE KINGDOM OF CHILE.

### CHAP. I.

*The Governor Pedro Valdivia enters Chile. He Conquers and Settles that Kingdom, and is the first that enters as far as Mapocho.*

**T**HE more I draw near to the Relating the Settlement made in *Chile*, by its first Founders and Captains, who reduc'd that Kingdom to the Obedience of their Catholick Majesties, and to the knowledge of God; the more I miss those Papers and Records, which being so far off, I can not have the help of in describing the Particulars of the Events which were very memorable at the first Entrance of the *Spaniards*. I must therefore make use of such Passages as I shall find up and down, in the General Histories of the *India's*; and this will refresh in me the Memory of what I have seen or learnt by others; and yet I must own the Knowledge and Information, the Reader will have from hence, will be but scanty and short, such as I should have hardly

attempted to publish, without this Apology, and desiring my Readers to accept of this Collection for the present, till the compleat History of *Chile* do come out; I having left Men most eminent in their Profession employed in it when I left those Parts.

The *Adelantado Almagro* being return'd in the Year 1537. to *Cuzco*, Colonel *Pedro Valdivia* desir'd from the *Adelantado Francisco Pizarro* leave to Pursue the Conquest of *Chile*, since he had Power and Commission from the King to grant it. He promis'd not to return till he should have compleated the Subjection of it, and reduced it to the Obedience of the Crown, and God Almighty. The *Adelantado*, who had it in his Thoughts, because of the Fame of its great Riches, to follow the Conquest of *Chile*, considering this Gentleman to be one of the bravest Captains that

1537

Description  
of the Valley  
of Copiapo.

The Valley  
of Mapo-  
cho descri-  
bed.

Valdivia  
undertakes  
the further  
Conquest of  
Chile, in  
the year,  
1539.  
1540.

that had come to the *India's*, having born Arms in *Italy* and *Peru*, and given a very good Account of all that he had undertaken, chose him for this Enterprize in the Year 1539. giving him a Years time to prepare allthings, that he might set out, as he did in the Year 1540. I do not say any thing of the Particulars of his Journey, nor of the People he carried with him, because I am not where I can have a distinct Information; only that in which all agree, is, That he got together a good Body of Men, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*; for these last relating what Riches the *Inga's* us'd to draw from People who own'd his Empire in those Parts, animated every Body to this Enterprize; and *Valdivia* seconding with Address these Impressions, made a good Army, with which he set out from *Peru*.

A Turquoise  
Rock in the  
Valley of  
Copiapo.

They had almost perish'd with Cold, Hunger, and other Inconveniences; yet at last they arriv'd, and advanced at first with little Difficulty; but as they went, engaging further in the Country, still they found more Opposition: They first came to the Valley of *Copiapo*, which signifies the Seed of *Turquises*, for there is a Rock of them, of so great a quantity, that they are grown less valuable upon it, as *Herrera* says: It is a blue Stone which makes a very good show; and since now we enter this Kingdom with more Advantage, and upon a steady foot of Settlement, it will not be amiss to describe the Valleys and Places where the Cities were first founded, and the other Settlements, that we may not be oblig'd to look back with an useless Repetition.

Description  
of the Valley  
of Copiapo

The Valley of *Copiapo* is the first of the Inhabited Valleys of *Chile*, though the best part of the People are *Indians*, with a few

*Spaniards*, out of which one is the *Corregidor*, who is nam'd by the Governor of *Chile*. The Land is of it self very fruitful, and is made more so by a pleasant River, which runs about twenty Leagues in it before it empties its self into the Sea, in a Bay which makes its Harbour. Here grow all sorts of the natural Fruits and Grains of the Country, and of *Europe*; the Maiz yields above Three hundred for one, and the Ears of it are almost half a Yard long, as *Herrera* and other Authors relate. Though I am not inform'd as to the particular of *Valdivia's* Reception, here by the *Indians*, yet I suppose it was without much Contradiction, because these People were already accustom'd to the Foreign Yoke of the *Inga's*, and had already seen and receiv'd *Spaniards* out of respect to the *Inga Paulo*, who accompanied *Almagro*, who gave them their lawful *Cacique*, or Prince, as we have seen. They had the same Facility in the Valleys of *Guasco*, which is about Five and twenty or Thirty Leagues from *Copiapo*, and that of *Cogumbo Limari*, and as far as *Quilleta*. Here the *Indians* took Arms, and oppos'd the *Castilians* vigorously; Engaging them almost daily, as People that came to conquer and subdue their Country. The Governor *Valdivia* penetrated as far as the Valley of *Mapocho*, though with the Loss of many of his Men. He found this Valley extremely well Peopled, because of its Breadth, Fertility, and Pleasantness, being thoroughly water'd by the River of that Name; which after having run some Leagues, sinks under Ground, does not lose it self entirely, but appears more nobly, and comes out with a more powerful Stream two or three Leagues further, being much bettered in its Waters, which from muddy are turn'd clear as Chyftal.

Ovalle.  
1646.

Mapocho  
a rich Valley  
well Peopled.

## CHAP. II.

*The Foundation of the City of St. Jago, in Mapocho. The Description of its Situation.*

TOWARDS the East, the Great *Cordillera*, or Snowy Mountain, is a Wall to this Valley of *Mapocho*; and is in Winter all over White, but in Summer by Spots here and there; to the West it has the Ragged Rocks of *Puangué*, *Caren* and *Lampa*, whose Foot we may say is shod with Gold (for that which is found in its Mines is so fine that a great deal was got out of them.) Neither is this Valley uncover'd on the sides; for to the North and South it is environ'd by other Mountains, which though they

The Valley  
of Mapo-  
cho describ-  
ed.

do not approach the *Cordillera* in height, yet are high enough to make a Circle about this Valley, which in several of its Rocks produces Gold: It is, in its Diameter from the *Cordillera* to the Hills of *Poumangue* and *Caren*, Five or Six good Leagues; and from North to South, which is from the River *Colima* to that of *Maypo*, Seven or Eight Leagues more; so that its Circumference is between 26 and 28 Leagues, or more, if we go down as far as *Francisco del monte*, which is a place of most pleasant shady Woods,

Woods, where all the Timber is cut for the building of the Houses.

1646.

In this Valley, two Leagues from the Great Cordillera, by the Side of the River Mapocho, God has planted a Mountain of a beautiful Aspect and Proportion, which is like a Watch-tower, upon which the whole Plain is discovered at once, with the variety of its Culture in Arable and Meddow; and in other Places Woods, of a sort of Oak upon the Hills, which afford all the Fuel necessary for the uses of Life.

Inhabited  
by 80 thousand  
Indians.

Description  
of the Situation  
of the City of  
St. Jago,  
Capital of  
Chile.

1641.

At the foot of this Mountain, which may be Two Miles about, the Castilians found many Habitations of the Indians, to the number of Eighty thousand, as Authors report; which Pedro de Valdivia observing, and guessing from thence, that it was the best part of the whole Valley, he resolv'd to found here the City of St. Jago, which he began the 24th of February in the Year 1641. It stands in 34 Degrees of Altitude, and Longitude 77. distant from the Meridian of Toledo 1980 Leagues. The Form and Ground-plot of this City yields to few others, and is Superior to most of the old Cities of Europe; for it is regular, like a Chess-board, and in that Shape, and that which we call the Squares for the Men, of Black and White, are in the City call'd *Istas*, with this difference, that some of them are Triangular, some Oval, some Round; but the Square ones are all of the same Make and Bigness, and are perfectly square: From whence it follows, that wheresoever a Man stands at any Corner, he sees four Streets, according to the four parts of the Heavens. These Squares at first were but of four large Houses, which were distributed to the First Founders, but now, by Time and Succession of Inheritance, they have been divided into lesser, and are every day more and more divided; so that in every Square there are many Houses.

Towards the North, the City is water'd by a pleasant River, till it swells sometimes in Winter, when it Rains Eight, nay Twelve and Fourteen Days together without ceasing; for then it overflows, and does great mischief in the City, carrying away whole Houses, of which the Ruines may be yet seen in some Places; for this reason, they have rais'd a strong Wall on that side, against which the River losing it's strength, is thrown on the other side, and the City thereby freed from this Inundation.

The Conveniences  
of the City.

From this River is drawn an Arm on the East-side, which being subdivided into as many Streams as there are Squares,

enters into every one of them, and runs thorough all the transversal Streets by a Conduit or Canal; and Bridges are every where, as necessity requires, for the passage of Carts: So that all the Houses have a Stream of Water, which cleanses and carries with it all the Filth of the City; and from this disposition of Water, 'tis easy to water or overflow all the Streets in the heat of Summer, without the trouble of Carts or other Conveniences, and that without any Charge. All these Rivolets empty themselves to the West, and are let into the Grounds without the City, to water the Gardens and Vineyards that are there: Which being done, 'tis let into other Fields, sowed with all sorts of Grain, and then returns to the great River. The Inhabitants do not drink of this Water, though pretty good; but it serves to water Horses and other Animals; therefore they fetch Water from the River for their own drinking, or draw it from Wells, which yield very good, and very cool: Those who are yet nicer, send to the Springs and Fountains, of which there are many in the Neighbourhood, which yield most excellent sweet Water. The Streets of this City are all of the same bigness and proportion, broad enough for Three Coaches to go a Brest easily; they are pav'd on each side near the Houses, and the middle is unpav'd for the Passage of Carts. There is one Street that is of an extraordinary Breadth, and in it Fifteen or Sixteen Coaches may go abreast; this is to the South, and runs East and West the whole length of the City: This is call'd *la Cannada*; and though at first it did not extend beyond the City, yet now it does, and has many Buildings and Gardens; and there is the Church of St. Lazarus: But there are several Squares built further which enclose in again, and so it is in a good Situation.

This *Cannada* is the best Situation of the whole Place, where there is always an Air stirring, so as the Inhabitants in the greatest Heats of Summer can sit at their Doors, and enjoy the Cool; to which may be added the agreeable Prospect it affords, as well because of the bustle of Carts and Coaches, as of a Grove of Willows, which is water'd by a little Rivolet, from one end of the Street to the other. It is besides adorn'd with a famous Convent of St. Francis, the Church of which is all of a White Free-stone, all square Stone finely cut, and a Steeple of the same at one end of it, so high, that it is seen a great way off by those who

A mile  
Street.

Town-

who came from other Parts. It is divided into three Parts, and has its Galleries; the uppermost is a Piramide: From

it one may discover on all sides lovely Prospects, which delight the Eye extremely, and recreate the Mind.

Ovalle.  
1646.

## CHAP. III.

## Of the other Edifices and Churches of the City of St. Jago.

*The City of St. Jago further described.*  
**T**His City has (beside this Street call'd the *Cannada*, which might afford many Places, such as are in great Cities) another very large one, nam'd, of *St. Saturnino*; it has likewise the Place of *Santa Anna*, where has been lately built a Church dedicated to that Glorious Saint. There is also a Place call'd *La Placera de la Compania de Jesus*, where the Front of their Church makes a Figure, and is a Retreat or Tabernacle upon the day of the Procession of *Corpus Christi*. Most of the other Religious Houses have their Places before the great Portico's or Entrance of their Churches. But above all is the Place call'd the Principal Place, where all the Business of Law and Commerce is driven. The Two Sides of the Place that are East and South have Buildings after the old way, though they have made very good new Balconies to them, and large Windows, to see the Bull-fights and other Publick Diversions which are made there. The North-side is all upon Arches of Brick, underneath which are the Scriveners and Publick Notaries, as also the Secretarihips of the Royal Audiencia, and the Town-House; and overhead are the Royal Lodgings, with Balconies to the Place, with the great Halls for the Meeting of the Town-House Officers; and in the middle are the Audience Rooms of the Royal Chancery, with their Galleries to the Place; and lastly the Royal Apartments, where the Royal Officers are lodged; and the Rooms necessary for the Treasury and Chamber of Accounts, and Lodgings for the Officers.

The Side that lies to the West has in it, First, the Cathedral Church, which is of Three Isles, besides its Chapels, which it has on each side; it is all of a fine white Stone; the chief Isle, or that of the middle, being upon Arches and Pillars, of an Airy and Gallant Architecture. The Remainder of this Side to the Corner, is taken up with the Episcopal Palace, which has a very fine Garden, and Noble Apartments both high and low, with a Gallery supported by Pillars, which answer the Place; which if it were equally built on the East and South-sides, would be one of the most beautiful and agreeable Places

that can be; for it is perfectly square, and very large, with a due regard to the whole Plat of the City. I doubt not but in time the Two old fashion'd Sides will be pull'd down, and others built on Pillars and Arches proportionably to the other Sides.

The greatest part of the Buildings (except the Publick ones (which are of a Rough Stone, but very hard, which the Mountain of *Santa Lucia* affords, and is within the City) and some great Gates and Windows which are of Mouldings of Stone or Brick) that is to say, the ordinary Buildings, are of Earth and Straw well beaten together, which is so strong, that I have seen great Openings made in a Wall, to make great Gates after the Modern way, and yet the Wall, though a very high one, not feel it, though the House was none of the newest, but almost as ancient as the City; for the Sun bakes and hardens the Earth and Straw so well together, that I have seen a piece of those Walls fall from a high place, and not break in pieces, though so big that a Man could not carry it. At present the Houses that are built are of a better form, higher and lighter than at first, because the first Conquerors were more intent upon getting Gold, and spending it in Sumptuous Treats, and high Living, with Splendor and Liberality, than in building Palaces, as they might have done, by reason they had many Hands, and the Stone hard by.

In matter of Buildings this City, as most others of the *Indias*, may brag, that it imitated *Solomon*, who began with Building the Temple and House of God before he built his own Palace. So the *Spaniards* have done all over the *Indias* in this New World, inheriting this Custom from their Ancestors of *Old Spain*; for I remember, that Travelling in *Castilla*, I made this Observation, That let the Place or Village be never so small, yet it has a good Church; and even where the Houses were Poor, and like Dove Coats, the Churches were of Free Stone, with a Steeple of the same; which gave me Matter of Edification, considering the Piety of the Faithful on this Occasion.

*Ovalle.* Just so the *Spaniards* of the *India's* began first to erect Churches, with so much application, that they do not seem Buildings made within these Hundred years, but rather such as one would think they had inherited from their Ancestors, or had been built by the Gentils; and yet there is not a Church in all the *India's* which they have not rais'd from its Foundation. We have already spoke of the Cathedral of *St. Jago*; and much more might have been said of its Strength and Beauty, and the Ornament of its Altars and Sacrificy. There are besides several other fine Churches. That of *St. Domingo*, though not of Stone, is built upon Arches of Brick, with a great many fine Chapels on each side, particularly that of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, which is all Painted and Gilded, and is frequented with much Devotion. The Covering of this Church is of Wood, and finely wrought, as well as the Quire, which is also Painted and Gilded, with handfom Knots and Festons. The Sacrificy is full of Ornaments of Brocad of Gold and Silver, and Embroider'd Silks of the same; a great deal of Plate for the Altar, and Mouldings of the Altar-Piece all Gilded. But this is nothing to the Cloyster, which by this time is made an end of, and is of a fine Architecture, Two Stories high; and the lower, where the Procession goes, is adorn'd with Exquisite Paintings in the Four Corners, where are Four Altars all Gilded, and light as a bright Flame: The Appartment at the Entrance is also finely set off with Pictures of Saints of the Order, of Excellent Hands.

The Con-  
vent of  
St. Francis  
describ'd.

The Convent of *St. Francis* may be call'd a Town for its largeness; it has Two Cloysters for the Processions; the first is upon Arches of Brick; and the second, which is the largest, very finely Painted, with the Story of the Life of the Saint compar'd with Passages of our Saviour *Jesus Christ's* Life; and over are all the Saints of the Order; and at each Corner Four great Pictures, with Four Altars, which serve for the Processions and Ceremonies of Holidays.

The Church is of Free-Stone, and all its Altars gilded on the inside; but above all, the Seats of the Quire are a Piece of rare Workmanship; it is all of Cypress, by which means there is always an admirable smell; The first Row of Seats reaches, with its Crowning or Ornaments, to the very Roof; all of excellent Architecture; with its Mouldings, Bases, Cornishes, and other Proportions.

The Church of our Lady of the *Merced*, is also built upon Brick Arches: The great Chapel is admirable for the thickness of its Wall, and the beauty of Ceiling, which is all of Cypress Wood, in the form of a *Duomo* or *Cupola*. The Great Cloyster is begun upon so fine a Model, that to finish it so, will require the Care and Application of those who have the Government of that Convent. The Situation of this Convent is the finest and noblest of any, except that of *St. Francis*; it has the advantage of receiving the River first, whereby Water is so plentiful in the Convent, that they have been able to make Two Mills to grind Corn, enough for the Convent, and to give away.

The Convent of *St. Augustin* is but newly begun, but its Church, all of Free-stone, will out-do all the others for Beauty; it is of Three Isles, and in the midst of all the Hurry and Business of the Town.

'Tis not many years that the Sacred Order of the Blessed *Juan de Dios* has been settled in this Kingdom; and in a little time those Fathers have done a great deal, for having taken upon them the Care of the Royal Hospitals, they have reform'd them, assisting the Sick with all Neatness, Care and Diligence, and have added several large Buildings. They are much help'd in this by the Devotion the People have for their Founder, to whom they address their Prayers and Vows in their Wants and Necessities, and not in vain, for they feel great Relief by his Intercession.

The College of the Company of *Jesuits* has not been able to build the inside of the House, because from their first Foundation the Fathers have attended only the finishing of the Church, which is now complet'd, and is without dispute the finest next to the Cathedral. It is all of a White Stone; the Façade of an Excellent Architecture, and over the Cornish a Figure in *Relievo* of a *Jesuit*. The Great Chapel has its Cupola and Lanthorn all adorn'd with Festoons and Knots of Two sorts of Wood, White and Red, which makes a beautiful shew.

The Covering or Roof is all of Cypress, Inlaid with all sorts of Flower Work, and divided into Five Parts; the middlemost is a compulure of all sorts of Figures, which seem a Labyrinth to those who see it from the Ground, and with a noble Cornish that runs round, gives a delightful Prospect.

The Architecture of the Altar, and the Tabernacle for keeping the Holy Sacrament, are valued at a prodigious Sum:

The

Description  
of the Je-  
suit  
Church.

Govern-  
ment of  
St. Jago

The Court  
of the  
Royal  
Academy  
of Sciences



The Altar rises to the top of the Church; and because, according to Art, it ought to have reach'd from Wall to Wall, which it does not, the empty places are fill'd up

with Two Reliquaries on each side, which join to the Altar; This being all gilded, seems, when one first comes in, to be one Plate of Gold.

Ovalle  
1646.

CHAP. IV.

*Of the Civil Government, both Ecclesiastical and Secular, of the City of St. Jago; and of the Nature and Properties of its Inhabitants.*

Government of St. Jago.

GOVERNMENT is the Soul of the Body Politick; and therefore at the same time that the City of St. Jago was founded, the Corporation was settled to administer Justice, without which no Government can stand. The Corporation consists of Two ordinary Alcaldes, an Alferes Royal, an Alguazil Mayor, a General Depositarius, Six Councillors or Aldermen, chosen every year, half out of the Gentlemen call'd *Encomendero's*, and half out of the Inhabitants of the Place, who have bought that Privilege for themselves and their Descendants. Of the Two Alcaldes, he that is of the *Encomendero's* has the Precedence and first Vote, and the Inhabitant the other: They divide the Year between them by Six Months. There is a President to the Assembly, who is always *Corregidor*, and Lieutenant to the Captain General; and it is a Place of great Honour; and though it be of more Charge than Profit, by reason of the Expence belonging to it, unavoidable, yet it never fails of Pretenders, because of its Authority, and the Respect paid to the Office. There are chosen yearly, with the Two *Alcaldes*, Two others of the Holy Fraternity or *Hermanidad*, whose Jurisdiction is without the Bounds of the City; as is practis'd in other Parts. About Thirty years ago there was founded a Royal Chancery in this City, which consists of a President, Four Oydores or Councillors, and Two *Alcaldes*; one who is the Ordinary, and another, who has been added within these four years, and has the same Honours, who has the Protection of the *Indians*, and the Matters belonging to the Holy Cruzada. After these is the Alguazil Mayor de Corte, who has also the Magistrates Habit, and a Chair of State: Then are the Officers call'd the Chancellor, Secretaries, Referendaries, and others, as in such Courts. There is no Appeal from the Sentence of Review given in this Court, but to the Royal Council of the *India's*, and then there is a certain Sum, below which there is no

Appeal neither. It cannot be denied but the Majesty of this Tribunal has very much adorn'd the City, though there want not those who lament the hindrance it has given to its Riches and Encrease, which would have been more considerable if the Inhabitants had continued in their first Simplicity, Cloathing themselves with the Manufactures of the Country, and avoiding all those Pompous Liveries which are now in use; for those who before might Walk in the Publick Place in a Plain Dress of the Country, and be Honoured and Respected, must now appear in Silk, or *Spanish* Cloth, which yet is dearer than Silk, for a Yard of it costs sometimes Twenty Pieces of Eight. Any Gentleman of Estate cannot now appear Decently in Publick without many Servants in rich Liveries; and within a few years they have brought up a Vanity of rich Parasols or Umbrello's, which at first were only us'd by the People of the greatest Quality; and now no Body is without them, but those who cannot compass them; and though it is a thing of great Gravity, and very Useful to preserve Health, yet it encreases those forc'd Expences us'd in great Cities. For this, and some other Reasons, some were of Opinion, that it would have been better for the City and Kingdom, that they had continued to Govern themselves without this Court of a *Royal Audiencia*, as they did formerly: But, to say truth, they are in the wrong; for, first, there are many Cities in the *India's*, where, without a Court of this Nature, I have seen Vanity thrive in Liveries and Superfluous Expences as much as any where. Secondly, because abstracting from Passion and Interest, which commonly do mislead Men in the Administration of Justice, it cannot be denied but that the Sovereign Authority of this Tribunal is of great weight to maintain the Quiet of the Kingdom, by keeping an even Hand in the Administration of Justice, and not suffering that the Tyranny some affect either by reason of their Preferments or Riches, should

R 2 stiff

The Court of the Royal Audiencia.

Description of the Suite of the Church.



*Ovalle.* 1646. *ter.* *the Audiencia of great Advantage to the City.*

Thus a Royal *Audiencia* is a Bridle to Vice, a Reward to Virtue, a Protection to the Poor, and a Maintenance of Right and Reason; and this was the Intention of our Catholick Monarch: For this reason did he Erect this Court, which is the more necessary, because it is at that distance from the Royal Presence, and so hard that the Cries of the Poor should reach his Ears; for if sometimes they do arrive to his Court, 'tis so faintly, that they can scarce be heard: For this reason, those who have the choosing and sending the King's Officers into such remote Parts, ought to be the more careful to provide Men of Christian Principles, and well Intention'd, as indeed they have been, and are still in that Kingdom; and it is no more than is necessary, for a good Example to those new Christians the *Indians*.

This Royal *Audiencia* is the Cause likewise, that much Gentry comes from *Europe* to the *Indias*, and so help to People them, and to continue the good Intercourse between *Spain* and that Country, which is good for both. It cannot likewise be denied (though that be but as an accessory) that the Presence and Assistance of this Royal Tribunal at all Public Feasts and Exercises, is of great Countenance to them, and particularly to the literary Acts and Commencements, whereby Learning is encourag'd, and those who employ themselves in that Honourable Study have a Reward before their Eyes, hoping to attain to be Advocates, Referendaries, Fiscals and Councillors: For in the *West-Indias*, those Places are all very honourable, and particularly in *Chile*, where the Salaries are larger than in other Parts, and yet Provisions are cheaper; so that 'tis easie to lay up a good part of one's Revenue. Besides these Tribunals, there are others, as that of the Chamber of Accounts, or Treasury, for the Management and Administration of the King's Revenue; these Officers do likewise visit the Ships that come in and out at the Port of *Valparaiso*; their Offices are very honourable and of great profit, and they are in the King's Gift, as those of the Royal *Audiencia* are.

The Affairs of Justice and Things belonging to good Government are under the *Audiencia*, but those of War and Preliments belong to the Governor, of whom we shall speak in a proper Place.

The Bishop is absolute Lord of all the Church Government; and though the

Bishoprick of *St. Jago* is none of the Richest of the *Indias*, because all the Product of the Earth is so cheap, and by consequence the Tithes do not rise high, yet this very Abundance is part of the Riches of the Bishoprick; for by this means the Bishop's Family and Expences are the easier supplied, and he may keep more Attendance, and yet lay up a good part of his Revenue; whereas other Bishopricks, though richer, have enough to do to keep up the Decency of their Dignity. There is a numerous Clergy, who make a great *Cortege* to the Bishop, upon certain publick days; and when he is receiv'd the first time, and takes Possession, the Ceremony is very great; for part of the Royal *Audiencia*, the Chapters, all the Militia, Horse and Foot, with the People, go out to meet him, so that it is a day of great Pomp.

The Chapter of the Cathedral is a *Chapter* venerable Body of Men, in which the King alone provides the Vacancies by *chosen by the King.* Vertue of his Royal Patronage, and the Concession of the Popes; so that there is not, as in *Spain*, the Bishop or the Pope's Month, but in the *Indias* all Dignities of Cathedrals, even to the very Parish-Priests, are all at the King's Nomination, but with some differences; for the Dignities are bestow'd in *Spain* it self, by the Advice of the Council of the *Indias*; but the Cures or Livings of Parish-Priests, the King does bestow them by his Governor or President, who exposes a publick Edict, that all Opposers for the Vacancy of such a Benefice may come and oppose the Examination; and of these, the Bishop presents three to the Governor General, to choose in the King's Name.

The Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, which is in *Lima*, serves for all the whole *South America*; so that in *Chile* there is only a Commissary with his Officers and familiars, who accompany him in all publick Acts, and form a Tribunal with great Authority. There is likewise an Officer of the *Cruzada*, call'd a Commissary, which is likewise a Post of Great Authority; and the Day that the Bull is publish'd, all the Orders of the Religious are bound to be at the Procession.

Let us conclude this Chapter by saying something of the Natives, who are born and bred in this City. They are generally Ingenious and of good Parts; and those whose Inclination is to learning, succeed very well; but they naturally are more inclin'd to War, very few of them taking to other Employments, either of Trade or Business; and they who from their

\* Bishop Supreme in all Ecclesiastical Affairs.

their Infancy, or by a strong Inclination, do not take to Learning, seldom succeed, and easily leave it, if put upon it, to follow the sound of a Drum or a Trumpet, and never are quiet till they get to be Enrol'd as Soldiers, being much better pleas'd with the Liberty of a Soldier's Life than with the Discipline of the Schools.

They are much addicted to Horfemanship; and I have often seen, that to strengthen a Child that can hardly go, the best way is to set him on Horfeback; this makes them prove dexterous Horfemen, and bold; and 'tis a common Opinion, and a known Experience, that for Horfe,

one of the Country is better then four from abroad; this has been sufficiently prov'd in the course of so long a War, as that which has busied that Kingdom.

They are naturally liberal, good natur'd and friendly, particularly if they are treated honourably, with due regard; they are pretty stubborn and wilful, to be led only by fair means, and then they are docile and tractable; but if force is us'd, they do worse and worse. This we the Fathers of the Society do often Experience in our Colleges: So we are oblig'd to lead them by Sweetness and Emulation, rather then by Rigour and Harshness.

Ovalle.  
1646.

CHAP. V.

*Of the Riches, Militia, Studies, and Encrease of the City of St. Jago.*

THIS City, to which the King has given the Title of (most noble and Loyal,) is the capital City of *Chile*, and one of the best in the *Indi*'s, next to those two Royal ones of *Lima* and *Mexico*, who do exceed it in sumptuous Edifices, in People and Trade, because they are more Antient and nearer *Spain*, and of a greater Passage for the People that come from *Europe*, and free from the Tumults of War, which is a Canker that eats deep into great Cities and Kingdoms; and 'tis no small Proof of their Force, to be able to maintain so long a War.

Foundation  
of the City.

This City was founded One hundred and four Years ago, and it has all that while sustain'd the heavy Load of a long and stubborn War, which the Native *Indians* have made upon the *Spaniards* without any Intermiffion; in which its Inhabitants have either always been in Arms, or sending many Horfes and Provision to the Camp; a Calamity which, far from letting it grow to what it is, ought to have kept it down from the beginning: Nor is it of a small Consideration for the growth of other Cities in the *Indi*'s, to reflect, that they being in the Way, and as it were upon the Passage of other Places, many Newcomers have fettled there, who perhaps at first were bound for other Countries, or at least were indifferent where they stay'd, and took up with them. 'Tis otherwise with the City of *St. Jago*, because the Kingdom of *Chile* being so remote, and the last of all the *Spanish* Dominions, it is the *non plus ultra* of the World, so that no body goes thither by chance, but on purpose, and upon some Design or particular Interest; for which

reason the number of Strangers is little.

But the City is so good and convenient to pass away Life with ease, that notwithstanding these Disadvantages, it is so encreas'd, that it astonishes all who see it; few Cities of the *Indi*'s out-doing it in Finery, particularly as to the Women; (it were to be wish'd it were not to that excess) for all things coming from *Europe*, are there prodigious dear; and this causes many Families to run behind hand. Who should see the Place of *St. Jago*, and that of *Madrid*, could see no difference as to this point: Nay, as to the Women, the Finery exceeds that of *Madrid*; for the *Spanish* Women, scorn to go to *Service*, are all Ladies, and love to appear as such, as much as they can; and the Emulation between them about fine Cloaths, Jewels, and other Ornaments, for Themselves and their Servants, is such, that let their Husbands be never so rich, they want all they have, particularly if they are of the Nobility, to satisfy the Pride of the Women.

As to the Militia of the City; the first part of it is the Company of Inhabitants, *Encomendero*'s and reform'd Captains, who have no other Commander but the Governor himself or his Deputy; after that, there are two or three Troops of Horfe, and three or four Companies of Foot, all *Spaniards*. These often Muster on Holy days, and are Exerciz'd in the use of their Arms; and sometimes there are General Musters before the *Oydores* and Royal Officers, where their Arms are Examn'd, who also note them down to know what Strength they can raise upon occasion, punishing such as do not keep their

Militia.

their Arms and Horses fit for Service. By this diligence they are very ready at their Arms, and the exercising of them proves an Entertainment for them and the whole City; for very often in the publick Processions, one or two of these Companies use to come out, and make a Salvo for them: And in the holy Week there always attend a Troop of Horse and a Company of Foot, who guard the Street where the Processions of the Whippers go to keep the Peace, because of the *Indians*, who use to take that time to make some Rifings, the *Spaniards* being wholly taken up with their Devotions.

The Days in which this Militia makes the best show, are, when the Bishops come to be receiv'd, because they make a Lane from the Entrance of the City to the great Place of it, where they form their Battalion; and the Concourse of the People uses to be so great, that though the Place is very large, there is scarce room for them.

And since we are upon that Subject, we cannot omit to observe that which is worthy of Admiration, and that is, to see how it is encreas'd in the number of *Spaniards* within these forty Years. 'Tis probable, the same has hapned to the other Cities of the *Indias*; but this has had a continual drain, by supplying Soldiers for the War with the *Indians*, where many perish and few return. I remember that I have heard say, that one of our Fathers newly come from *Europe*, and coming to our College, where he saw but few People in the Street cried out,

*Apparent rari Nantes in Gurgite Vasto.*

By which he meant to signify, the Disproportion of the Inhabitants to the bigness of the City; but now that very Street is so full of People, that all hours of the Day, and some of the Night, it is extremely frequented; for there have been built many Houses for Handicrafts-men and Shopkeepers on both sides of it, because Trade is considerably encreas'd.

I cannot myself affirm, that I observ'd as great an Alteration in a much less time, as well in People as in Building; for having been absent but eight Years, I confess, that at my return, I scarce knew the Place again; for I found several Groundspots where there was not a House built upon, with very good Building; and those which I had left built were alter'd to the better, with more and higher Apartments; and the Courts which were very large were considerably streightned by

other Buildings; and yet the Plot of the City was larger too. So that being at first built at the Foot of the Mountain we have spoken of, to the West of it, I found it extended as much to the East, and the same proportionably to the South and North, and it encreases daily towards the River and the *Cannada*.

There was, when I left the place, about a dozen Shops of good Retailers, and at my return there were above fifty; and the same proportionably as to the Shops of Shoemakers, Taylors, Carpenters, Smiths, Goldsmiths, and other Handicrafts-men, whom I found also more curious and exact in their Professions; and Emulation has produced very good Pieces of Workmanship in Gold and Silver, and Carvings in Wood, Guildings, Paintings, which have adorn'd the Churches, with those which have been brought from *Europe*, and the particular Houses, so, that in some Houses alone, there are more things of that kind now, than there were in all the City formerly: Some complain, that there are not now such rich and powerful Men as there were at first; and that is true: But it does not follow, that the generality is the worse for that, but rather otherwise. For the Lands and Houses which belong now to ten Families were antiently in one; it being certain, that several of the Heirs of that Man have attain'd to as great Riches as he himself had; or at least 'tis apparent, that the stock of all those who have shar'd the Inheritance, far exceeds what was left them; so that supposing, that some were formerly richer, yet the Riches are more in the Land: Which is also clear to any that shall consider the Houses, Possessions, and other Improvements made since that time. For now there is scarce room for the People, whereas before there was not half People for the room that was for them. Which is also visible in the Country round about, where Farms that could hardly find Purchasers, and were little worth, are now so risen in their Value, that the smallest cost great Sums, and this rage of Purchasing is such, that molt of the Causes in the Royal *Audiencia* are about Titles. For the Antients, who took possession of the Land, thought, that if they had a little footing in a Valley, it was all theirs, but those who have come since, have purchased by virtue of new Titles, and taken new possession, which makes so many Law-suits.

There is not a form'd regular University in this City, because that of *Lima* serv'd for all the Neighbouring Kingdoms and

*'Tis not  
encreas'd of  
the City.*

*Encreas'd  
Trade.*

*Religion  
Worship  
ry State  
and exp  
five.*

The Pope's Bull is obtain'd for the Dominicans and Jesuits to confer Degrees.

and Provinces to take the Degrees; but, when in time the going to *Lima* was found to be chargeable, and the Journey, which is of Three or Four hundred Leagues so troublesome, there were Bulls obtain'd of the Pope, for the Orders of *St. Dominick* and the *Jesuits* to have the Privilege of conferring the Degrees of Bachelor, Licentiate of Arts, as also Doctors in Divinity, in the Kingdoms of *Chile, Granada, Ruito, Chuquizaga, Tucuman* and *Paraguay*.

The Effect has showed how necessary this Favour, and how important this Privilege has been; for this Incitement to Honour has caus'd a general Application to Learning; for the Priests and Curates are already great Proficients in Study, and so more capable of taking upon them the Cure of Souls; and those who betake themselves to a Religious Life, are better qualified to serve their Orders, and be an Honour to them, as many of them are; and it does not a little contribute to the Value of them, to see the great Solemnity us'd at the Reception of the several Graduates. And in this, as well as the rest, I think our City of *St. Jago* is not Inferior to any. For first, all the Acts are held with great Concurrence of all the Learned, and very often the Bishop honours them with his Presence, and so

do the President of the *Audiencia*, and the chief of the Town-government, to whom are Dedicated the Subjects of the Extempory Readings, according to the Constitution of the University, which are given out with great Fidelity, dividing the Subject into Three Parts for the Graduate to dispute upon in presence of a great Concurrence of People; and the severity is Indispensable in this and all other Examinations, for the different Degrees which are given by the Bishop, by virtue of an Approbation first given him by the Father Rector, and the Professors, as the Bull directs; according to which there is no obligation of giving any Treat, but yet that the Doctors may assist with more Pleasure and Diligence, there has been introduc'd a Custom of giving some moderate ones, besides Gloves, which were allowed instead of it; but some out of Ostentation, give both Treat and Gloves. Besides this, there has been introduced a custom of inviting the Horse of the City to Honour the Procession, which makes the Solemnity the more conspicuous; and they very willingly accept of the Invitation; for they are very ready to mount on Horseback to honour any, much more those who distinguish themselves by the Exercises of Virtue and Learning.

Ovalle.  
1646.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the Worship of God and the Church Ceremonies in the City of St. Jago.*

Religious Worship is very Stately and expensive.

IF we were to make a judgment of this City by the Worship of God, that is perform'd in it, and the Appearance of the Clergy, we should judge it to be much bigger than it is; for the State and Expence with which the Holydays are kept, in the Charge of Musick, Perfumes, Wax, and other Ornaments, are very great; let us give some particular Instances, and begin by the Cathedral. I cannot but commend the Piety of those Eminent Persons, the Bishop, President, and Councillors of the Royal *Audiencia*, who taking each of them a day during the *Octave* of the holy Sacrament, are at the whole Expence of that Day, and that is very considerable; for all the Wax and Perfumes are very dear, as coming from *Europe*: And the Holy Emulation that is between them, encreases the Splendour of the Day; so that during that *Octave*, the Church is so perfum'd, that its Fragrance is smelt

some distance from it. The Procession of the First and Eighth Day, are upon the Account of the Chapter, as the Hanging of the Streets, and erecting of Altairs for Repositories, are at the Charge of the Inhabitants where the Procession passes. This Procession is attended by all the Convents and all the Companies of Trades, with their Banners and Flags, so that it reaches a great way: After this of the Cathedral, come every Day new ones of all the Convents; so that they last a Month, every one endeavouring to have theirs the best; by which means there are great variety of Ornamental Inventions and Machines. The *Indians* of the Neighbourhood, that live in the *Chagras*, that is little Cottages, within some Miles of the City, attend likewise with their Banners, and they choose for this purpose a Leader who makes the Expence, and treats those of his Company. Their Num-

Ovalle.  
1664.

Numbers are so great, and the Noise they make so loud, with their Flutes, and their Hollowing and Singing, that they are placed in the Front, or else there would be no hearing the Church Musick, nor any means of understanding one another about the Government of the Procession. The other Feasts and Holy-days in the Year, are proportionably solemniz'd with the same Decency by all the Orders of Friars, who all of them have some devout Persons who help to bear the Charge. But the Nuns exceed all the rest in Ornaments; and these Nunneries are so populous, that in that of *St. Austín* alone, there are above Five hundred Persons, whereof Three hundred are veiled Nuns, the rest are Lay-Sisters; and because the Nunnery being full, there can be no more receiv'd, but with great difficulty, the other Nunnery of *Sancta Clara* receives so many every day, that in a little time it will equal the other in Number, as it does already in the Pomp and Ornament of its Church-Service; that which these Angels of Heaven (for so we may justly call those, who with so much Piety and Anxiety do serve God continually, and are as a Wall of defence to the City,) that which they do most shine in, can hardly be express'd as to the Neatness, Curiosity, and Richness of their Altars, and the Church Ornaments: What shall I say of the Smells, artificial Flowers, Fruits, Chocolets, Pallillo's, and Perfuming-pots, which I have seen sometimes, of so great a size, that they struck me with Admiration, considering the Matter they are made of, which is of a refin'd Sugar as white as Snow, sometimes in

form of a Castle, sometimes of a Candlestick or a Piramide, most Exquisitely wrought.

They are not content with this; for I have sometimes seen the whole Grate of the Quire, and the Joyner's-work, and Beams of the Church, all cover'd with preserv'd Citron, in form of Suns or Angels of *Mezzo Relievo*, and a thousand other Inventions which I should never have done, if I should report them all: I must only say, that the Generosity of those Ladies is such, that though this Costs very much, yet I have often seen them at the end of a Mass distribute all those things to those who happen to be in the Church, without keeping it for themselves. They do not only do this within the Church, but the Altars which are set up in their Cloysters, and Streets near them, for the Processions, are adorn'd after the same manner with Fruits and Flowers of the same Materials, so well imitated, that they appear new gather'd.

The Monasteries of Men are not so well fill'd as those of the Nuns, though some have a hundred, others sixty or seventy Friars. The Secular Clergy is also very Numerous, very Virtuous and Learned. Since I came away, there has been founded another Nunnery of about Thirty Nuns, who will need no Portion, being provided for by a Gentleman who left all his Estate to that Foundation; it was Captain *Alonso del Campo Lantadilla*, Alguatíl Mayor of that City, which will be of great Service to help the providing for poor Maids, who perhaps else would not find it easie any other way.

*The Monasteries of Men not so populous as the Nunneries.*

## CHAP. VII.

*In which is Treated of the Processions of the Holy-week, in the City of St. Jago.*

Let us conclude this matter of Religion and Pious Exercises, with saying something of the most remarkable Practice of it in the Holy-week, by the Statelines of the Processions at that time, which is such, that all Strangers confess, that if they had not seen it, they should hardly have believ'd it. These Processions begin on the *Tuesday* in the Holy-week, to which the company of the *Morenos*, which is founded in our College, give a beginning, (of which we shall speak more when we treat of its Employments, as also of the Brotherhood or Confrary of the *Indians* on the Morning of Easter-

*The Statelines of the Processions.*

day). The Procession that Follows next, is that which comes out of the Convent of *St. Austín*, in which is founded the confrary of the *Mulatto's*; they go all cover'd with black Frocks, and have many Passages of the Passion sung very devoutly, with the best musick of the Place, and many lighted Torches. The *Wednesday*, The Famous Procession of the Confrary of the *Nazareno's* sets out, which is all of natural *Spaniards* of several Arts and Professions, and is founded in the Royal Convent of *Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, and it is one of the richest and most adorn'd Processions. This Procession is divided



divided into three Troops, the first of which carries *La Veronica* to the Cathedral, where it stays to meet the second, in which comes the *Redeemer* with his Cross, so heavy that he is forced to kneel often.

When this second, which is the largest, comes to the Great Place, that which stay'd at the Cathedral goes to meet them; and at a certain distance, in sight of a vast Multitude of People, the *Veronica* comes, and kneeling down to the Image of Christ, which is a very large one, seemingly wipes his Face, and then shews the People the Representation of it remaining in the Handkerchief; and then as they begin to march, there appears the Third Procession, in which comes St. *John*, shewing the *Virgin Mary*, that Dolorous Spectacle; so that by all these, there is form'd a mighty Procession, with many lighted Torches, and all the Brothers are Cloathed in their Red Frocks, marching with great Silence and Devotion. There is another Representation of great Piety, which is perform'd in the Convent of St. *Francis*, and in this Convent; which is the parting of Christ and his Mother; which uses to cause great Passion and many Tears, because of the naturalness with which it is acted.

On the *Thursday* there are very curious Sepulchers erected, and many Alms given to the Poor; and though in the foregoing Processions, and on the *Fridays* in *Lent*, there are to be seen some People Whipping themselves, with divers sorts of Pennances, which every one performs according to his own Devotion; yet the Processions, which by Excellency are call'd the Bloody Processions, are perform'd this night. One of them sets out from the Chappel of the True Cross, which is in the Convent and Chapel of *Nuestra Senora de la Merced*, and is only of the Inhabitants and Gentlemen, who go all cover'd over with Black Frocks; and he who carries the Cross is oblig'd (besides the Collation which he provides for the Preacher and the Musick, and which uses to be very magnificent) to provide also Men to attend the Procession, and relieve the Whippers, who often draw so much Blood, that they faint away; and others take care to cut off of the Disciplines some of the Spurs of them; for they use to have so many on, that they almost kill themselves; Nay, I have seen some of so Indiscreet a Zeal, that they us'd certain Buttons with Points so sharp, that if they were let alone, 'tis a dispute whether they would not dye before the end of the Procession. Before this, go also Two others,

both of them Bloody Processions; one of the *Indians*, and it is that has most Whippers; the other comes from St. *Domingo*, and is of the *Moorers*; they both have Musick; and the Communities of all the Convents go to meet them when they come near their Churches, with Torches in their Hands. They spend a great deal of time in their Procession, and are accompanied by an infinite number of People.

On the Holy *Friday* there are Two Processions more, that go out of St. *Domingo* and St. *Francisco*, both of Natural Spaniards. That of *Santo Domingo* is call'd the Procession of Piety, and has been begun but lately, but it has made such Progress that it equals the most Ancient: They carry all the Marks of the Passion, by so many dress'd up like Angels, very richly; and each of them is attended by Two Brothers of the Procession, with Lights, and their Coats of Yellow. The other Procession, which comes from St. *Francisco*, is the ancientest, and has always been the best: It is mightily commended for the great Silence and Devotion with which it is perform'd; for there is not a Word spoke in it, from its going out to its returning. Before it goes, there is perform'd the Descent of the Cross, before a great Concourse of People. This has always been an Action of great Piety, and very Moving. The Ensigns or Marks of the Passion go out in order; and when they come, there is another Representation, very tender made, in the *Cannada*; there is a great Cross set up, and when the Image of the Virgin comes up to it, it lifts up its Eyes, as one who misses the Sovereign good that hung on it; and drawing out a white Handkerchief, applies it to the Eyes, as crying, and then opening the Arms, embraces the Cross, and kneeling kisses the Foot of it once or twice; all this it does so dexterously, and becomingly, that one would swear it were a Living Creature: And this Action being accompanied with the Musick of the day, proportion'd to the Grief of the Mystery, 'tis incredible what Effects it has upon the People, who crowd one upon another to see it.

On the *Saturday*, and on *Easter-day* in the morning, there are other Processions. The first comes out of St. *Domingo*, and is of the Gentlemen and Citizens, who in this are Cloath'd in White, of most rich Cloth of Silver, or Silk, finely garnish'd with Jewels and Chains of Gold. The Ceremony of the Resurrection is celebrated by night in the Cloyster, and

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1646.

S for



for that end there is such an Illumination, that it seems day. The Procession goes out very Noble and Gay, and in it are many Lights, Musick and Dances, the Streets being all adorn'd with Triumphal Arches, and hung with Tapestries; and while this Procession is in the Cathedral, Celebrating the Mass, and Communicating the Host to the Brothers, there comes another to the Great Place, to meet it; another from the College of the Jesuits, which is a Confraternity of *Indians*, the most ancient of all the City, consisting of a Company of *Indians* of both Sexes, who, with Torches in their Hands, accompany the Child *Jesús*, dress'd up after the *Indian* Fashion, (which causes great Concern and Devotion): They have also many Colours, Ensigns, and other Ornaments, very rich and gay. At the same

time Two other Processions of *Indians* likewise set out from the Convents of *St. Francis*, and *Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, and another of *Morcos* from *St. Domingo*, all with a great Apparatus of Drums, Trumpets, Colours, Hautbois, Dances, which make that morning appear very gay and merry; and that it may be so to our Saviour resuscitated, they all Communicate, and give a happy *Easter* to the Divine Majesty and all Heaven, to which the Earth can never pay a greater Tribute than by the Conversion of Sinners, particularly of these new Christians, whose Ancestors ador'd but the other day their Idols; and now they acknowledge, and kneel before the true God, and sit with him at his Table, as *Grandees* of his Court; they who not long before were Slaves of the Devil.

#### CHAP. VIII.

##### Of some other Holidays of the City of *St. Jago*.

ONE of the things in which the Greatness of a City shews it self most, is in its Feasts, Holidays, and Publick Entertainments: We will touch a little on those of *St. Jago*; and besides the Secular ones of Bull-Feasts, Running at the Ring, *Fuego de Cannas*, Tournaments, Illuminations, and other Diversions in which this City shines, it is wonderful how well there are celebrated the Publick Rejoycings for the Birth or Marriage of their Prince, in universal Canonizations of Saints, and in all other Solemnities; but particularly those order'd by his Majesty, as that was about Thirty years ago, when his Majesty out of his great Piety order'd, in Honour of the Queen of Angels, that the Mystery of her holy Immaculate Conception should be celebrated in all his Kingdoms, as well by the Seculars as by the Churchmen; and the first indeed need no Increment in this matter, every one being ready to shew their acknowledgments to this Sovereign Queen of Heaven, who has favour'd more particularly the Kingdom of *Chile* with her Protection from the beginning.

Let us now say what the City of *St. Jago* did upon this occasion, that the Affection with which the Inhabitants correspond to what they owe to this illustrious Queen of Heaven, may be manifest-ed, and some Proof given of what they can do on such Occasions; and letting alone what was done by all the Convents

and Monasteries, I come to other Particulars, to which Three Poetical Contests gave rise: These were publish'd solemnly on Horseback through the Town, with the Company of the Town Magistrates, and all the Gentry, without exception. The first of these Troops were defray'd by the Cathedral, the second by the Celebrated Monastery of the Conception, the third by the Congregation of Students founded in our College; and in all these there were Prizes propos'd of great value for the Poets, and those who obtain'd them, had them given to them with great Solemnity; and there were several Representations, with other Diversions according to the Custom of that Country.

And since we are speaking of what happened in those Holy Feasts, let us not forget as remarkable a Passage as any. The day which it fell to the lot of our College to celebrate its Feast, the Father Provincial, who was to Preach before Mass, felt himself so mov'd with Love and Devotion to the Sovereign Virgin, that in a Fit of extraordinary Zeal he invited the People to come after Dinner to the Procession of our Church, and to Sing before the Image of our Lady that Ballad which was in those days so famous, and begins:

*All the World in General  
Says so, chosen Queen of Heaven,  
That you are conceiv'd even  
Without Sin Original,*

The

A strange  
inspiration,  
on the  
Clergy, as  
well as  
Laity, to  
sing.

A very Ex-  
pensive  
Masque-  
rade.

The Auditory was much edified with the Piety of the good Father, but smiled at his Proposal as impracticable, yet they all came at the hour, most out of Curiosity to see the Event of this Novelty: They all took Olive Branches in their Hands, and began the Procession while our Fathers Sung the Stanza's. It was wonderful that the same Spirit which mov'd the Father to such an extraordinary Invitation, mov'd also all the People to Sing before the Image of our Lady, which they carried thus to the Cathedral; out of which the Clergy coming to meet, and Singing the Church Hymns, the Noise of the others Singing was so great that the Canons were forced to give over, and accompany the People in their Stanza's, singing altogether like so many Children. They look'd one another in the Face, admiring at what they were doing, being scarce able to believe; and if I my self had not seen it, knowing as I do the natural Gravity of that People, I should not have believ'd it neither; but the inward force of Devotion can do any thing, when the Lord of Hearts makes use of it to exalt the Immaculate Purity of his Mother.

The Rejoycings and Entertainments upon this Occasion lasted many days; one of them fell to the lot of the Congregation of Natural Spaniards founded in our College, who made a very Ingenious and Costly Masquerade, representing all the Nations of the World, with their Kings and Princes, all Cloath'd after their own fashion, with their Attendants, and last of all the Pope, to whom each Nation came with its King to desire his Holiness to favour this Myltery. The Liveries were very costly, and there was a Triumphal Chariot, a great Macheen, in which was represented the Church; but that which was most chargeable, was the Wax, which is very dear there; and this Entertainment was given by night.

The other days were divided among the Negroes and Indians of all Arts and Professions, who having a Pious Emulation to each other, made many rare Inventions, but the Merchants carried the Bell in a Tournament which they perform'd in the great Place, each Adventurer coming either out of a Sea or a Wood, or an Enchanted Castle, with his Paper or Challenge, asking their Parts very well; they broke their Lances, and receiv'd their Prizes, which were things of great value. The Gentlemen of the City Crown'd the Feast with their usual Diversions of Bull-feasts, running at the

Ring *Fuego de Cannas, &c.* There are generally about Twenty or Thirty Horsemen to attack the Bulls, and throw the *Rejous* or Lances at them, besides him who strikes the Bull dead. The Illuminations of Torches, with which they use to run about all night, are also of great Diversion, and upon this Occasion they did it with rich Liveries, and other chargeable Expences, for the greater Solemnity of the time.

The Ordinary and Annual Rejoycings which are observ'd on *Midsummer*, on *St. John's-day*, *St. James's*, and the Nativity of our Lady, are also worth seeing, particularly on the day *St. Jago*, who is the Patron of the City; for then the Royal Ensign of the Crown brings out the great Standard of the Conquest, with the Kings Arms, and is accompanied by all the Gentry, who are oblig'd to appear on that Occasion, which they do very gloriously.

There happen likewise some Marriages or Christenings of the People of best fashion, in which they make as good a shew as their Estates will let them, and often above their Abilities. In the Bull-feasts, those who undertake them use to Treat the Royal *Audencia*, and other Bodies Corporate; but in Marriages they are Profligate, for the Presents to the Bride have been brought in fashion to be very rich, such as Slaves, Carpets, Scrutores fill'd with Gold and Jewels, and other Curiosities of great value. There is not less spent in Treats and Banquets, particularly of late years, that they have taken to counterfeiting Natural Fruits, and other Things, which serve for the Sideboard; so that after a Man has given a Treat of all sorts of Birds and Fishes, his Entertainment is not Gallant enough if he does not add a Desert of Preserv'd Citrons in all Figures of Love Knots, &c. and the other Fruits imitated after Nature; These they hang on the Cloth with the Figures of Towers, Saltcellars, Jars, Salvers, Dishes, Spoons, Forks, Knives, all made of Citron cover'd with Leaves of Gold and Silver; and the first thing the Guests do, when they sit down, is to Plunder the Table of these, for there are real ones of Gold and Silver for the Banquet.

All this Costs extremely, because the Sugar comes from *Peru*, and the Manufacture of all these Curiosities is very dear; many are the Guests; and besides the Wedding Dinner, the Fathers give another the next day as sumptuous. This is what no Body of Fashion can help doing. I have heard formerly, that at first there

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Marriages  
and Christi-  
enings ce-  
lebrated  
with great  
Pomp and  
Expense.

~ were Gentlemen, who upon any of these  
 Ovalle. Publick Rejoycings, would do it all at  
 1664. their own Charges, giving them all Li-  
 ~ veries of Velvet, at the running of the  
 Ring for Example; and yet then Velvet  
 was twice as dear as it is now. But at pre-  
 sent that is left off, though they make Ex-  
 pences equivalent in Collations, Bonfires,  
 and other Contrivances of great Shew;  
 for upon these Occasions they all think  
 themselves rich enough, which is a great  
 ruine to Families, every one straining out  
 of vanity to equal another, though the  
 difference in Riches be very great.

And now let us leave *St. Fago*, which  
 has detain'd us more then ordinary, to  
 satisfy the Curiosity of those who are de-  
 sious to know the Encrease and Progress  
 of the Cities and Colonies of that New  
 World, and how the Christian Customs  
 and Government have begun to flourish  
 in it; and by this Essay a Judgment may  
 be made of those Settlements. I pass on  
 to the Particulars of the Conquest of that  
 Kingdom, that I may afterwards give an  
 account of the Progress of the Christian  
 Faith, and the great hopes there is of its

greater Propagation. And because some  
 Curious Persons do desire to know some  
 Particulars of the Colonies and Settlements  
 of that New World; and that it may be  
 agreeable to the Reader to know the  
 Form given by the first Founders to their  
 Cities, I have thought convenient to give  
 here the Groundplot of the City of  
*St. Fago*, with all its Streets, Houses, and  
 Publick Place, with the Names of the  
 Churches and Convents, and the Street  
 that answer them, they being the Prin-  
 cipal Buildings of a Christian Commu-  
 nity, by which it may be known how  
 other Towns and Cities in those Parts are  
 contriv'd; for they most of them follow  
 this Plot or Model; and because some  
 Judgment may be made of the Buildings,  
 I have likewise given the City in per-  
 spective, as it looks to those who come  
 from the *Peru* side, and enter by the great  
 Street call'd the *Camada*; though the  
 Cupola of the Jesuits, and the Tower of  
 the Convent of *St. Francis*, with other  
 high Buildings, are discern'd many Leagues  
 off.

#### CH A P. IX.

*The Governor Pedro de Valdivia pursues his Conquest. The Gold Mines are  
 begun to be wrought. He sends Proofs of their Richness to Peru; from whence  
 the General Juan Baptiste Pastene brings him the first Succours.*

THE Governor *Pedro de Valdivia*  
 having founded the City of *St. Fago*,  
 began to think of fortifying himself in  
 that Post, to defend himself against the  
 fury of the *Indians*, with whom he was  
 every day engag'd, and many Men were  
 lost on both sides, so that his Men be-  
 gan to be uneasie, and talk of going back  
 to *Peru*, as *Almagro* had done; for though  
 they saw the richness of the Country, yet  
 it appear'd to them dearly bought, since  
 they could not get any of it without  
 running great hazards by the many En-  
 gagements that they had with the Enemy,  
 so that they gave their Lives for gone.  
 The Governor *Pedro de Valdivia* was not  
 Ignorant of the difficulty of his Enter-  
 prize, but yet encourag'd by the hopes  
 of success at last, he resolv'd rather to  
 die then give it over; and being an Ex-  
 perienti'd Soldier, bred in the Wars of  
*Europe*, he resolv'd to raise a Fort for the  
 defence of his Men, being convinc'd of  
 the Bravery of the Enemy he had to do  
 with; and though he was inform'd of a  
 general Rising which the *Indians* design'd,

he sent Seventy Men to make an Incur-  
 sion towards the River of *Cachapoa*. The  
*Indians* taking the opportunity of the ab-  
 sence of these Men, attack'd the Fort,  
 and had gain'd it if the *Spaniards* had not  
 shew'd incredible Valour in the defence of  
 it, till the other Men return'd, and by their  
 Assistance they repuls'd the *Indians*, and  
 remain'd Conquerors.

The Governor made good use of this  
 advantage, both with the *Indians* and his  
 own Men; so that having quieted them,  
 he began to work upon the Mines of  
*Quillora*, which were of great fame: They  
 prov'd so rich, and yielded such a quan-  
 tity of Gold, that he thought it advisa-  
 ble to make a Fort there for the Security of  
 his Men; but finding want of Hands by  
 the Losses he had had, he resolv'd to send  
 to *Peru* for Relief: This he put in Execu-  
 tion, giving at the same time an account  
 of the Richness and Fruitfulness of the  
 Country, to incite People; and because  
 Ocular Testimony persuades more than  
 what we only hear of, he trusted Six Men,  
 whom he sent along with Thirty others,

*A demonstrative Proof of the Riches of Chile intended.*

*The Design mis-carried.*

*A wonderful Prefervation*

to have a great deal of Gold with them, causing besides the Stirrups of their Horses, and all that is employed of Iron Work about the Bridles and Saddles, to be made of Massy Gold; making the Stirrups very great and large on purpose: But all this Design was disappointed; for these Men, who were thus gilded like Suns, were, when they came to the Valley of *Copapo*, fallen upon by the *Indians*, and all perish'd but Two, who were *Pedro de Miranda*, and *Mon-Roy*, Officers; who got away by the help of their Horses; but being pursued by the *Indians* through Mountainous Ways, and their Horses tiring, they were taken by an *Indian* Captain call'd *Cuteo*, who had a Company of Archers: They tied their Hands behind them, and carried them to their Cacique, who design'd to put them to death.

This Cacique was Married to the Heiress of all this Valley, (for there Inheritances follow the Women, for greater Serenity of the right Line) and when these Two were expecting nothing but the blow of death, it pleas'd God to inspire the Cacica or Cacique's Lady with Compassion; and so she went her self, and with her own Hands untied theirs, commanding their Wounds to be dress'd, and Treating them with some of their Drinks, which she her self presented to them, having drunk first her self according to their Custom. and bid them take Courage, for they should not die: They seeing themselves brought, as it were, from death to life, throw themselves at her Feet, and dedicated themselves to her as voluntary Slaves, since by her favour they enjoyed a Life which they gave for lost.

The Captain who had taken them seeing his Princess and Sovereign shew them so much favour, came to them, and bid them be confident of their Lives, for that their Lady having commanded they should not be kill'd, there was not any one bold enough to look awry upon them. They were kept Six Months in this Captivity; and though it was so gentle by the kind usage they met with, yet the natural desire of Liberty, and the hopes of returning to their Friends, still work'd with them.

Let no Man think himself secure that has his Enemy within his own Doors, nor let him trust his Prisoner, though yielded up to his discretion; for let him be us'd as well as can be, yet there is no happiness like being his own Man, and enjoying his Liberty. This Thought continually took up the Minds of these Two Captains; so they laid a Plot how to make

their escape. They had observ'd in the Cacique a Curiosity for Horses, which were a Creature so new in those *Indian* Countreys, they persuaded him to learn to Ride and Manage a Horse. He lik'd the Proposal, and began to Exercise himself in this Gentle Amusement, carrying with him nevertheless always his Guard of Archers, with an *Indian* before with a Lance upon his Shoulder, and another behind with a naked Sword in his Hand, more out of Grandeur than Distrust; for he had no Suspicion of their Plot, which was, to take an opportunity when he rid out to fall upon him, and kill him, as they did; for Captain *Mon-Roy*, with an extraordinary Intrepidity, without reflecting on the Guard that attended him, attack'd the Cacique, and Captain *Miranda* the rest, with so much suddenness, that they made themselves Masters of the Lance and Sword, and bestirring themselves courageously, they wounded and dismounted the Cacique; so that he died of his Wounds in some Months. Having gain'd the Horses, they sav'd themselves upon them; and not being pursued in that disorder, they overcame all the difficulties of those Solitudes, and arriv'd at *Pem* late; where at that time they found the Government in the Hands of the *Licenciado Vaca de Castro*.

These Two Captains were Gentlemen of great Families; and to this day the *Mirandas* in *Chile* are of the Flower of the Nobility of that Kingdom. As for the *Mon-Roy*, they are so known in *Castile*, particularly about *Salamanca*, that it is needless to say more of them. They were very well receiv'd by his Excellency, for the good News they brought of that Discovery and Conquest, of the Pleasantness of the Country, and Richness of its Mines; and upon this Relation, as *Antonio de Herrera*, and other Authors say, it was resolv'd to further this Conquest, which seem'd to be of such high importance, and to choose out some fit Person, and accompany him with Soldiers, Arms, Ammunition, and Cloathing for the Soldiers, who were almost Naked.

He chose for this Employment Captain *Pastene* *John Baptiste Pastene*, a Gentleman of the most Ancient and Illustrious House of *Pastenes* in *Genoa*; which Family is at present extinct in that Republick, and remains only in its Records, where many of that Name are in the Books of the Nobility, and among the greatest Dignities of the State. This Gentleman engag'd in the Conquest of the New World by the same desire of Glory which mov'd others, and

*Ovalle.*  
1646.

*At an ungrateful Return.*

*Ovalle.* to mend his Fortune. He happening then to be in *Peru*, the Vice Roy took hold of the Occasion to employ him for the King's Service; which this Gentleman accepted, and perform'd, going for *Chile*, where he arriv'd with the Succours which that Kingdom stood in so great need of.

*His joyful Reception.*

This Relief was receiv'd with great Joy, as being in the beginning of the Enterprize, and extremely wanted, the Soldiers being much fatigued and weakened with the continual Assaults of their Enemies, without any other Defence than their Fort of *St. Fago*, where they had enough to do to shelter themselves from their Valour and fierce Attacks; but the arrival of these Succours gave them new Courage and Resolution to prosecute their Enterprize. To undertake it with more Regularity, and prevent what Accidents might happen from the Sea, the Governor sent *Pastene* with the Title of Lieutenant General in his own Ship, to discover the Coast as far as the Streights of *Magellan*, as he did; and it appears by the Letters of their Catholick Majesty's, *Philip II.* and his Son *Philip III.* how agree-

able this piece of Service was to them. About this time the Mines of *Quillota* being working with great Profit, and *Don Gonzales de los Rios* being Captain Governor of the Work, the *Indians* brought him

of great grains of Gold, for a shew of a great deal which they said they had found in a certain place.

There they had laid an Ambuscade of several of their best Men, to fall upon such as blinded with Covetousness, should go to seek this Treasure.

This happened accordingly, for they all run presently to the place; for there is no Alarm never so warm, that rouses better, than this desire of growing rich at once did them: But they were much mistaken; for instead of

Gold, they met with the Iron of their Enemies Lances, who kill'd them all but their Captain, and a Negro, who escap'd by the swiftness of their Horses: So the *Indians* remain'd Victorious, and by the way of Triumph, set fire to a Frigate which the *Spaniards* had almost finish'd to keep up their Correspondency with *Peru*.

*The Spaniards draw into an Ambuscade thro' Covetousness.*

*About rich tale.*

## CHAP. X.

*The City of the Serena is Populated. John Baptiste Pastene goes for more Succours to Peru, from whence he returns to Chile; and with Valdivia and other Captains, goes to help the Royal Army against Pizarro.*

*Valdivia pursues his Conquest.*

*Herrera* says, that with this Relief which *Valdivia* receiv'd, he pursued his Conquest by the People call'd the *Primasas*, and that he was met by several *Indians* in the Valley *Quillema*, whom he overcame courageously, though with the loss of some Horses; and at that time Horses were a Thousand Crowns a piece. Having discover'd large Provinces, and being satisfied of the great number of Inhabitants in them, he return'd to *St. Fago*. 'Tis suppos'd the Governor did all this in haste, since he return'd without making any Fort or Settlement; so it is probable he went this time only to discover, in order to form a Force proportionable of an Army. Therefore the General *John Baptista Pastene* being return'd from discovering of the Sea Coasts, he sent him back to *Peru* to endeavour to bring more Succours, as he had done the first, and so form an Army capable of enlarging his Conquests upon such Powerful Enemies, as he found the Natives of *Chile* to be. Judging therefore that it was not yet time to leave any thing behind him unfortified, he

founded in the Valley of *Coquimbo* the City generally call'd by that Name, but by him call'd *La Serena*, to serve for a Resting Place or Scala for the People who came from *Peru* to *Chile*; for being in great want of such Supplies, he did endeavour to facilitate by all Means their Passage, and draw as many People as possible to preserve his Conquest; for acting otherwise, would only be to have so much the more to lose, as indeed it happened, and shall be related in its due place.

This City of *La Serena* was the Second that was founded in *Chile* in the year 1544, in a very Pleasant and Fruitful Valley, Water'd by a very fine River, not of the biggest, but of clear and admirable Water, with which the Fields are all so plentifully refresh'd, that their Product is so various, that the Inhabitants want almost nothing from abroad that is necessary for Humane Life, for they have Corn, Wine, Flesh, all sorts of other Grain, and Legumes Fruits, even more then in *St. Fago*; for besides all those of

*The City of La Serena or Coquimbo, founded in the year 1544.*

*Europe,*

*The advantage Situation of it.*



Europe, and those of *Chile*, they have Two sorts very extraordinary. The first is a sort of Cucumbers, which are very sweet, and do not need paring; for the outside is a very thin Skin, smooth, of a delicate colour, between white and yellow, all streaked with a very fine purple. The other Fruit is that which they call *Lucumas*, and is a Fruit that I remember I have seen in *Peru*; it is a very wholesome well tasted Fruit, the Stone is smooth and of a purple colour. The Oyl of this Place is absolutely the best in the whole Kingdom, as clear and bright as ones Eyes, and of a rare smell and taste: They make great quantities, so that they send a great deal abroad. They have great Flocks of Cattle, though not so many as about *St. Jago*, because it Rains less, and so the Pasturages are leaner.

*Abounds in rich Metals.*

But that which is most particular, and of greatest value in this Country, is the great abundance of rich Metals, as Gold, Copper and Lead; so that though they have given over gathering of Gold in all the other parts of *Chile*, because other Products are of greater advantage, yet in this place they go on gathering it more or less, according as the Winter is more or less Rainy; for when it Rains much, the Mountains are dissolv'd, and the Earth open'd, and so the Gold is easier found. And the Copper too that is melted down there, serves for all the Kingdom; and *Peru* besides. The Climate of this City is absolutely the most temperate of all the Kingdom, because the Winter which in other Parts is very sharp, particularly the nearer the *Pole*, is here so gentle, that it is hardly perceiv'd, it being within five or six Degrees of the *Tropic*; it being in the 29th Degree of Latitude, enjoys a moderate Climate, the longest day being of 14 hours; and is upon the 11th of December, as the shortest is upon the 11th of June, and the night is of 14 hours.

*The advantageous Situation of it.*

But the accidental Situation of the City helps much towards the Mildness of the Climate; it is within Two Leagues of the Sea, having a Plain before it all cover'd with Mirtils; it stands on a Rising Ground, having a Prospect to the Sea, which makes a beautiful Bay, abounding in Fish of all sorts; by which it is an excellent Place to pass the Lent in, Fish being very cheap: But the good Cheer is also as well out of Lent; for besides the Mutton, which is excellent, and very nourishing, there is plenty of Tame Fowl, Partridge, Turkeys, and all sorts of Wild Fowl. This City begun to be Inhabited by many Noble Families, the Founders being Men of the

best Quality that came to *Chile*, and their Descendents have remain'd, and do maintain the Lullre of their Ancestors. The Governor General appoints the Place of *Corregidor* or Mayor of the City, and it is one of the most Profitable Places that are, because of the Mines which are wrought in its Territory: But notwithstanding all these good Qualities which we have mention'd, this City does not encrease so fast as that of *St. Jago*; for this last may be compar'd to the Clove-tree, which sucks to it self all the Substance of the Earth round about it; a thing which is proper enough to Capital Cities every where.

About this time the General *John Bap. Pastene* arriv'd at *Peru* for a Second Supply of Men, which *Pedro de Valdivia* desir'd of the Vice-Roy to carry on his Conquest; but he found the whole Country in Confusion, caus'd by the Stubborn Disobedience of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, so that the Government wanted Relief it self, instead of being in a Condition to Relieve others. This was so true, that *Pastene* was forc'd to return to *Chile*, to bring a Force from thence to join with the Royal Army. This Resolution 'tis probable came to the knowledge of the Tyrant *Pizarro*, for he found Means to seize his Ship and his Person by Cunning. *Pastene*, though much press'd by *Pizarro*, both by Promises and Threats, to join with him; as very well knowing how much he might assist him as his Friend, or injure him as his Enemy; yet persever'd in his Loyalty to the King, and found means to make his escape out of the Hands of the Tyrant, and to recover his Ship too; which having new fitted with Necessaries, he return'd to *Chile*, to bring from thence some of the best Officers to enourage the Royal Army, which was preparing to engage *Pizarro*; who on his side had such a Force, that he had put to death the Vice-Roy *Blasco Nunnes Vela*. In *Chile* they were waiting for his Return, and the Succours he should bring with him; but when they saw him without any, they were much troubled, for they found themselves oblig'd at least to suspend all their Projects upon *Chile*, to go and relieve those upon whom their own Preservation depended.

The Governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, as *Valdivia* soon as he heard what pass'd in *Peru*, resolv'd to go thither in Person with some of his best Officers and Soldiers, to join and help the Kings Forces. He left in *Chile* for his Lieutenant, Captain *Francisco de Villagra*, a Gentleman of great Courage and good Parts, that he might govern

*Disappointed of a second Supply at Peru, returns to Chile.*  
1646.

*Disappointed of a second Supply at Peru, returns to Chile.*  
*Pizarro Revolts.*

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*Ovalle.* vern and preserve what we had already in that Kingdom; it being impossible to do more, or make any further Progress, till the times should alter and he provide more Forces. He got together what Gold he could, and went Aboard with his Captains and Soldiers, on the same Ship, under the Conduct of the same General *Pastene*. His Arrival at *Peru* gave great Courage to the King's Forces, by reason of the Gold and Men which he brought; the Valor and Experience of which was so great, that in the Battle they perform'd extraordinary things, being the chief cause of the Victory obtain'd over *Pizarro*, in the Valley of *Quiraguana*. He himself was taken, and chastiz'd, with his guilty Assistants, as his Folly deserv'd, and his Disloyalty to his Prince. The President of *Peru*, *Gasca*, always advis'd with the Governor *Valdivia* in all his most Important Affairs, whom he made of his Council, with six more, for the secretest Affairs and

of most Importance, making great esteem of his Prudence and Experience, as well as of the Valor of his Companions.

This Victory being obtain'd the Governor return'd to *Chile*, with a good Succour of Men and Arms, and the same Officers and Soldiers who accompanied him to *Peru*; with which, and other Succours which came afterwards, he was in a condition to pursue his Enterprize Vigorously, as we shall see hereafter: But all was little enough against the Resistance of the *Indians*, who not only kept them from advancing but for six Years together, that their stubborn Opposition lasted, they reduc'd the *Spaniards* to great Extremities of Nakedness and Hunger. So that they were forced to eat Herbs and Roots, and Rats and Mice, and such things; and if the Heart and Courage of the Governor *Valdivia* had not been Invincible, it would have been impossible to have made the Conquest.

*He is Valdivia, and returns to Chile with a Supply.*

## CH A P. XI.

*What happened in Chile, during the Absence of the Governor Valdivia, and after his Return; and of the new Succours he receiv'd.*

**P**edro Sanchez de Hoz, was a Soldier, to whom the King was pleas'd to grant a Patent for the Discovery and Conquest of certain Lands, to begin from the Jurisdiction of the Marquis *Francis Pizarro*; and he pretending that Part of the Kingdom of *Chile* was in his Grant, oppos'd the Governor *Valdivia*, to whom *Pizarro* by a Royal Commission had given the Conquest and Government of *Chile*. But the Marquis persuaded him to desist, and go along with *Valdivia* to *Chile*, recommending his Person to the Governor, to use him with Regard, and give him a Share in the best part of his Conquest. *Valdivia* did so, bestowing on him the richest Lands of the *Indians*. But the Ambition of Commandings, is always very contentious, and subject to complain, till it gets the upper hand. This appear'd in *Pedro Sanchez de Hoz*, in the absence of the Governor from *Chile*; for being vex'd that he was not left with the Authority of Lieutenant in his room, he plotted to take away the Life of him who had it, which was *Francisco de Villagra*; who having notice of his Designs, seiz'd upon *Pedro Sanchez de Hoz*, and cut off his Head, by which he assur'd his own; and *Valdivia* approv'd of the thing as well done, when he was inform'd of it; because he was a

Friend to Justice, and because a Competitor is never sorry to have his Competitor remov'd.

About this time, the *Indians* of *Capiapo*, who had begun to imbrow their Hands in the Blood of the *Spaniards*, in pursuance of the Revenge of their Prince's Death, whom the Captains *Miranda* and *Mon-Roy* had kill'd, as we have related in the 9th Chapter, lay in wait and surpriz'd *Juan Bon*, with 40 Soldiers more of some Companies which were coming from *Peru*, and marching through their Country; these they put all to death. After their example the *Coquimbos* attack'd the Soldiers and Inhabitants of the City of *La Serena*, whom they kill'd without sparing one, and set fire to the City, which they ruin'd utterly, not leaving one Stone upon another.

All this being understood by the Governor at his Return from *Peru*, he sent Captain *Francis de Aguirre* with a good Force, to follow them to their Retiring Place, where in several Rencounters, in the Valley of *Capiapo*, he overcame the *Indians*. All which was as much owing to his great Valour as Conduct; without which, the force he had would have prov'd Insufficient (as *Herrera* observes). He did the same in the Valley of *Coquimbo*, and

*The Captains who were sent to revenge the Death of their Cacique.*

*A Return of the Captains who were sent to take the Conquest of Chile.*

*Are over- come by Captain Francis d' Aguirre*

and rebuild the City of *La Serena*, in the Place and Situation where it now stands. For which reason, he was look'd upon as the true Founder of it; and his Descendants, who are of the best Nobility of the Kingdom, have preserv'd that Prerogative, and are the chiefest in that Government, or rather the Masters of it; for they are so numerous and so powerful, that they yield to none in Reputation, and are accordingly respected by all.

Let us now treat of that which 'tis not reasonable to forget; which is, of those Captains who in those early times entred *Chile* with Succours of Men, to help to conquer it; since it is just their Memory should live for ever in those who enjoy the Fruits of their Labours, and are now Masters of what they gain'd with their Blood and Sweat, and the loss of many Lives, and danger of their own, which they expos'd in so many Battels and Encounters they had with the Enemy. I am only sorry, that I cannot speak of them all, and describe in particular their good Qualities and great Merits, because I am in a place where I want Memoirs and Informations for such a Work: but I will say what I can of their noble Actions, as I find them recorded in other Histories: Though to say truth, that which they say about *Chile*, is so little, that it is almost next to nothing. I am not surpriz'd at it; for it is a place much out of the way, and it's Conquerors were busied with their Swords than with their Pens. For their Enemies prest'd them continually with so much Vigor, that they had but little of that leisure which Histories and Relations require. We shall begin with the Governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was the first that entred the Kingdom with a Force, as has been related: Then that which General *Pajon* brought afterwards with Arms and Cloaths. The Succours brought by Captain *Mon-Roy* prov'd of great Importance; as *Herrera* says, it was of Threecore Men, which in those days was as much as Six hundred now; these he had hir'd in *Peru*, being much assisted by the *Viceroy*, who upon the Relations of *Mon-Roy* and *Miranda*, was resolv'd to encourage the Enterprize.

I am not certain, whether it was before this, or after, that arriv'd the Succours so opportunely brought by Captain *Cristoval de Esco-bar Villaroel*; for I do not find it mention'd in any of the Historians, which I have read here: But in *Chile* the Memory of it is very fresh, and will never be forgot; not only for his coming in a time when they extremely wanted Supplies,

but also for that Circumstance of this noble Captain's having brought these Succours upon his own Charges, (and I think they were Seventy Men) and made his way by Land to *Chile*, either by the Wilderness of *Atacama*, or by the *Cordillera*, either of which must cost a great Sum of Money; for it is above Five hundred Leagues.

This Action alone was sufficient to show the Nobleness of this Gentleman, if that of his Family had not been so well known as it is in *Spain*; but he continued to give Proofs of his Zeal for the King's Service, by serving in Person, and employing also his Son Captain *Alonso de Esco-bar Villaroel*, whom he had brought with him from *Spain*, that they might both give an Example to their Posterity, as they have; not yielding to any, but have produc'd many noble Persons, both in Arms and other Civil Employments of the Government.

When I reflect upon those I have known of the Descendants of this famous Head and Conqueror, I find, That between Sons, Grandsons, and Great Grandsons, they come up to Eighty seven; and if they had not been so many, there was enough to Honour this Family in the Seven or Eight Sons of the General *Luis de las Cuevas*, Grandsons of this Gentleman, with whom he presented himself to the Royal Army, all arm'd Cap a Pie, in which they serv'd many Years at their own Charges: for in those Days the Inhabitants that were Gentlemen had no other Reward but their Loyalty, and the Glory of serving their Prince. *Antonio de Herrera* makes mention of another Supply of One hundred and eighty Men, Conducted by Captain *Francisco Villagra*, who was afterwards Governor of *Chile*, and to whom that Kingdom owes a great deal of its Being, for the Hazards he ran, and the noble Actions he perform'd in its Conquest, as we shall see hereafter, and may be read in the General History, to which I Appeal. The Nobility of his Family was always Notorious, and the Gentlemen of his Name have showed themselves worthy of it, in the great Services they have and do perform every day for the King, worthy of all sorts of Acknowledgment and Reward.

Alter this, in the time of the *Viceroy Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza*, his Excellency, as *Herrera* says, sent Captain *Don Martin de Avendaño*, by Land, with good Succours of Men, and Three hundred and fifty Mares and Horses, which were of as much Importance for the War as so

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A Recital  
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1646. many Men. The Descendents of this Gentleman are still carrying on the Lustre of his Family, so known in *Salamanca* and other Parts. I was acquainted with Two Brothers of that Name, who alone might preserve and encrease the Reputation of their Family; the one was Colonel *Don Antonio de Avendano*, who was Colonel of the Regiment of *Arauco*, who Signaliz'd himself at the Head of that Regiment in many Rencontres with the Enemy, and particularly in one, where our Camp was Defeated; and where to preserve the Reputation he had gain'd in so many Noble Actions and Eminent Dangers, he chose to die, being wounded in a great many Places, and almost cut in Pieces, by the furious Enemy. The other was *Don Francisco de Avendano*, likewise Colonel, and who came to *Spain*, where his Majesty, in consideration of his own and his Ancesters Merit, honour'd him with the Habit of *St. Jago*, and the Government of *Tucuman*, where he died.

I do not mention those Companies, out of which, as they pass'd by *Copapo*, Forty were killed, with their Leader *Juan Bon*; because *Herrera*, who speaks of this, does not say who was the Captain of them. Perhaps there were also other Commanders, who in that Six Years time entred into *Chile* with Men, and I should be glad to be where I might have particular Information of them, to do them at least that small Honour of putting their Names in Print, and giving some Glory to

Actions, which perhaps deserv'd to be grav'd in Brasi.

I do not likewise set down here, that Famous Supply of Men brought by the Second Governor of *Chile*, *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, Marquis of *Coneste*, for this shall be spoke of in its proper Place, after the Death of the Governor *Pedro de Valdivia*: And thus we shall conclude those who entred by the way of *Peru*. For though, since that time, there have been several Supplies, and are every day still more, yet they have not been remarkable enough, as not having come at first, but after the Settlements were made; and besides, it would carry me too far to report them all. But I shall add here those which have come from *Spain*, by the way of *Buenos Ayres*; as well because they were the most numerous, some having been of 500 or a thousand Men, as having come in dangerous Times, when the Kingdom was ready to be lost, the Enemy having as it were besieg'd it; and so 'tis just to preserve the memory of such famous Benefactors, who have been, as it were, Fathers of their Country. This we shall perform at the end of this Book, in a Treatise by it self, where we will likewise put the Pictures of all the Governors of *Chile*, as well as may be, considering how long they have been dead, that their Descendents may preserve the Memory of Men, who seem to deserve Eternity by their Heroical Actions.

## CH A P. XII.

*The Governor Pedro de Valdivia pursues his Conquest, and Peoples, the City call'd of the Conception; where he had like to have been destroyed in a Battel.*

*Valdivia pursues his Conquest.*

**T**HE Governor *Pedro de Valdivia* seeing himself with a good Force, and the Greatness of his Mind perswading him that he had where withal to put an end to his Enterprize, *Herrera* says he sent to the other side of the *Cordillera*, from *St. Jago*, Captain *Francisco Aguirre* with a good number of Men, with which he pass'd those terrible Mountains, and founded the *Diaguitas* and *Jurises*.

*Herrera* says no more; nor do I know any thing of those individual Places and Cities which he founded. The Governor *Valdivia* on his side set out of *St. Jago* with a powerful Army, and passing the furious Rivers of *Maypo*, *Cachapoal*, *Tinguiririca*, *Peterea*, *Teno* and *Mataguito*, he Conquer'd the *Promocoes*, a Warlike People, who had resisted *Almagro*, and before that had re-

puls'd an Army of 50 thousand Men, which the *Jaga* sent against them when he endeavour'd to conquer *Chile*; but the good Fortune and Great Valor of *Valdivia* and his Men overcame that which seem'd invincible; though I am perswaded that it was not without Blood: But I refer my self to the General History of *Chile*, which will have describ'd the particular Encounters and Battels on both sides.

The Army pass'd the deep River of *Maule*, and the wide *Itata*, and coming to that of *Audalien*, quarter'd by the Sea-side; and for the conveniency of Situation, The City he founded there the City of the *Concep-* of the *Con-* tion in the Year 1550. but the Natives ception founded in the Year, 1550. Strangers to enter thus into the Heart of their

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Its Latitude.

their Country, as if it weretheir own, call'd a General Assembly, and with a numerous and brave Army presented them Battel so furiously, that our People began to wish they had not engag'd themselves so far. Much Blood was shed on both sides; and our Army was in great danger of being destroyed, till it pleas'd God (who guides all things to his Ends) who was to reap the Fruit of his Victory over those Gentiles, whom he had predestinated by the means of the Gospel, which was to be preach'd to them in case the *Spaniards* were Victorious, to make them so at last, and that very Gloriously; the famous *Aynabillo*, chief Head of the *Pencones*, remaining Prisoner, after having behav'd himself with great Bravery in the Fight.

The Situation of it.

The Situation of the City of the *Concepcion*, is on a Plain where the Sea makes a most beautiful Bay, in form of a Half-moon; and Nature has provided a Mole, by putting their a large *Island*, behind which, Ships ride safe from the North-wind. By Land, towards the East, it is Encompass'd with some high Hills, the sides of which are all planted with Vines and other Fruit-trees; so that which way soever one looks, the Prospect terminates in beautiful Plantations of Trees, or rather a green Semicircle, which rejoices the Sight, and fortifies the City. From the North, there comes into it a small River, which comes down from the Mountains, which we have already describ'd in the Chapter of the Rivers of *Chile*. On the South side, another larger deeper River runs by it, and is call'd *Andalien*. Neither of these Rivers does the kindness to the City which *Mapocho* does to *St. Jago*, that is, to come into the Houses; but the want of this is supplied by Excellent Fountains of Christaline and delicate Water, which rise very near the City, and are brought into it particularly, very plentiful, which was carried to the publick place by the General *Don Diego Gonzales Montero*, he being Corregidor of this City, and Governing it with the same Prudence and generosity, that he since govern'd that of *St. Jago*, in the same Quality of Corregidor and Lieutenant General.

Its Latitude.

This City is in the Latitude of Thirty three Degrees and Five and forty Minutes to the Antardick Pole; and for this Reason, and because of the High Land it stands upon, the Air is so temperate, that the Heats never are troublesome; nay in the Heat of Summer 'tis necessary to have as many Bedcloaths as in Winter,

which is not at all severe, because it never Snows there, though it Rains Extremely. For the Security of the City, there was Erected a good Fort for our People to retire too, when press'd by the *Indians*, which often hapened, and made them stand to their Arms almost continually: For they, impatient of any Yoke, were incessantly taken up with the Thoughts and Endeavours of driving them out of the Country; and notwithstanding all the care that was taken, the City was lost at last; for the Enemy over-power'd us: But yet, in length of time, it was built again, as we shall see; though still remaining a Fronteer to the Enemy, it has not had such encrease as *St. Jago*. But it gains ground, and has many rich Inhabitants, who have enter'd upon a great Vent of Salt, Flesh and Hydes, which is one of the richest Commodities of *Chile*: And they have, besides, Magazines of Flower, with which they furnish the Army: The Wines too of those Parts, are generally better than those of *St. Jago*, though they are lower Ceper Vines; nay, the Grapes ripen as they lie along on the ground, as it is in many Parts in *Europe*. They have not that abundance of Almonds, Oyl, Oranges and Lemons, *Agü Legumes* and dried Fruit, as in other parts of *Chile*; their Summer being shorter, and the Sun having less force.

The *Spanish* Children, born here, are of a very sweet nature, and docile, of good wits, and take to Learning very well. The Men are loyal, faithful keepers of their Word, friendly, and such as for their Friends will venture any thing to defend them in their Honour or Fortunes, even with the hazard of their own, and their Lives too. They are very well dispos'd to Virtue, having good Inclinations; and those among them, who have taken to Arms, have extremely signaliz'd themselves: They are bred in great Simplicity, as being far from the Corruption of the Court, which generally improves the Malice, and raises the Libertinism of young People. The Bishoprick of this City is a poor one, not being worth above Two or Three thousand Pieces of Eight a year, because, though the Land is rich of it self, and that in which there are most Mines, yet the *Declines* or Tenths are very small, because of those continual Wars which this City has maintain'd from its beginning; for we may say, it has been nurs'd with Blood, and grown up in Arms, not having laid them down in Ninety five Years, which is no small Evidence of the good Qualities of its Inhabitants, and what it

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may be henceforward when this dead *Ovalle*. Weight is taken of. Another cause of the small Revenue of this Bishoprick, is the loss of seven Cities, some of them the richest of the Kingdom, which all belong'd to its Diocese.

1567. In the Year 1567, there was settled a high Court of Chancery, which remain'd till the Year 1574 and afterwards, it was remov'd to *St. Jago*, where it now is: And though its Jurisdiction reaches as far as this City, there is little for it to do, because the Governors are generally present, to be nearer the Garrisons, and countenance and assist the War, of which there

is a continual Necessity. The Garrison is very numerous, and of choice Souldiers, where every day they mount the Guard, as it is practis'd in Places of War. The General provides all the Officers, even to the Colonels; but his Majesty names the Treasurer and Muster-master General, who is the second Person after the Governor: This is a Post of great Esteem, and no small Value in this Kingdom; and there goes through his Hands Three hundred thousand Ducats of the King's Money, which every Year is to be distributed among the Officers and Soldiers who are enrol'd in his Books.

### CHAP. XIII.

*The Governor Pedro de Valdivia prosecutes his Conquest, and founds the Cities of Imperial, Valdivia and Villa Rica, and raises three Forts in Arauco.*

1550. **T**he Governor *Valdivia* having spent the Year 1550 in Peopling the City of the Conception, and defending himself in his Fort against the continual Attacks of the Enemy, and having at the same time inform'd himself more exactly of the Country and its Fertility, by the means of Captain *Hyeronimo de Alderete*, who had gone through it, and observ'd the number of its Inhabitants, resolv'd to go out of the Conception, and pursue his Conquest: In order to this, after having well provided his Fort, and left a Garrison in it, he set out in the beginning of the Year 1551.

1551. He took his way with his Army by the Plains of *Angol*, crossing first the great River *Biobio*, and coming to that of *Cauten*, which for its Gentleness is call'd the *Ladies River*, when join'd with another very pleasant one near the Sea; here he found great Settlements of *Indians*, and founded the City of *Imperial*. This is one of the most agreeable Situations of the whole Kingdom, being about Three or Four Leagues from the sea, and Thirty nine Leagues from the Conception, and a Hundred and nine from the City of *St. Jago*, in Thirty nine Degrees of South Latitude. All the Territory of this City is very fruitful, bearing Corne, and all sorts *Legumes* and Fruits; though the black Grapes do not ripen so kindly as the white ones and the *Muscadines*; the Country is not all Plains and Valleys, nor all Hills, but rather a composition of the whole; the Hills are gentle and tractable, with good Pasture and Shelter for Cattle; the Ground does not want much watering,

*The Foundation of the City of Imperial, and its Situation.*

it having frequent and large Dews that fertilize it. The City was situated upon a pretty stiff Hill, and the Confluence of two Navigable Rivers; but the Port is not good, for the Flats there are within three Fathom and a half of depth. Here the Governor met with Four score thousand *Indians* settled; nay, some Authors say, they were many more, and all agree that they were a quiet and good natur'd People, not at all so Warlike as the *Araucans*.

This City was the Head of the Bishoprick, and it began to encrease at first very much, by reason of the Excellency of its Soil and Situation; and if it had not been destroyed, as we shall see hereafter that it was, it would by this time have been a great City; for it was already very well peopled, and must have encreas'd, if the Gold Mines, which are in its Neighbourhood, had been wrought.

This City, which was the 4th of this Kingdom, being thus founded, the Governor divided the Territory, and gave the Lordships to his Conquerors, according to the Royal Privilege he had so to do; that he might engage the *Spaniards* to enter more heartily into his Enterprize. He took for himself the Lordships of *Arauco* and *Tucapel*, as far as *Parén*, except some Mannors that he gave to others, to content all. Having left a Force, which seem'd sufficient in the City of *Imperial*, he march'd as far as *Valdivia*. Being come to that famous River, and desiring to pass it, to Conquer the Land and People on the other side, the Brave *Indian Lady*, call'd *Recloma*, hindred him, offering to pass the River

*Here are Three Chapters, which follow, all of Miracles, wrought by an Image of our Lady; which are omitted.*

*The City of Valdivia, founded and erected.*

*The Foundation of the City of Villa Rica.*



River alone Swimming, and to reduce the Indians to his Obedience, as the did, and we have already related in the 18th Chapter of the first Book ; and there likewise is a full Description of the Situation of the City, and all its other Qualities, which it was proper to make in that place, and so is not necessary to repeat here. The

*The City of Valdivia founded, and a Fort erected.*

Governor having founded the City of Valdivia, erected a Fort, and settled all things as he had done at the Imperial. While he stay'd there to pursue his Settlement, he sent Captain *Hieronimo de Alderete* to discover the Country as far as the *Cordillera Nevada*; and he having sent to the Governor Relations of his Discoveries, as he went, founded a Town, which he call'd by the Excellency *Villa Rica*, the appearances of the Riches of that Country being greater than any yet had been discover'd.

*The Foundation and Situation of Villa Rica.*

Though the Situation he chose seem'd at first to be the best, yet in time it was resolv'd to change it, and place it upon a great Lake at the bottom of the *Cordillera*, and about 16 Leagues from the Imperial, and 40 from the *Concepcion*. It has not such a plenty of Corn and Wine as the others, but it has enough, and many other good Qualities which I omit, because it being since destroyed with other Cities already mention'd, I am likewise forc'd to be silent of their particular Properties, and refer my self to the General History of *Chile*, which will embrace all those Particulars.

These were the Cities Planted and Peopled by the Governor *Valdivia*; and though I have not as to these last, made mention of the Blood spilt in gaining them, 'tis not to be imagin'd, but that they cost dear enough, since the Contest was with such Warlike Nations, that it seem'd a great Rashness (and would have been so without a particular Protection of Heaven) to undertake such Enterprizes. There are not wanting those who blame the Governor *Valdivia*, judging, that he did not measure well his Strength, but grasp'd more than he could hold, as he found by a sad Experience at his own Peril in a little time.

The Authors who speak of these Attempts, are full of the Commendation of the Valor, Patience, and sufferings of the *Castilians*; but all this would not have done, nor have subjected those People, nor twice that Force could have prevail'd against them, if because they saw them on Horseback, and killing People at a distance, they had not believ'd them to be *Epunamones*, by which name they call'd the Gods they ador'd; so they

imagin'd them to be Immortal, and that they came from above with a Power to send out Thunderbolts like God: For having never seen either small Arms or great Artillery, they thought the noise was Thunder; and to this day that sort of Arms is call'd *Talca*, which in their Language signifies Thunder; and out of the same Imagination they call'd the *Spaniards* *Viracochas*, which is as much as to say Scum of the Sea, or a People come by Sea, giving to understand that those Men if they were Men were sent from God to subject them. This made them ready at first to show all Respects to the *Spaniards*, and kept them from rebelling, and resisting so vigorously as they did afterwards, though they always made some Opposition, particularly the *Araucano's* who have ever been the Eagles among the *Indians*. *Valdivia* having well observ'd this, was content at present with what he had conquer'd, and returning to *Arauco* by *Puren* and *Tucapel*, he caus'd Three strong Houses to be erected in the distance of Eight Leagues from one another, and in such Places as might have an easy Communication together. Having thus settled Matters, he return'd to the *Concepcion*, and so to *St. Fago*, from whence he dispatch'd Captain *Hieronimo de Alderete* to *Castille*, to give the King Information of the Riches that were discover'd in that Country, and its other good Qualities, as also a Relation of the Settlements made there, in order to obtain a Supply of People, which was granted. The Cities newly founded were in great danger of being lost, for indeed they were more than our Forces could Protect, and the *Indians* showed great Impatience, and fretted to see Foreigners settle Cities in their Country, and erect Forts and strong Places for their Security.

The Governor being inform'd of this Disposition of the *Indians*, set out from *St. Fago*, with a Supply of Men, which he had receiv'd from *Pernu*, under the Conduct of *Don Martin de Avendaño*; and reliev'd all the Garrisons: Which having done, and presuming they were safe, without reflecting on the danger that threatened him, he applied all his attention to give a beginning to the working of the Gold Mines, for a design he had.

This was to go to *Spain*, and carry with him all the Gold he could get together, to shew the King the vast Riches of the Country, and to obtain from his Majesty those Titles of Honour which were generally bestow'd upon the Conquerors and Discoverers of those *Indian* Kingdoms; and so bring back a good Force to subdue them:

*Ovalle.*  
1646.

*Valdivia strengthens his Garrisons.*



them. For this end he did Two things; the first, to send to the Streights of *Magellan*, in the year 1552. *Francisco de Ulloa*, that with Two Ships, which were equip'd on purpose, he might discover all the Streight, and give an Account of it; that so he might know how to undertake the Voyage to *Spain* that way. The other thing he did, was, to set People to work to find out new Gold Mines, which they easily did, there being so many in these Parts; among which, the most famous were the Mines of *Quilacoya*, four Leagues from the City of the *Conception*; and others in *Angol*; to work which, he employed Twenty thousand Indians. 'Tis easie to imagine how much Gold such numbers of Men might get from those Mines, which had never been touch'd till then; it was very great, and enough to enrich both Governor and Soldiers, which it did; and with the acquisition of so much Treasure, they began likewise to despise their Enemies, who, while they were busie in searching the Bowels of the Earth for Gold, were employ'd in thinking how they should recover their lost Liberty, and free themselves from the Yoke of Subjection, which they had never felt before.

The City of the *Conception* went on prospering, because of the great quantity of Gold brought into it every day; by which Means the Minds of the Inhabi-

tants were elevated in proportion; and the Soldiers grew Wanton and Insolent. The Governor being tainted with the same Disease of too much Prosperity, neglected to take notice of these Disorders; for the desire of Riches encreasing by Riches, which they saw every day fill their Coffers, they were less attentive to that which ought most to have drawn their attention, which was their own and the Kingdom's Preservation, and so made way for that Blow of Fortune that laid them all along.

The *Araucano's* were as uneasie, and continually plotting, how to compels their Designs; and at last resolv'd to rise unanimously against the *Spaniards*, and take their revenge of them. To try how it would be taken, they began to talk big, and carry themselves haughtily, rather like Masters of the Land, then like Servants; they quarrell'd with one and the other, and losing all Respect, drove the thing so far as to kill some *Spaniards* in these Contests; and then perceiving that these things were dissembled, and that their Boldness had its desired Effect, they grew every day more Insolent; and at last being thoroughly satisfied, that the *Spaniards* were neither Gods, nor Immortal, nor of any other Species than they, but subject to all Humane Infirmities, they began to fear them no longer, but resolv'd to fall upon them.

The Araucano's resolve to Revolt.

The Character of the Araucano's Revolt: raise a numerous Army.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The City of Angol is Peopled, and the Indians Rise against the Spaniards.*

The City of Angol founded.

UPON occasion of the Mines that were begun to be wrought in the District of *Angol*, the Governor *Pedro de Valdivia* settled a City of that Name there, which was also call'd the City of the Confines; Some attribute this Foundation to the Marquis of *Cannete*, Don *Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, who govern'd after the death of *Pedro de Valdivia*: Perhaps the reason of this is, that the situation of this City at first was Three Leagues from the place where it now stands; so it might be that *Valdivia* first settled it, and the Marquis remov'd it to the place it is now in, and that was ground enough to make him the Founder.

Its Situation and Description.

The present situation is in a Plain, very large, and disengag'd, Eight Leagues from the *Cordillera*, and Twenty from the *Conception*; some say Sixteen, which perhaps

is caus'd by the difference of its Two Situations. Their longest Day and longest Night are of Fourteen hours and an half. The Land is very fertile, Fruits ripen very well, there is good Wine, and good store of Raisins dried in the Sun, Figs and other dried Fruits, a vast quantity of tall Cypressess, which yield a very sweet scented Wood; of which, *Herrera* says, there is made a Gum Lack. The Great River *Bibio* runs by it, and serves it for a Wall and Ditch on the South side; and on the North-side another pleasant Rivulet comes running from Hills of a moderate height, and turns many Mills for the use of the City. Those whom I have known that have been born in this City, have prov'd very gentle in their Dispositions, of good Wits, and noble Inclinations, very Friendly and Real, and extremely Loyal

Character of the Natives.

Loyal to the King, as indeed all the *Chiliani* are, looking upon that as the highest *Punko* of their Gentility.

Now let us return to the *Araucano's*, who were busy in calling together their Assemblies there, to Treat how to cast off the Yoke of Servitude, and make themselves Masters of that which was truly theirs. So it was, that the *Caciques* being possess'd with an Opinion, that their Forces were not inferior to the *Spaniards*, began to call them together; and they needed no Incitements of Pay or Money, for the Love of their Liberty, and Possessions, and Posterity, was a sufficient Spur to them, thinking every day a year that kept them from engaging with their Enemies, and conquering them. The *Caciques* that met were these; First *Tucapel*, a great Butcher of *Christians*, with 3000 Soldiers; *Angol*, who was very brave, with 4000; *Cayocupil* with 3000 Men, whom he brought from the *Cordillera*, as hardy as the Rocks they came from, and made to endure any Labour; *Millarague*, an old Man of great Wildom, he brought 5000; *Paicari* with 3000; *Lemoleno* with 6000; *Mareguano*, *Gualeno*, and *Leucapie*, each with 3000; The Robust *Elicuera*, held for one of the strongest Men, with 6000, and they ancient; and Chief of all *Colocolo* with as many more. *Ongolmo* offer'd 4000; and *Puren* 6000; *Lincoye*, who was of the Stature of a Giant, offer'd to bring more than any. *Peteguden*, Lord of the Valley of *Arauco*, from whence the whole took their Name, came with 6000; and the famous *Caulpican*, and his Two Neighbours, *Thome* and *Audalican*, and many others, kept themselves ready to come in with their Subjects. They met according to their Custom to Eat and Drink at the appointed *Rendezvous*, for that never is omitted in these Assemblies; and having been unanimous in the first and chief Point, which was to Rise, there was some Difference about the Choice of a General, every one desiring to have that Command, as it generally happens in such Elections; every one alledg'd their particular Merits, the one his Valour, another his Experience, another his good Fortune, and none seem'd to want a Presence for obtaining their desire; They grew warm in this ambitious Contest, and would have come to Blows, if the Old and Wise *Colocolo*, by his Prudence and Authority, had not quieted them, and reduc'd them to consent to choose *Caulpican*, not only as the bravest Soldier, but the ablest Chief. This done, they all Swore Obedience to him, and promis'd to obey

his Orders for the better carrying on of their Common Design.

The *Spaniards* had, as we have already mention'd, Three Castles for their Security, and one of them was near the Post where this Assembly was kept; and the *Indians*, proud and impatient, had a mind to attack it immediately, but *Caulpican*, their General, forbid it, in order to do it with more dexterity and safety. He commanded *Palis*, who perform'd the Place of Serjeant General, to choose him out Four-score Soldiers of the bravest, and such as were least known to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* their Friends; These he put under the Conduct of Two very brave Men, *Cayaguano* and *Alcatipay*, and order'd them to enter the Castle with their Arms by this Stratagem. The *Araucano's*, though in Peace, were not permitted to enter the Castle, except such as serv'd the *Spaniards*, and these enter'd often with their Loads of Grass, Wood, and other Necessaries for the Garrison. *Caulpican* order'd these Four-score Men to feign themselves to be Servants of the *Spaniards*, and having hid their Arms in the Grass they carried, to answer nothing, but pretend they did not hear if they were ask'd any Questions. They acted their Parts to the Life, some Countersitting *Lamenels*, others Wearing, so that they were all set in without suspicion; then they took their Arms out of the Grass, and fell unanimously upon the *Spaniards*, who were much astonish'd at so unforeseen a Boldness; however they gave the Alarm, and all coming out of their Quarters, resisted them, so as to kill some of the *Indians*; the others, either out of fear of the *Spaniards*, or on purpose to draw them out of the Castle in their pursuit, retir'd, on purpose to gain time till their General *Caulpican* could come up with his Army, which he did with a very numerous one, and forc'd the *Spaniards* to retire to their Fort: He besieg'd them in it, and after having kill'd many of them, those who remain'd alive were glad to leave the Post, and get away, judging it better to retire to *Puren* lest they should lose all, whereas being join'd with the Garrison of *Puren*, they might better resist the Enemy, though he was very powerful and much elevated.

The News of this Invasion soon reach'd the Conception; and the Governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was then there, began presently to consider how to Remedy so great a Mischief. Some blame him as tardy in doing of it; for to secure the Treasure of the Mines, where (as *Her-*

Opale.  
1646.

An Indian  
Stratagem.

Character  
of the Araucanos.

*Ovalle.* vera says) he had Fifty thousand Vassals at work to get Gold for him: Before he 1646. went to Succour those in *Puren*, he went out of his way, and stay'd the Erecting of a Fort at the Mines, which took him so much time, that he came later than was requisite to their Relief. But, indeed, if any thing was ill done by him, it was the making too much haste; for, without

staying for the Relief and Succours he *Valdivia* might have receiv'd from the other Ci- *anches* ties, he set out with a Force not strong *against the* enough to Encounter that of *Araucano*: *Araucano's*. His Courage deceiv'd him; for being elevated with his Successes, and trusting to his Fortune, he run into the Precipice, as we shall shew in the following Chapter.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The Governor Pedro de Valdivia, and all his People, are kill'd by the Indians. The famous Action of Lautaro is Related, that being the chief Cause of this Event.*

THE time of this great Captain's Death was now come; all things therefore seem'd to concur to that end. The present Remedy that was to be applied to this Mischief, to stop its progress, and the delay of those Succours he expected from the other Garrisons, were all combining Causes; his Heart misgave him at his setting out from *Tucapel*; he had sent out Parties to bring him an account of the State of the Enemy, but none came back; this gave him some apprehension, but being engag'd, it was necessary to go on. He had sent out Scouts, as I said, and had scarce gone Two Leagues on his way after them, but he saw the Heads of Two of them hanging upon a Tree. This increas'd his Fear, and he consulted with those with him, whether it would not be rash to proceed. The Young Men were of Opinion, that it would be a lessening of their Reputation to turn their Backs to Danger, though there came to them an *Indian* of their Friends, and desir'd them not to proceed, because *Caupolican* was at *Tucapel* with Twenty thousand *Indians*, and that the hazard they ran was manifest; but he followed on his way, and came within sight of the Enemy: They soon engag'd, and the Battle was cruel on both sides, so that for a great while no advantage could be perceiv'd, because the brave Actions on both sides kept Victory in suspense.

He Engages them.

The Treachery of Lautaro.

After a good while of this Contention, the *Spaniards* began to prevail, and to cry *Viva España*, or Live Spain; with which recovering new vigour, the *Indians* seem'd to give way, when (as *Arzulla* in his *Araucana* says) the famous *Lautaro*, an *Indian*, who had been bred Page to the Governor *Valdivia*, having more regard to the Love of his Native Country, and his

Liberty, than for the Education he had receiv'd, and the Fidelity he owed his Master, went over to the *Indians*, and spoke to them in this manner. 'What is *His Har-* this, brave *Araucano's*! do you turn your *rango to* 'Backs when your Liberty is concern'd, *the Arau-* your Country, your Children, your Po- *cano's* sterity! either recover your Liberty, or 'lose your Lives; for 'tis a less Misfortune to die, than to live Slaves. Do 'you intend to stain the Glory of your 'Ancestors, acquir'd for so many Ages 'past, in one hour? Remember you are 'descended from those who gain'd that 'Renown by resisting their Enemies, and 'not flying from them, and such as fear'd 'not to lose both Lives and Fortunes to 'preserve their Fame: Drive away all 'Fear, generous Soldiers, and either live 'free or die. With these Words he so inflam'd the Minds of his Friends, that despising Death, they return'd with fury to invade those whom before they flew from: *Lautaro*, to encourage them the more, led them on, shaking his Lance against the Governor, his Master; who, surpriz'd at his Action, cryed, *Traitor, what doest thou do?* To which he answer'd only with a Thrust or two, animating his People to do the same. This renewed the Fight; and they all resolv'd, by the Example and Exhortations of *Lautaro*, to conquer or die, which they perform'd with so much fury, that the Concern of both sides was now at the highest, and the Contention only who should venture farthest into danger. Many *Spaniards* and *Indians* fell on both sides, and *Lautaro* still encouraged his Countrymen without any relenting. *Valdivia* did the same by the *Spaniards*, and shewed himself every where in the greatest danger, without the least apprehension, though he saw many of the bravest of his Men fall by the Sword.

One

Valdivia taken Prisoner.

One would have thought the *Indians* had but just begun to engage, to see how like Lyons they fell on, and begun to find Victory incline to their side, till at last there fell so many *Spaniards*, that *Valdivia* was almost left alone: In this Extremity he went aside with his Chaplain to Confess his Sins, that being the principal thing he had now to do: The *Indians* gave him but little time to make his Peace with Heaven; for a great Troop of them fell upon him with Darts and Lances, killing the Chaplain, and taking him Prisoner: They brought him alive to their General for the last Triumph of their Victory.

Valdivia  
taken Prisoner.

This hitherto unconquer'd Captain appear'd in the presence of the Great *Caupolican*, his Hands tied behind him as Captive, his Face all Bloody, though Venerable. He ask'd his Life as a favour: He who a little before had it in his power to grant it his Enemies: He turn'd his Eyes towards his *Lautaro*, and with their Language seem'd to desire him to intercede for him, who had been his Lord and Master, and by whose means he was in this extremity. He promis'd *Caupolican*, if he might have his Life, to withdraw all his Forces, and leave the Country free from their Encumbrance; he made Oath of this several times, and persuaded with so much eloquence his Hearers, that *Caupolican*, who was as Generous as Brave, began to relent and incline to Compassion: But the greatest part said it was Madness to trust to any Words or Promises of a Captive, who is forced to humble himself, but that when he should be free, he would do that that should be most for his advantage; however, the Dispute between them increas'd; and no doubt but *Lautaro* would have inclin'd to Mercy; for if he fought against his Master, it was not out of any

hatred to his Person, but out of the great kindness he had to his Country, which, with the desire of Liberty, prevail'd over the Gratitude he owed for the good Office he had receiv'd at his hands; but nothing of this was able to appease the Vulgar, though *Caupolican* inclin'd to Clemency; so they forc'd him to pronounce his Death, and to execute it immediately in hot Blood; though they differ'd in the manner of it; for some say that they powred melted Gold into his Mouth, bidding him once for all content his Thirst after that Metal which he had so insatiably cover'd; others say, that one of those *Caciques*, bearing impatiently that it should bear a Question, whether he should live or die, gave him a blow on the Head with a Club, which *Caupolican* resented highly, as a want of Respect to him. That which I find most probable is, that according to the Custom of the *Indians*, they made Flutes and Trumpets of the Bones of his Legs and Thighs, and kept his Head as a Testimony of so remarkable a Victory, and to animate their Youth to undertake the like Actions, as they might see by this, their Fathers had done. Thus I have heard it related.

Donle.  
1646.

He is slain  
by the Indians.

They make  
Flutes and  
Trumpets  
of his  
Bones.

Of all the *Spanish Army*, 'tis said there escap'd only Two *Indians* Friends, who taking advantage of the obscurity of the night, hid themselves in a Thicket, from whence creeping out as well as they could, they came to the *Conception*, and brought the News of this fatal Event. The City was immediately full of Confusion and Complaints, the Women crying and bewailing the loss of their Husbands and Sons, others that of their Fathers and Relations, and all together the common Calamity of their City, in which they were all equally concern'd.

Of all the  
Spanish  
Army, but  
Two escape.

## CHAP. XIX.

*What happened after the Death of the Governor Pedro de Valdivia.*

THE Enemy having obtain'd so remarkable a Victory, their General *Caupolican* commanded the Retreat to be Sounded, and call'd a Council, to consider whether or no it would be best to follow their Blow warmly. Many were of Opinion it would be most expedient to fall upon the Cities immediately, before they could prepare for them; yet *Caupolican*, after having heard them all, resolv'd to do otherwise: 'Tis better, said he, to expect our Enemies in our own homes,

than to go to seek them at theirs, where ever Men fight with more Valour; let them come to seek us in our Mountains and Bogs, where we are sure of a safe Retreat. Let us give our Enemies a free access to us, who have our Situation to befriend us; and in the mean time our Horses and Soldiers may refresh themselves: And if they, out of fear (which I believe they will not) do forbear to seek us out, we may attack them when we will. Having spoke thus, he took *Lautaro* by the Hand,

U

and

and having publickly commended him, by attributing to him the Victory and the Liberty of his Country, he, by consent of all, made him his Lieutenant General, and gave him leave to choofe out the Men he would have to serve under him, to go and pitch upon a fit Post to expect the *Spaniards* in. *Lautaro* was no very tall Man, but well-set and strong, Industrious, Cautious, of good Counsel, Gentle, and well Proportion'd, very Brave, as we have seen, and shall see hereafter.

To Celebrate this Victory, the *Indians* solemniz'd Publick Games, of Wrestling, Running, Leaping, and other Proofs of their Strength and Dexterity; they made also great Feasting with Dancings, and for several days did nothing but Rejoyce and be Merry, but still without forgetting to be upon their Guard, as Men that expected their Enemies, whom they presum'd desirous of Revenge.

*Francisco de Villagran* was Lieutenant General to *Valdivia* when he was kill'd, who remaining Chief in Command, assembled all he could to go and take Vengeance of the Enemy for this Defeat. Setting out, he came as far as *Arauco*; and being come to a high Mountain in the way, he found *Lautaro* on the top of it, with Ten thousand Men, without having sent out any to disturb the *Spaniard's* march; for he had left all the Passes easie, to oblige them to come to that place; it was not far from the Sea, which wash'd the foot of the Mountain on one side; the coming up on the other side was easie; all the rest was Precipice; but the top was a Plain fit to draw up in, and very proper for his design.

The *Spanish* General being in presence, the Armies began to draw up on both sides; and not to make the *Indians* too presumptuous, he order'd Three Troops of Horse to begin the Charge, in hopes to draw the *Indians* from their Post, but in vain; for though they made three attacks, yet *Lautaro* would not stir, but receiv'd them with Showers of Arrows, Stones, and Darts, which made them retire faster then they came on. Our People, who could not break this Battalion, with the evident danger of falling into Precipices, did what they could, but with little effect, only tiring their Horses; for the Enemy kept his Post, not a Man of them stirring out of his Rank; only *Lautaro* would permit some of the bravest, to go out and desie the *Spaniards* Body to Body. There came forth, among the rest, a brave Youth call'd *Curio*, who taking a long Carreer, would throw his

Lance with that dexterity, that he wounded many of the *Spaniards*; he did this seven times, and at the eighth, *Villagran*, being vex'd at his Importunate Boldness, commanded a famous Soldier call'd *Diego Lano*, to chastize the *Indians* Insolence, which he did, and it was all this high Courage and Strength could perform. The *Spaniards* seeing themselves tir'd, and that all the movement of their Horse signified little, and that the *Indians* were taking the Passes behind them, began to use their Small-shot, which at first made a great slaughter among the *Indians*: *Lautaro*, to remedy this Inconvenience, commanded *Lencaton*, one of his Captains, to attack the *Spaniards* on the Flank, and not to stop till he came up close with their Musketeers, that by this means mingling with them, they might avoid their Small-shot; which in that case could not be of any use to the *Spaniards*, without wounding their own Men too. This he observ'd, and they ever since have practis'd the same with good success; and without this Boldness, in which they always lose some Men, they would be much inferior to the *Spaniards*, they having no Fire Arms to use in the like manner: They shew in this their Invincible Courage, and undisturb'd Bravery, by which they make to themselves a defense of their own Enemies; for being once mingled with them, they cannot offend them, without destroying at the same time their own People.

The Fight on both sides was bravely maintain'd, *Lautaro* relieving and encouraging his Men, as *Villagran* did his, both of them doing the Parts both of General and Soldier, and exposing themselves to the greatest danger. He that signaliz'd his Valour most on our side, was the famous Captain *Pedro Olmos de Aquillera*, killing with his own Hand Four of the Chiefs of the *Indians*. Our Army was encourag'd with his Valour, which he inherited from that Noble Family so spread in *Andaluzia*: He was seconded by the *Bernales Pantoja's*, *Alvarado's*, and many others, who perform'd Wonders in this Battle, which was long continued, very Bloody, and in suspense to the last. The Enemy was much superior in strength to our Forces, and therefore the Victory began to incline to their side, for though *Villagran* the General, and some others, would rather have chose to die there with Honour, than turn their Backs, yet the greatest part judging that there was no Honour lost in a vigorous Retreat, and that it would be rashness to persist in so desperate a Case, they began to retire, fighting

And comes to a Battle with Lautaro.

Caupolican makes Lautaro his Lieutenant General. His Character.

Villagran marches to revenge Valdivia's Death.

And comes to a Battle with Lautaro.

The ard a se tim.

They fly from the Conception.



fighting and defending themselves; but the Enemy, elevated with this Success, followed close, and having knock'd Villagrán off his Horse, they had made an end of him, if he had not valiantly defended himself till Thirteen of his Men came to his relief.

*The Spaniards beaten a second time.*

These famous Commanders did not obtain less Glory in this Retreat, then if they had gain'd a Victory; for the Enemy following them for six Leagues together, being a Hundred to one, and having seiz'd upon most of the Passes, and the numbers still encreasing, yet the *Spaniards* made a noble defence, and kill'd many of them. Those who escap'd from this Engagement came with the sad News of the ill Success to the City of the *Conception*, which set all the Inhabitants in an uproar, mingled with Lamentations and Cries;

every one being in some measure concern'd in this Calamity; for between *Spaniards* and Friendly *Indians*, there died in this Engagement Two thousand five hundred. One would thought the day of Judgment had been come, to see the Confusion that was in the City upon this News; one laments the Death of his Father, another of her Husband; some cry for their Sons, some for their Brothers; the Women wring their Hands, pull off their Hair, fill the Air with lamentable Cries; the Children cling to their Parents, asking for their lost Fathers, which is more grievous to them than Daggers: In the midst of these Horrors Night came on, in which no one could shut their Eyes, for the memory of their Misfortunes keep the Soul attentive without any Consolation.

*Ovalle.*  
1646.

## CHAP. XX.

*Lautaro sacks the City of the Conception; and Caupolicán besieges the City of the Imperial, which is defended by the Queen of Heaven.*

Misfortunes seldom come alone; and so it happened to this afflicted City, which, instead of receiving Comfort from the approaching day, no sooner did it appear, when the noise of Drums and Trumpets gave a warm Alarm of the Enemies being at hand. Here the Confusion encreas'd; for now the Concern was not for the loss of others, but for every ones own safety, the danger threatening them so immediately; There was nothing but Disorder, no Counsel nor Resolution being to be found in the Wisest; They could not defend themselves, because they were so overpower'd in numbers by the Enemy; and the Retreat, though necessary, was difficult, because of the Approach of the *Indians*. In this hard Conflict, at last the Resolution that prevail'd, was, to abandon the City, without pretending to save any thing but their Lives. They leave the City then, and all the Gold they had got together in such quantities; they go out in long Files, the Mothers helping their little Children along: The way that they undertook was to the City of *St. Jago*, a long one, in which many Rivers were to be cross'd, and hard Passes to be gone thorough: This Labour was accompanied with the perpetual Fright of the Enemies pursuing them. Who can relate the Hardships of Hunger and other Sufferings through so long a Tract of Mountains, Deserts, and

*They fly from the Conception.*

uninhabited Countreys? How the Women, the Children, the Old Men, could bear this Fatigue, we must leave to Imagination, to represent the true Idea of these Misfortunes! Let us therefore return to the *Indians*. The *Spaniards* had hardly made an end of abandoning the City, when the *Indians* enter'd into it; and not being able to execute their Rage upon the Inhabitants, they did it upon the Houses, to which they set fire, and consum'd them to the very Foundation, killing even the very Animals which the *Spaniards* left behind them. Thus was lost the City most abounding in Gold, and situated in the most Populous part of the *Indian* Country; for 'tis said there were not less than a Hundred thousand *Indians*, with their Families, who were all employed in gathering Gold for the *Spaniards*, whom they enrich'd to that degree, that *Pedro de Valdivia*, if he had liv'd, would have had Fifty thousand Crowns of Gold a year, and others Twenty and Thirty thousand.

This burning of the City being over, News was brought, that *Caupolicán* had call'd a great Assembly in *Arauco*, which made *Lautaro* return with his People to be at it: When the Two Generals of the *Araucanos* met, they greeted one another for the Victories obtain'd over the *Spaniards*, and in Sign of Triumph, One hundred and thirty Caciques, all dress'd themselves in the *Spanish* Dress with the

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Clothes



~ Clothes they took from the *Spaniards* Ovalle. kill'd in the Battle. The General had 1646. *Valdivia's* Clothes, which were, as 'tis reported, of green Velvet laced with Gold Lace, a Back and Breaſt of well temper'd Steel, and a Helmet, with a great Emerald for Crest. All having ſeated themſelves in order by the General's Command, he propos'd to them the deſign of Conquering back all that was gain'd from them by the *Spaniards*, who now were ſo dejected with their Loſs: They all agreed to his deſire, every one delivering his Opinion with great Pride and Arrogance. 'Tis ſaid, that the Old and Prudent *Colocolo*, hearing them deliver their Opinions with ſo much Infolence and Preſumption, that it look'd as if all the World was too weak to reſiſt their Valour, humbled them a little, by putting them in mind, That if they had obtain'd Two Victories, the *Spaniards* had gain'd many more over them, and had made them ſerve as Slaves; therefore that they ought to behave themſelves with Moderation and Temper, that they might expect Succeſs from their Arms; and added, That it was his Opinion, that they ſhould divide their Forces into Three Parts, and at the ſame time aſſault the City of the *Imperial*.

*Pucbecalco*, a famous Conjuring Cacique, following the ſame thought of humbling the Intolerable Haughtineſs of the Aſſembly, told them, That they might give over their Preſumption, for he was to acquaint them, that having Conſulted his Oracles, they had answered him, that though at preſent they were ſo Victorious, yet at laſt they were to live under the *Spaniſh* Yoke in perpetual Slavery. The Cacique *Tucapel* could not bear to hear this, and riſing from his place, with his Mace of Arms gave him ſuch a Blow as took away his Life. The General was highly offend'd at this Infolence, and being reſolv'd to

chaziſe the Author of it, the whole Aſſembly was diſturb'd, and though they all endeavour'd to lay hold on the Murderer, yet he defended himſelf ſo well with his Mace of Arms, that it was not eaſie to ſeiſe him: But *Lautaro*, who had great Power with the General, made up the whole Buſineſs; and the Reſult of the Council being to beſiege the City of the *Imperial*, they immediately put it in Execution.

Their Army took its Poſts Three *Caupoli-* Leagues from the *Imperial*; which City, though it had a good Garrifon of brave Men, was not nevertheleſs prepar'd nor provided for a Siege with Ammunition and Victuals, becauſe the Enemies would have taken it if any had been ſent to it; but the Queen of Heaven deliver'd them from this great danger. The Enemies drawing near the City, there aroſe on a ſudden a mighty Storm of Hail and Rain, with black Clouds; and their *Epanamon* appear'd to them in form of a terrible Dragon, caſting out Fire at his Mouth, and his Tail curl'd up, bidding them make haſte, for the City was theirs, being unprovided; and that they ſhould enter it, and put to the Sword all the Chriſtians, and ſo diſappear'd: But as they were purſuing their deſign, animated by this Oracle, on a ſudden the Heavens clear'd up, and a very beautiful Woman appear'd upon a bright Cloud, and ſhewing them a Charming, but Majeltick and Severe Countenance, took from them the Pride and Haughtineſs inſpir'd into them by their firſt Viſion, commanding them to return to their own Homes, for God was reſolv'd to favour the Chriſtians; and they obeyed immediately. To which, the Author who reports this Story, adds, That the whole Camp ſaw the Apparition, which was on the 23d of April, and that all agree in this.

## C H A P. XXI.

*The City of the Conception is Rebuilt; and Lautaro having taken it a ſecond time, marches to take the City of St. Jago, where he dies.*

*The Conception rebuilt.*

THE *Spaniards* being in ſafety, began to think of returning to the *Conception*, and rebuilding of it. To this end they rais'd Men at *St. Jago*, and with great difficulty compaſs'd their Intention, making a good Fortrefs within the City for their better Security. The *Indians* of the Neighbourhood, though they were in their Hearts as averſe as any others to

be commanded by Strangers, and to let them build Cities in their Territories, diſſembled nevertheleſs at preſent, but in due time gave advice to *Arauco*, deſiring help to drive out theſe new Comers, or make an end of them at once. *Lautaro* came to them preſently, with a good Army; and ſome Companies of *Spaniard* ſecond which went out to encounter him, were forced

*Lautaro marches to beſiege St. Jago.*

*The Spaniards march to meet him.*

*Lautaro taken a ſecond time*

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forced to retire to the Fort they had made, in which they defended themselves as long as they were able to withstand the Force of *Lautaro*; but at last being overpower'd, they were forced to retire a second time to the City of *St. Jago*. Many *Spaniards* were lost, and *Lautaro* followed the Pursuit, in which many brave Actions were perform'd on both sides: Among the rest, a famous Indian Captain call'd *Rengo*, following Three *Spanish* Captains, who were retiring, call'd them Cowards, and said a hundred Insolent things to them; which mov'd one of them to attack him at the Passage of a River; but he secur'd himself by choos- ing a strong Post; so the *Spaniards* went on to *St. Jago*, and *Lautaro* retreated to *Arauco*, where great Rejoicings were made for this new Victory.

The *Indians* renewed their Meetings; and being much elevated with their Suc- cess, they came to a Resolution of not troubling themselves with the lesser Ci- ties, which they reckon'd as their own; but to attack the Capital of *St. Jago*.

*Lautaro*  
marches to  
besiege  
*St. Jago*.

*Lautaro* offer'd to undertake this Enter- prize; and choosing the most Warlike among them, he marched with a Power- ful Army: He pass'd the Rivers *Biobio*, *Itata*, *Maule*, and *Mataquito*; near this last he rais'd a Fort, to secure his Retreat, if need were, he being engag'd far from his own Territories.

When the News of this Resolution came to *St. Jago*, many look'd upon it as a Fable, not being capable of imagin- ing, that the *Indians* had boldness enough to march so far to attack them; but those who were come back from the City of the *Conception* undeceiv'd them, as knowing by Experience *Lautaro's* Courage; They therefore fortified the Place, and pro- vided it; They also sent out Parties to engage the Enemies, if the Occasion of- fer'd; but *Lautaro* forc'd them to return in haste to carry the News, and yet some remain'd behind too.

The Spa-  
niards  
march to  
meet him.

*Francisco de Villagran*, the Lieutenant General, was Sick at this time, and so sent his Cousin *Pedro de Villagran*, with all the Force he could make, to meet *Lautaro*; They lodg'd within half an hour from the Fort which the *Indians* had rais'd upon the *Rio Claro*; The next day they enter'd the Fort without any re- sistance, for *Lautaro* had cunningly or- der'd his Men to seem to fly, that he might catch the *Spaniards* in the Fort; and so, when he saw his time, he gave the Signal, and his Men fell on the *Spa- niards* like Lyons; who had enough to do

to make their Retreat, and escape from their Hands: The *Indians* followed them for a League, doing them much ill chief, though they defended themselves with great Valour. *Lautaro* leign'd a se- cond time to fly, and our People being reinforce'd, engag'd him afresh; they attack'd his Fort, and gave Three As- saults to it, where they were receiv'd with Showers of Arrows, Darts, and Stones, and at last forc'd to retire to a Valley; whence they design'd to return, and try their Fortune again: But *Lautaro* sav'd them the Trouble; for resolving to make an end of them all at once, and, in order to it, feigning that he wanted Provisions, he sent to our Camp to de- mand some: His Project was to let in a River upon the *Spaniards* Camp, which he could do conveniently, because it was already in Dams and Canals; and so having made a Marsh of the Ground where they lodg'd, so as they should not be able to stir, seize all the Passes behind them; but *Villagran* having discover'd this Stratagem, rais'd his Camp, and retir'd to *St. Jago*, to the great disappointment of the Enemy.

Yet this did not make *Lautaro* give over his Design; for considering that he could not attack *St. Jago*, which was well provided with Men and Ammu- nition, except he had a greater Strength, he rais'd a Fort in a Valley to cover himself, while his Succours should arrive, and enable him to attack *St. Jago*. Those of the City were making with great Care Preparations for their De- fence, and had sent for Succours to all the other Cities. Their General *Villa- gran* had sent out upon this Design, and making as if he was going to *Arauco*, had on a sudden march'd to the *Imperial*, from whence he brought many good Men away with him; and while *Lau- taro* was raising his Fort, *Villagran*, guided by an *Indian*, came swiftly and silently upon *Lautaro*, and attack'd his Fort: In

the first Assault that was given, *Lautaro* kill'd by an himself fell, wounded by an Arrow, which struck him in the Heart. Thus ended that Valiant Captain of the *Araucanos*. His Soldiers were not at all dis- courag'd with this Misfortune of their General, but rather enrag'd with such a Loss, and a desire to revenge his Death, they fell like Lyons upon the *Spaniards*, taking no Quarter at their Hands. There were on both sides great Actions per- form'd; but the Resolution of the *Indians* was the noblest in the World, preferring their Glory to their Lives, which they

Ovalle  
1646.

husbanded so little, that though they were  
*Ovalle* broke, and but few left in a Fighting  
 1664. Condition, yet they ran upon the *Spa-*  
*niard's* Lances, and with their Hands

pull'd them into their Bodies, to come  
 close to their Enemy, and revenge their  
 death with his, or at least dye in the at-  
 tempt.

## C H A P. XXII.

*Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza comes to the Government of Chile: What happened at his Arrival, and in the Engagement he had with the Araucanos.*

AFTER the death of *Pedro de Valdivia*, there was application made from *Chile* to the Viceroy of *Peru*, who is to provide a Governor till the King can send one, that is, both President and Governor Independent of *Peru*. The Viceroy at this time was *Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza*, Marquis of *Canete*, who Govern'd with great Zeal, and a Prudent Severity, making Exemplary Punishments where they were necessary; by which he secur'd the Country: He had then with him his Son *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, who afterwards succeeded him in his Viceroyship, with as much Applause and Esteem of the World. The Embassadors from *Chile* desir'd him of his Excellency, the Father, for their Governor, which he granted. King *Philip* the Second had appointed the *Adelantado Elyeronimo de Alderete*, to succeed the Governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, whose death was known at Court; but the News came likewise that *Alderete* was dead in the Island of *Taboga* near *Panama*. The Viceroy's Son having rais'd a good Body of Horse, sent some of them by Land with the Horses, and he embark'd with the rest; and after a hard Storm, in which they had like to have been all lost, he arriv'd in the Bay of the City of the *Conception*, and landed upon the Island of *Quiriquina*, to inform himself from thence of the State of the Country. The People of the Island, who were Fierce and Warlike, took Arms when they saw the Ships draw near the Harbour, and pretended to hinder the *Spaniards* from Landing; but having no Fire-Arms, as soon as the Cannon of the Ships began to fire, they gave way. As soon as the Governor Landed, he publish'd the Design of his coming, that the *Indians* might know it; which was, to save their Souls by the Predication of the Gospel, and reconcile them to God by the Means of Baptism; and to confer that Sacrament, he had with him Religious Men of the famous Orders of *St. Francis* and the *Merced*; That if they

would submit to that, he would Treat with them in the Name of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. This Declaration reach'd the Ears of the *Araucanos*, and there assembled at *Arauco* Sixteen Caciques, and many other Captains, to Treat about what was best for them to do in this Case; and though many Youthful and Arrogant Speeches were made, according to their usual Haughtiness, which made them despise all good Counsel and Peace, yet the Old and Prudent *Colocolo* restrain'd their Pride with Prudent Reasons, and persuaded them to Treat with the *Spaniards*, since they were by them invited to do it. It cannot hurt us, said he, to hear them; we shall have our Forces as strong still to maintain our Right, if they demand unjust things. This Opinion was follow- ed by the most Prudent among them, and they sent for their Ambassador the Cacique *Milalan*, a Man of great Rhetorick and Eloquence among them, giving him Order to Treat with the *Spaniards*, and observe well their Strength, and that he should shew Inclinations to Peace, to draw them to Land on the Continent, and forsake the Island; hoping that the desire of Gold, would tempt them to go further into the Country. *Milalan* came to the Governors Tent, and making a small but Civil Bow, Saluted him, and the other *Spaniards* that were with him; then with a Cheerful Countenance he deliver'd his Message. He said, That his Countrymen admitted the Terms of Peace that were propos'd, and should observe those of Friendship; not out of any Terror or Apprehension caus'd in them, by the arrival of these new Forces; for no Power was great enough to terrify them, having sufficiently experienc'd their Strength in the Success they had hitherto had; but what which mov'd them, was the Compassion they had for so many Innocent People, so many Women and Children, who upon occasion of this War, remain'd Widows and Orphans; That upon fair Terms they would own the

*Don Garcia, the new Governor of Chile, lands at Quiriquina.*

*He lands the Continent, and raises a Fort.*

*The Indians attack it.*

the King of Spain, upon condition that he did not concern himself any ways with their Liberty or Rights: That if they had any thought of acting by Violence, and making them Slaves, they would sooner eat their own Children, and kill themselves, than suffer it.

The Governor answer'd him with all Assurance of a good Treatment as they expected; and having made him some Presents, dispatch'd him back to give an Account of his Embassy. But this was not sufficient Security for either side; so they remain'd upon their Guard. The Indians, observing the Caution of the Spaniards, to give them more Security, feign'd to dismiss their Forces, but secretly gave them Orders to stand upon their Guard, and not lay down their Arms, but be ready upon any occasion that might happen: Yet the Spaniards for all this, did not think fit to Land upon the Continent, but stay'd two Months upon the Island where they first Landed, till the Winter was entirely over. About the Spring, they set on Shore about One hundred and thirty Men of the bravest among them, to raise a Fort, as they did upon the top of a Hill, which overlooks the City of Penco, (otherwise call'd the City of the Conception.) Under the Protection of this Fortrels, the rest of the Spaniards went out of the Island, hoping that in a little time, their Horses, which were coming by Land, would arrive, having some news of them; in the mean time, they cut Wood and Fascines to fortify their Camp; the Governor and the Commanders showing an Example to the rest, in the Labour of retrenching themselves, and cutting of Wood, as if they had never done any thing else all their Life time. They brought it to perfection in a little time, and planted upon it Eight Field-pieces, with all other necessary Provisions for their Defence.

The Araucanos, who were watching all their motions, no sooner saw them busy in their Fort, but without expecting any further proof of their Intentions, which they took to be for War, call'd immediately an Assembly, and with all their Strength came like Lions with a resolution to demolish the New Fort. They took up their Post at Talcahuano, about two miles from the Spaniard's Fort, and about break of Day they gave an Alarm; and having first challeng'd our many Spaniards to single Combat, they at last fell on in a Body with no more fear of the Cannon-Bullets, than if they had been of Cotton or Wool, knowing,

that though they receiv'd at first some Damage, it could last no longer than till the Battalions were engaged. With this Resolution they fell on like Lyons; and some of them got over the Fortifications; amongst whom was Tucapel, who did wonderful Actions. Neither were the Spaniards unprepar'd for them, doing extraordinary Things, which it were too long to describe in particular, though the Actions were such as very well deserve it.

The Spaniards, who were in the Island, and aboard the Ships, hearing of the danger of their Companions, came to their Assistance; and by the help of God, who aided them, join'd their Friends; and then, thus united, they began to prevail over the Araucanos; who finding themselves Inferior, and having lost many of their bravest Men, began to retreat, all but Tucapel, who having stay'd last, and being sorely wounded, yet made his escape from the Spaniards, whom he left full of admiration of his Valour and Resolution.

About this time, the Horses which came from St. Jago arriv'd, and with them a Troop of good Horsemen from the Imperial. The Enemies muster'd all their Forces, and the Spaniards went to seek them out in the Valley of Arauco, where they had another very bloody Engagement: The Araucanos fled, or rather retir'd; and the Spaniards having taken one Prisoner, call'd Gualbarino, they, in order to terrifie the rest, cut off both his Hands; but the Araucanos were so far from being terrified by it, that this enrag'd them the more; for Gualbarino himself being return'd to his Countrymen, went up and down begging them to revenge the Injury done to him, which they all look'd upon as their own. Caupolican their General, sent to challenge the Governor Don Garcia with all his Strength, telling him, that he would stay for him in his Camp, which he mov'd near the Spanish Camp which was at Millarapue. He came over night, and the next Day presented them Battel, which was as well disputed as the rest; both sides fighting with Extreme Valor. The Indians prest the Spaniards so hard, that Victory, had declar'd for them, had not a Spanish Battalion, in which alone remain'd all the Spaniards Hopes, charg'd so desperately amongst the Indians, that they were forc'd to retire, and leave the Field to the Spaniards; but their Retreat was with great Honour and Reputation. 'Tis related, that in this Engagement, some of the Neighbouring Indians were made Prisoners, and that though they were put to

Ovalle.  
1646.

And are  
beaten off.

The new  
Governor  
reinforced.

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~ a most exquisite Torture, to force them  
 Ovalle. to reveal something that the *Spaniards*  
 1646. wanted to know; yet they remain'd  
 ~ constant and true to their Country, as if  
 they had been Insensible of Pain. The  
*Spaniards* had here a considerable advantage; for, besides many dead Enemies, whom they left upon the spot, they took Twelve Prisoners of the chief among the *Indians*, whom they hang'd upon so many Trees for an Example to the rest; and among them, that same *Gualbarino*, who not only showed in dying an Intrepid Mind, but encourag'd the others; and amongst the rest, a *Cacique*, who began to fear and beg his Life, to whom *Gualbarino*, spoke before all, with so much Haughtiness, taxing his base Cowardice, as if he had been the Conqueror and not the Conquered, which struck the *Spaniards* with such Admiration, that they were beside themselves.

From this place, our Camp march'd to the Valley where *Valdivia* was lost. Here the *Spaniards* rais'd a good Fort, from whence they made their Excursions upon the Enemy, endeavouring to advance their Conquests, but not without danger of being often cut off; particularly the

hazard they ran at a narrow Pass, caus'd by the Mountains on the way to *Pared*, where they were attack'd by the *Indians*, and very hard set by them, whom they might have destroy'd if they had not fallen to plunder the Baggage; for a Company of *Spaniards* observing this Misfortune, seiz'd on a spot on the top of a Hill, from whence with their small shot, they so gall'd the *Indians* below, that they fled in Confusion to avoy'd such a Tempest, leaving the *Spaniards* Masters of the Field, but much weakened: Having been sorely handled in this Encounter, they retir'd to their Camp, where they were receiv'd with great demonstration of Joy. After this, leaving a good Garrison in the Fort, well provided for two Months, the Governor went to visit the other Cities to strengthen them, and provide them with Necessaries against all Attacks, which they had reason to fear; for *Caupolican* enrag'd, that in three Months he had lost three Victories, had call'd a general Assembly, where it was resolv'd never to give over, but either Die or Conquer, that they might drive out the *Spaniards*, and restore their Country to its Liberty.

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### C H A P. XXIII.

#### More Events of War. The Death and Conversion of Caupolican.

**C** *Caupolican* followed his Designs, but fortune seem'd to be weary of afflicting him; for in most Rencontres, he came off either worsted, or entirely defeated, and the Victory snatch'd out of his Hands when he thought him self sure of it; this made his People begin to grow weary of his Command; and the Vulgar began to censure his Conduct as too remiss, and that the Desire of preserving his Power, and being General, made him neglect Opportunities of putting an end to the War.

*Caupolican* being inform'd of these Suspicions of his own People, call'd a new Assembly, in which he propos'd Methods of carrying on the War, so as they might obtain an entire Liberty. This was unanimously agreed too, with a firm Resolution of not giving it over till they either conquer'd or died. This Resolution coming to the knowledge of the Governor *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, who was gone, as we have seen, to the City of the Imperial, to fortify it, he dispatch'd to the Fort Advice of what pass'd and sent them a competent Relief.

Amongst other Designs pitch'd upon by *Caupolican*, the first was to surprize the *Spaniards* in their Forts by a Stratagem, before they were aware of him, and so master the Place. The other Captains of Reputation, *Rengo*, *Orompello*, and *Tucapel*, who were us'd to lead always the Vanguard, did not approve of his Project, and so let him go by himself with his own Forces; they scorning, as they said, to obtain a Victory by Fraud or Surprize. *Caupolican* set out then by himself, and being come within three Leagues of the *Spanish* Forts, he sent out his Spies to observe their Disposition, and how they might be easiest circumvented. He chose out for this purpose one of his best Captains, whose name was *Pran*, a cunning Sagacious Man, and prudent, with a great deal of ready Wit. This Captain disguis'd himself; and putting on the Habit of an ordinary *Indian*, he went alone, and without Arms, as a private Person, to the Forts of the *Spaniards*. He Enter'd the Fort without suspicion, or being known by the other friendly *Indians*, with whom

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whom he soon grew acquainted; and walking up and down, he observed our Camp and Forces, and took particular notice of the time of Day that our Men us'd to be least upon their Guard, which was generally at Noon, when they went to Sleep, to repair their Strength which was wasted by their Night-watches.

Pran, an Indian Spy, forms a Design against the Spaniards.

There was in the Spanish Fort a young Indian (not like Lautaro, in whom the love of his Country prevail'd over his Duty to his Master;) but of another temper; his Name was Andres, Servant to a Spanish Gentleman, and very much inclined to all the Spanish Nation. Pran had made a great Friendship with this Young Man; and one Day, as they were going together in the Fields to seek out some Provision, as they us'd to do, talking from one thing to another, Pran discover'd himself entirely to his Friend Andres; persuading him to help on the design he came about, since upon its Success the Liberty of the whole Nation depended. Andres, who was not less sagacious and prudent than Pran, promis'd him all he could desire; but dissembled all the while. This being settled, they agreed, that each of them should return home to his Camp, and that the next Day Andres should come to a certain Post they agreed on, and there Pran should meet him, and carry him to Caupolican's Quarters, where he might settle all Matters with him. Pran went back to the Indians Camp, overjoyed that he had succeeded so well, as he thought: He gave a particular account of all the business to Caupolican, while Andres did the same to Captain Reynoso, who commanded in the Spanish Fort. If God Almighty had not by this way deliver'd the Spaniards out of this Eminent Danger, they must have perish'd; for naturally Andres ought to have been of the side of his own Country-men.

But it turns to the Ruine of the Indians.

According to what had been agreed between them, Andres came the next Day to the Assignment, where he met his Friend Pran; and they went together to Caupolican, who receiv'd him with all Demonstrations of Joy and Confidence, showing him his Camp and all his Army; the Result was, that he should assault the Spaniards the next Day about Noon. Andres went back to the Spaniards to inform them of all that pass'd; and by that, Captain Reynoso knew how to dispose every thing to receive the Attack. Caupolican came at the time appointed with all his Indians; the Greatest part of which were suffer'd to enter, the Spaniards making as if they were asleep; but on a sudden, up-

on a Sign given, they rose up like Lyons, and making a furious Discharge on those enter'd, the Horse Sallied to engage those who had remain'd without, of whom they made a great Slaughter. The Surprize of the Indians was so great, that few of them could make their Escape; but Caupolican, with Ten more, sav'd himself by By paths, though he was hotly pursued; the Indians that were overtaken still denying they knew any thing of him, and neither Threats nor Gifts could oblige them to reveal what they might know more.

But it being very hard, there should not be one Traytor among many Loyal men, the Spaniards light at last upon one of his Souldiers, who was discontented that he had not been advanc'd according to his Pretensions, who betrayed them where he was; this Man guided them by a secret Path to a Place where they could not be discover'd; and from thence showed them a very thick Wood, about nine Miles from Ongolmo, where in a Thicket by a River side, over a precipice, this brave Man had hid himself till he could get a new Army, and rally his Men.

The Spaniards came upon him on a sudden, and surpris'd him with the few that were with him; and though he did all that was in his power to defend himself, yet they master'd him. His Wife seeing him a Prisoner, and his Hands tyed behind him, call'd him Coward, and us'd all the opprobrious Language to him that was possible.

Caupolican was deserv'dly among the Indians the most valued of their Generals; and accordingly, in an Assembly of Sixteen Caciques, all Sovereign Lords, who met to raise an Army against the Spaniards, he had the chief Command given him. This was the Man who, with Four-score bold Fellows, surpris'd the Castle of Arauco, and overcame the Spaniards in a bloody Encounter without the City Walls. This was he who durst expect the General Valdivia in open Field, and routed him and his whole Army, so as there was not one Spaniard left alive. This was he who destroy'd Puren, and sack'd Penco, not leaving one Stone upon another in it; the Spaniards having been all frighted away by the terror of his Name. This in fine was the Man who manag'd all the War with such Success, by his Military Skill and Valour, that his Authority was every where respected. This great Man was now, by the means of a Traitor, deliver'd up to his most cruel Enemies. In

X this



*Ovalle.* this Calamity, he shewed no Baseness; for though he beg'd his Life, it was in a grave way; promising in return to cause all the Country to submit to the King of *Spain*, and to give way to introduce the Christian Religion. Consider, said he to Captain *Reynoso*, That what I promise, I am able to perform, by the great Veneration that all my People have for me; and if thou dost not accept of this Proffer, thou wilt do nothing; since for one Head taken away, there will rise up a hundred *Cauculicans* to revenge my Death, that the true one will not be milled; I desire not to be set at Liberty, but to remain thy Prisoner till I perform my Promise.

*His Speech*

All these Reasons were of no use to *Cau-*

*polican*; for he was publicly Sentenced to be empal'd alive, and shot to death with Arrows, for a Terror to the Rest of the *Indians*; though as time has since shewed, this had no other Effect than to light the Fire of War more and more, and make the Wound almost incurable. He heard this hard Sentence without any alteration in his Countenance; but he desir'd with great concern to be baptiz'd. The Priests are sent for, and after a short Instruction he receives the Holy Abution, and the Character of a Christian: Alter this, the Sentence was executed upon him, which he endur'd with great Constancy.

*He is Sen-  
tenced;*

*Baptized,*

*And Ex-  
cuted.*

## The Conclusion.

THOUGH Father *Ovalle* has continued in the remainder of his Treatise to give an Account of the Various Events of the War with the *Araucano's*, in which Narrative he runs through the Commands and Actions of all the Governours of *Chile*, to the Peace made with that Nation; yet it being by him more a piece of Courtship to his Nation, and to those Families, than an Information instructive to a Foreign Reader, it has been thought proper to

take the Death of that Great General *Cauculican* for the first natural Period of that War. In the course of the remaining Narrative, there are so many superstitious Notions inculcated, so many improbable Miracles given for the Foundation of Great Enterprises, and such a Monkish Spirit runs through the Work, that here in *England* it would rather prejudice than recommend the Impression; and is therefore omitted.

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# Sir William Monſon's

## NAVAL

## TRACTS:

### IN SIX BOOKS.

CONTAINING,

1. *A Yearly Account of the Engliſh and Spaniſh Fleets, during the War in Queen Elizabeth's time; with Remarks on the Actions on both ſides.*
2. *Actions of the Engliſh under King James the Firſt, and Diſcourſes upon that Subject.*
3. *The Office of the Lord High Admiral of England, and of all the Miniſters and Officers under him; with other Particulars to that purpoſe.*
4. *Discoveries and Enterprizes of the Spaniards and Portugueſes; and ſeveral other remarkable Paſſages and Obſervations.*
5. *Divers Projects and Stratagems, tender'd for the good of the Kingdom.*
6. *Treats of Fiſhing to be ſet up on the Coaſt of Eng'land, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Benefit that will accrue by it to all His Majeſty's Three Kingdoms: With many other things concerning Fiſh, Fiſhing, and Matters of that Nature.*

The Whole from the Original Manuſcript;  
Never before Published.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. and J. Churchill. 1703.

# T H E P R E F A C E.

**H**AVING had the Perusal of these Naval Tracts of Sir *William Monson*, as well to compare Two Copies together, and supply the Defects of the one out of the other, as to correct what might be found in them amiss, either through the negligence of Transcribers, or the Author's want of time to revise his Work, yet without presuming to alter Sir *William's* Sense or Design in the least, but only to make the whole fit for the Press; I thought it necessary to give the Reader some little Information concerning the Work, before he enters upon it; but with that Brevity, which I have always affected, when any thing has appear'd abroad under my own Name; and which I am much more inclin'd to, being to speak of what must give Praise or Dispraise to another, and not to me, who am no way concern'd in it.

Some nice Persons will, perhaps, at the first Reading of this Work, find fault with the Language, and wonder that Sir *William*, who was a Gentleman by Birth, and so great a Man as an Admiral, should answer their expectation so little in that particular. I cannot, I must confess, vindicate the Language; but it was not my Province to alter it: And as for the Author, it must be consider'd, that tho' born a Gentleman, he spent most of his time at Sea, a very unfit School for a Man to improve his Language. For the same reason we may suppose he was not much a Scholar, but of excellent natural Parts, and a great Master of the Art he profess'd, as will sufficiently appear by this Work, and is enough to recommend it. Besides, we must not expect that the Days of Queen *Elizabeth* could form a Man to the Language of our time; and tho' Sir *William* liv'd till the Civil War in the Reign of King *Charles* the First, it is to be observ'd, that he was then in his declining Age, when for the most part Men rather mind what they say, than how they say it.

The Work therefore, tho' perhaps not so pleasing in Style as some might desire, is correct and clear from abundance of Oversights, which, as I said before, had either crept in through the fault of Transcribers, or for want of the Author's due revising it. Nor was it proper to alter the Style, but to allow the Author to deliver himself in his own way; for should discerning Persons find Sir *William Monson* speak the Language of this time precisely, having never before appear'd in Print; they might be rather apt to believe these Tracts supposititious, than his own lawful offspring.

There is another thing, which perhaps will seem unpardonable, and not without just cause, if Judges be rigorous; and is, That there are some Mistakes, or to speak plainly, Falshoods to be found in these Tracts. What I can say to this, is, That they are most, if not all, in things then not better known; as for instance, the Affairs of the *East* and *West Indies*, concerning which, many extravagant Stories were formerly told, which Time and Experience have disprov'd: Besides, we must not be too rash in supposing every thing false, which does not seem probable to us; for there might be many Accidents, or Occurrences in those days, which might be really true and undoubted, tho' to us they seem preposterous and strange. And it is further to be observ'd, that these Errors are not in things whereon the Credit of the subject Matter depends, but only in such as fall in by the by, and wherein Sir *William* was either impos'd upon by Authors, then in Credit, or by living Persons, whose Reputation might be untainted.

I will not pretend to give a Character of the Author, or more of his Work, which every Reader has as much Right to judge of, as my self, and perhaps, is better able, what little I have said, as to those Two Points above, is not to Apologize for the Work, or to prepossess the Reader, but only to prevent his being too hasty in condemning; because some Men are naturally so precipitate, that they are apt to take a prejudice to a Book upon the first dislike; which they may afterwards, upon second Thoughts, and more mature Deliberation, find both Useful and Delightful. Nor is there any need to give an Account what the Work is, as I thought once to have done; because it would be a needless Repetition of the Contents, in which every Man may at one view see the Heads of all these Tracts; besides that every Book has a short Argument, yet sufficient to shew what it Treats of.

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*Sir William Monson to his Eldest Son.*

Dear Son,

THE Custom of Dedicating Books is ancient, and they have been usually Dedicated either to Great Persons, for Protection or Reward; or to Acquaintance, out of Friendship and Affection; or to Children, out of Natural Love, and for their Instruction. And to this end it is, I commend the reading of the following Discourse to you; that so beholding the 18 years War by Sea, which for want of years you could not then remember; and comparing them with the 18 years of Peace, in which you have liv'd, you may consider Three things. First, That after so many Pains and Perils, God has lent Life to your Father to further your Education. Secondly, What proportion his Recompence and Rewards have had to his Services. Lastly, What just Cause you have to abandon the Thoughts of such dangerous and uncertain Courses; and that you may follow the ensuing Precepts, which I recommend to your frequent Perusal.

In the first place, I will put you in mind of the small Fortune I shall leave, that you may rate your Expences accordingly; and yet as little as it is, 'tis great to me, in respect I attain'd to it by my own Endeavours and Dangers, and therefore no body can challenge Interest in it but my self, though your Carriage may claim the best Title to it.

Beware you presume not so much upon it, as to grow disobedient to your Parents; for what you can pretend to, is but the Privilege of Two years of Age above your younger Brother; and in such Cases Fathers are like Judges, that can and will distinguish of Offences and Deserts according to Truth, and will Reward and Punish as they shall see cause.

And because you shall know it is no rare or new thing for a Man to dispose of his own, I will lay before you a Precedent of your own House, that so often as you think of it, you may remember it with Fear, and prevent it with Care.

Your Grandfather's great Grandfather was a Knight by Title, and *John* by Name, which Name we desire to retain to our Eldest Sons; God blessed him with many Earthly Benefits, as Wealth, Children, and Reputation; his Eldest Son was call'd *John*, after his Father, and his Second *Wil-*

*liam*, like to your self and Brother; but upon what displeasure I know not, (though we must judge the Son gave the occasion) his Father left him the least part of his Fortune, yet sufficient to equal the best Gentleman of his Shire, and particularly the ancient House call'd after his Name. His other Son *William* he invest'd with what your Uncle now enjoys. Both the Sons whilst they liv'd carried the Port and Estimation of their Father's Children, though afterwards it fell out that the Son of *John*, and Nephew to *William*, became Disobedient, Negligent, and Prodigal, and spent all his Patrimony; so that in conclusion he and his Son extinguish'd their House, and there now remains no Memory of them. As for the Second Line and Race, of whom your Uncle and I descended, we live as you see, though our Estates be not great, and of the Two mine much the least; which notwithstanding is the greater to me, in respect I achiev'd it with the Peril and Danger of my Life; and you will make my Satisfaction in the Enjoyment of it the greater, if it be attended with that Comfort I hope to receive from you.

The next thing I will handle shall be Arms. Know that Wars by Land or Sea are always accompanied with infinite Dangers and Disasters, and seldom Rewarded according to Merit: For one Soldier that lives to enjoy that Preference which becomes his Right by Antiquity of Service, ten thousand fall by the Sword and other Casualties: And if you compare that of a Souldier with any other Calling or Profession, you will find much difference both in the Reward and Danger.

Though Arms have been esteem'd in all Ages, and the more as there was greater occasion to use them; yet you shall find they have been always subject to Jealousies and Envy: Jealousies from the State, if the General or other Officer grow great and popular: subject to Envy from Inferiours, who through their perverse and ill Dispositions, malign other Men's Merits.

The Advancement of Soldiers is commonly made by Councillors at Home, whose Eyes cannot witness the Services perform'd abroad; but a Man is advanc'd as he is behinded, which makes the Soldier's Preference as uncertain as his Life is casual.

Compare the Condition and Advancement of Soldiers of our time but with the

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mean and mercenary Lawyer, and you shall find to great a difference, that I had rather you should become Apprentice to the one, than make Profession of the other.

A Captain that will seek to get the love of his Soldiers, as his greatest Praise and Felicity, of all other Vices must detest and abandon Covetousness; he must live by spending as the Miser does by sparing; inasmuch as few of them can obtain by War wherewith to maintain themselves in Peace; and where Wealth is wanting Preferment fails.

Soldiers that live in Peaceable Islands, as in *England*, are undervalu'd, because we see not those Dangers which make them necessary, as others do where Wars are practis'd. And the good Success in our Wars has been such, as makes us attribute our Victories, not so much to Valour as to Chance.

I confess the base and ill Behaviour of some Soldiers, has made them and their Profession the less esteem'd; for the Name of a Captain, which was ever wont to be Honourable, is now become a Word of Reproach and Disdain.

Soldiers may have Reputation, but little Credit; Reputation enough to defend their Honours, but little Trust in Commerce of the World; and not without cause, for their Security is the worse, by how much the danger of Death is the greater.

Learning is as much to be preferr'd before War, as the Trade of a Merchant before that of the Factor. By Learning you are made sensible of the difference betwixt Men and other Creatures, and will be able to judge between the good and the bad, and how to walk accordingly. By Learning you attain to the knowledge of Heavenly Mysteries, and you may frame your Life accordingly, as God shall give you grace. By Learning you are made capable of Preferment, if it concur with Virtue and Discretion; and the rather, because you are a Gentleman by Birth, and well Ally'd, which I observe next to Money, in this Golden Age, is the second Step to Preferment.

For one that is preferred by Arms, there are twenty by Learning; and indeed the Soldier is but a Servant to the Learned, for after his many fought Battles, and as many Dangers of his Life, he must yield Account of his Actions, and be judg'd, corrected, and advanc'd as it shall please the other.

You may wonder to hear me extol Learning to high above my own Profession, considering the poor Fortune I shall leave as achiev'd by Arms; it is enough therefore to persuade you what I say is not

conjectural but approved: for if I did not find this difference, the Natural Affection of a Father to a Son would make me to discover it to you, that you may follow that which is most probable and profitable.

Good Son, love Soldiers for your Country's sake, who are the Defenders of it; for my sake, who have made Profession of it; but shun the Practice of it as you will do Brawls, Quarrels, and Suits, which bring with them Perplexities, and Dangers.

There are many things to be shunn'd, as being perillous both to Body and Soul; as Quarrels and the occasions of them, which happen through the enormities and abuses of our Age. Esteem Valour as a special Virtue, but shun Quarrelling as a most detestable Vice. Of Two Evils it were better to keep Company with a Coward than a Quarreller; the one is commonly Sociable and Friendly, the other Dangerous in his Acquaintance, and offensive to Standers by. He is never free from Peril, that is conversant with a Quarrellsome Person, either for Offence given to himself, or to others, wherein he may be engag'd.

A true Valiant Man will have enough to do to defend his own Reputation, without engaging for others: nor are all Valiant that will Fight, therefore Discretion makes a difference betwixt Valour and Desperateness. Nothing can happen more unfortunate to a Gentleman, than to have a Quarrel, and yet nothing so ordinary as to give Offence; it draws with it many Mischiefs both to Body and Soul. Being Slain he is in danger of Damnation, and no less if he Kill the other, without great Repentance. He shall perpetually live in danger of Revenge from the Friends of the Party kill'd, and fall into the Mercy of the Prince and Law where he lives; but if for Fear and Baseness he avoid and shun a Quarrel, he is more odious living than he would be unhappy in dying.

Drinking is the Foundation of other Vices, it is the cause of Quarrels, and then Murders follow. It occasions Swearing, Whoredom, and many other Vices depend upon it.

When you behold a Drunkard, imagine you see a Beast in the Shape of a Man. It is a Humour that for the time pleases the Party Drunk, and so bereaves him of Sense, that he thinks all he does delights the Beholders; but the next day he buys his Shame with Repentance, and perhaps gives that Offence in his Drunkenness, that makes him hazard both Life and Reputation in a Quarrel. No Man will brag or boast so much of the World Reputation

as a Drunkard, when indeed there is nothing more to a Man's Imputation than to be Drunk.

A Drunkard is in the Condition of an Excommunicated Person, whose Testimony betwixt Party and Party is of no validity. Avoid (good Son) the Company of a Drunkard, and Occasions of Drinking, then shall you live free without Fear, and enjoy your own without Hazard.

Whoredom is an Incident to Drunkenness, though, on the contrary, all Whoremasters are not Drunkards. It is a Sin not walk'd away without the Vengeance of God to the Third and Fourth Generation.

Besides the Offence to God, it gives a Disreputation to the Party and his Offspring: it occasions a Breach betwixt Man and Wife, encourages the Wife very often to follow the ill Example of her Husband, and then ensues Dislike, Divorce, Disinheriting of Children, Suits in Law, and Consuming of Estates.

The next and worst Sin I would have you shun is Swearing. I do not advise you like a Puritan, that ties a Man more to the observing of Sundays, and from taking the Name of God in vain, than to all the rest of the Commandments: but I wish you to avoid it for the greatness of the Sin it self, for the Plague of God hangs over the House of the Blaphemer. Swearing is odious to the Hearers, it gives little Credit to the Words of him that uses it, it affords no Pleasure as other Sins do, nor yields any Profit to the Party; Custom begets it, and Custom must make one leave it.

For your Exercises, let them be of Two Kinds, the one of Mind, the other of Body; that of the Mind must consist of Prayer, Meditation, and your Book; let your Prayers be twice a day, howsoever you dispose of your self the rest of the time; Prayers work a great effect in a Contrite and Penitent Heart.

By this I do not seek to persuade you from such Exercises and Delights of Body as are lawful and allowable in a Gentleman; for such increase Health and agility of Body, make a Man sociable in Company, and draw good Acquaintance; many times they bring a Man into Favour with a Prince, and prove an Occasion of Preferment in his Marriage; they are often a Sateguard to a Man's Life, as is vaulting suddenly upon a Horse to escape an Enemy.

I will especially commend to you such Pleasures as bring Delight and Content

without Charge; for others are fitter for Greater Men, than one of your Fortune to follow.

Hawking and Hunting, if they be moderately us'd, are like Tobacco, in some Cases wholetem for the Body, but in the common use both laborious and loathsome; they alike bring one inconvenience, (as commonly Vices do) that they are not so easily left as entertain'd.

Tobacco is hot and hurtful to young Bodies and Stomachs, and augments the heat of the Liver, which naturally you are subject to. It is offensive to Company, especially the Breath of him that takes it; it dries the Brain, and many become Fools with the continual use of it.

Let your Apparel be Handsom and Decent, not Curious nor Costly. A Wiseman is more esteem'd in his Plain Cloth than Gay Cloathing. It is more commendable to be able to buy a rich Suit than to wear one. A Wiseman esteems more of a Man's Vertues and Valour than of his Apparel; but seeing this Age is Fantastical and Changeable, you must fashion your self to it, but in so mean and moderate a manner, as to be rather Prais'd for Frugality, than Derided for Prodigality.

He that delights in Curious Cloaths is an Imitator of a Player, who measures his Apparel by the Part he Acts. And as Players appear upon the Stage to be seen of the Spectators, so do the Gallants expose their Bravery in open Assemblies.

Whil'st I live and you do not Marry, I shall temper this Expence; but when I die remember what I say, seek Advancement rather by your Carriage than Gaity; the Reputation you gain by that will be lasting, when this will appear but like a Flower fading.

Frame your Course of Life to the Country and not to the Court; and yet make not your self such a Stranger to Great Persons, as in Assemblies they should ask others who you are. I confess the greatest and suddenest Rising is by the Court; yet the Court is like a hopeful and forward Spring, that is taken with a sharp and cold Frost, which nips and blasts a whole Orchard except 2 or 3 Trees; for after that proportion commonly Courtiers are preferr'd. And he that will thrive at Court must make his Dependency upon some great Person, in whose Ship he must imbarque all his Hopes; and how unfortunate such great Persons are oftentimes themselves, and how unthankful to their Followers, we want not Precedents.

He that settles his Service upon one of them, shall fall into the dislavour of another; for a Court is like an Army ever in War, striving by Stratagems to circumvent and kick up one anothers Heels. You are not ignorant of the aptness of this Comparison by what you know of me, whose Case will serve you for a Prospective-glass, wherein to behold your Danger at a distance, the better to prevent it. Yet Reverence Lords because they are Noble, and one more than another, as he is more notable in Virtue.

Be choice of your Company; for as a Man makes election of them he is censur'd: Man lives by Reputation, and that failing he becomes a Monster. Let your Company consist of your own Rank, rather better than worse; for hold it for a Maxim, *The better Gentleman the more gentle in his Behaviour.*

Beware they be not accus'd of Crimes, for that may touch you in Credit; and if you lose your Reputation in the Bud of your Youth, you shall never recover it in the whole Course of your Life. Let them be Civil in Carriage, for commonly such Men are sensible above all; Let them be Learned, for Learning is a Fountain from whence springs another Life; Let them be Temperate in Diet and Expence, for shall you learn to live in Health, and increase in Wealth.

Beware they be not Cholerick in Disposition, or Arrogant in Opinion; for if so, you will become a Slave to their Humours, and Bafe by Suffering. A Cholerick Man of all others is the worst Companion, for he cannot temper his Rage, but on any slight Occasion of a Friend becomes an Enemy. Value true Friendship next to Marriage, which nothing but Death can Dissolve; for the sickness of Friendship is often the ruine of ones Fortune.

Beware of Gaming, for it causes great vexation of Mind. If you lose, it begets in you that Humour, that out of hope of regaining your Losses, you will endanger the loss of all. Do not presume too much of your Skill in Play, or making Wagers, as if you were Excellent above others, or Love Fortune at Command; for she is like a Whore, variable and inconstant, and when she disfavours you, it is with more loss at once than the recompences at twice.

Love your Brother and Sisters for their own sakes, as you are bound by Nature, but especially for mine, whole they are. Remember you are all indifferent to me, but that God chose you from the rest to

be a Strength and Stay to them; thank you cannot Honour your Father more being dead, than in showing Affection to them he dearly lov'd; and nothing will more approve you to be mine, than Love and Kindness amongst your selves. You owe somewhat more to me than that I am your Father, in that I seek your Advancement above theirs, of which Obligation I will acquit you, conditionally you perform what you ought to them. For because Man cannot limself live ever he desires to live in his Posterity; and if I had an hundred Sons, my greatest Hope must depend upon you as you are my Eldest; and seeing my Care is for you above the rest, do not make my Memory so unhappy, as to give the World occasion to say, I left an unnatural Son. The only request I make is, be kind and loving to them, who I know by their Disposition, will give you no cause of offence. A Discourteise from you will be as sharp to them as a Razor from another.

Be Counteous and Friendly to all, for Men are esteem'd according to their Carriage. There is an old Proverb, *The countenance of the Mouth is of great value, and costs little.* A Proud Man is envied of his Equals, hated by his Inferiours, and scorn'd by his Superiours, so that he wixt Envy, Hate, and Scorn, he is Friendless.

Many times a Man is condemn'd to Death out of Presumption, especially when it concurs with an Opinion of his former ill Carriage: How much therefore does it concern a Man in the times of his Prosperity to lay up a stock of Love and Reputation?

There cannot be a greater Honour than to gain a Man's Enemy by a Courtship; it far exceeds the Kindness that is done to another, and doubly obliges him that receives it. Love is a thing desired by a King from his Subjects, by a General from his Soldiers, and by a Master from his Servants; he that has it is rich by it, it maintains Peace in time of Peace, and is a safe Bulwark in time of War.

Do not buy this Love with the Ruine of your Estate, as many do with Prodigal Expences, and then are requir'd with Pity and Derision. Let your Expence be agreeable to the wearing of your Cloaths, better or worse according to Company; or the Journeying your Horse, the less way you go to day, you may Travel the further to morrow; but if you go every day a long and wearisome Journey, your Horse will fail, and you be forc'd to go a foot. And so will it be in your Expences, if you do not moderate them according to

Days

Days and Companies, your Horse and you may Travel fairly together.

If you are Prodigal in any thing, let it be in Hospitality, as most agreeable to the Will of God; you shall Feed the Hungry, Relieve the Poor, and get the Love of the Rich. What you spend among your Neighbours is not lost, but procures their Love and Helps when you have need, and thereby you shall find Friendship in the Country as available as Favour at Court.

If you are call'd to any Place of Magistracy, do Justice with Pity, Revenge not your self of your Enemy under colour of Authority, for that shews Bateness, and will procure you Hatred. In Money Matters favour your Country, if it be not against the present Profit of the King, for many times his Name is us'd for the Gain of other Men.

Study the Laws, not to make a Mercenary Practice of them, but only for your own use, the good of your Neighbours, and the Government of your Country. Hold the Laws in reverence next to the King; for that Kingdom is well govern'd where the King is rul'd by the Laws, not the Laws by the King.

Be not Presumptuous in your Command, yet seek to be obey'd as you desire to obey; for as you are above others, others are above you. Give your mind to accommodate Controversies among your Neighbours, and you shall gain their Love, which will more avail you than the hate of the Lawyers can hurt you.

Punish Idleness and other Vices, as we'll for that they are such, as for Example's sake. Gain Love by doing Justice, and hate doing wrong, though it were to your immediate Profit.

If you Marry after my Death, chuse a Wife as near as you can suitable to your Calling, Years, and Condition; for such Marriages are made in Heaven, though celebrated on Earth.

If your Estate were great, your choice might be the freer; but where the Preferment of your Sisters must depend upon your Wife's Portion, let not your Fancy over-rule your Necessity. It is an old saying, *He that Marries for Love has evil days and good nights*: Consider if you Marry for Affection, how long you will be raising Portions for your Sisters, and the Misery you shall live in all the days of your Life; for the greatest Fortune that a Man can expect is in his Marriage. A Wise Man is known by his Actions, but where Passion and Affection sway, that Man is depriv'd of Sense and Understanding.

It is not the Poverty or Meanness of her that's Marri'd that makes her the better Wife, for commonly such Women grow elevated, and are no more mindful of what they have been, than a Miner is of his escape from a danger at Sea when it is past. You must set your Wife a good Example by your own Carriage, for a Wife and Discreet Husband usually makes an Obedient and Dutiful Wife. Beware of Jealousie, for it causes great Vexation of Mind, and Scorn and Laughter from your Enemies.

Many times it is occasion'd by the behaviour of the Husband towards other Women: in that case do like the Physician, take away the cause of the infirmity, if not you are worthy to feel the smart of it. Jealousie is grounded upon Conceit and Imagination, proceeds from a weak, idle, and distemper'd Brain; and the unworthy Carriage of him that is Jealous, many times makes a Woman do what otherwise she would not.

If God be pleas'd to give you Children, love them with that discretion that they discern it not, lest they too much presume upon it. Encourage them in things that are good, and correct them if they offend. The Love of God to Man cannot be better express'd, than by that of a Father to his Children. Censures or Casts they prove to their Parents, and herein Education is a great help to Nature.

Let your Children make you to dislike and abandon all other Delights and Pleasures of the World, in respect of the Comfort and Joy you receive by them. Make account then that Summer is past, and the Melancholy Winter approaches; for a careful and provident Father cannot take Delight in the World and Provide for his Children.

For a Conclusion I will recommend Two Principal Virtues to you, the one is Secrecy, the other Patience. Secrecy is necessary requir'd in all, especially Publick Persons for many times they are trusted with things, the revealing whereof may cost them their Lives, and Under the Designs of their Masters. It is a folly to trust any Man with a Secret, that can give no assistance in the Business he is trusted with. Councillors of State, and Generals of Armies, of all other ought to be most secret, for their Designs being once discover'd, their Enterprises fail. Silence was so much esteem'd among the *Persians*, that he was ador'd for a God-delf. The *Romans* kept their Expositions so secret, as that alone was a Priced Gold

Caule



Cause of their Victories. But of all others trust not Women with a Secret, for the Weakness of their Sex makes them unsecret. Be Patient after the Example of *Jehs*, and you shall become a true Servant of God. Patience deserves to be Painted with a Sword in her Hand, for she conquers and subdues all Difficulties. If you will take advantage of your Enemy, make him Cholerick, and by Patience you shall overcome him.

*Marcus Aurelius* being both Emperor and Philosopher, confess'd he attain'd not the Empire by Philosophy but by Patience. What Man in the World was so Patient as our Saviour himself, by following whose Example his Ministers have converted more by their Words, than all the Persecuting Emperors could deter by Rigour or Cruelty of Laws. The Impatient Man contends with God himself, who gives and

takes away at his good Will and Pleasure.

Let me (good Son) be your Pattern of Patience, for you can witness with me, that the Disgraces I have unjustly suffer'd, (my Estate being through my Misfortunes ruin'd, my Health by Imprisonments decay'd, and my Services undervalu'd and unrecompenc'd) have not bred the least Distaste or Discontent in me, or alter'd my Resolution from my Infancy; that is, I was never so base as to insinuate into any Man's Favour, who was favour'd by the Times. I was never so ambitious as to seek or crave Employment, or to undertake any that was not put upon me. My great and only Comfort is, that I serv'd my Princes both faithfully and fortunately; but seeing my Services have been no better accepted, I can as well content my self in being a Spectator, as if I were an Actor in the World.

### The Epistle Dedicatory of the First Book, to such Gentlemen as are the Author's Intimate Friends, that shall read these small Treatises.

**I**T is proper to all Discourses, not to comprehend more in one Book, than the Subject whereof they are to Treat, because variety of Matter may breed Confusion and Forgetfulness in the Reader: And though the ensuing Work Treats of several Nations, several Masters and Accidents, and of several Times and Ages, yet all tends to Sea Actions, and Men of that Profession, (as namely, the first Discovery of Countreys, the Settling of Commerce and Trade betwixt remote Nations, the Success of many Warlike Expeditions by Sea, and several Admissions and other Particulars therein mention'd.

I have divided them into Six Books; in the First and Second, I place the Acts and Enterprizes of Englishmen, in respect of the deserved Honour the World attributes to them for their Marine Affairs; Secondly, in Duty being bound to prefer my own Countrey before all others, wherein I cannot be tax'd with Partiality or Flattery; and Thirdly, because the Actions and Journeys of the English will give light to ensuing Ages, by comparing them with times past for advantage of time to come, if there be occasion.

In the Third Book I set down the Office of the Lord High Admiral of England, and all other Inferior Offices belonging to him, and His Majesty's Ships, from the highest Commander to the meanest Sailer.

In the Fourth Book I touch upon divers Discoveries and Conquests of the Spanish and Portugueze Nation; but I will forbear to say any thing of them in particular, till I come to the Place where I am to Treat more at large of their Acts and Enterprizes.

In the Fifth I Treat of Projects, which I Dedicate to the Projectors of this time, not to Honour, but to Display them and the Infamous Consequences they take against the Commonwealth.

In the Sixth I discover the Benefits of Fishing upon his Majesty's Coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and with what Ease it may be undertaken by his Majesty's Subjects.

Many Things contain'd in these Six Books, are no other than Collections of other Authors, and my Labour is no more therein, than theirs who gather variety of Flowers out of several Gardens, to compose one stately Garland.

It is not my Intention that many shall read them, and such as do, shall be only my dearest Friends, because they will put a favourable Construction upon any Oversight I shall make, and will conceal and hide what Weakness they discover in me.

All my Aim is my own Pleasure, and my Friends Satisfaction, if this yields them any; if not, my good Will ought to be never the less valu'd, considering my Intention in offering it. What is wanting in Description, shall be supplied by my Affection and Service ever devoted to you, and your Honour.

Sir Wil-

# Sir William Monson's

## NAVAL TRACTS:

*A Yearly Account of the English and Spanish Fleets, set out from the Year 1585, when the War with Spain first began, till the Year 1602, when King James made his happy Entrance into this Kingdom; shewing the Designs, Oversights, and Errors on both English and Spanish sides, with the Names of the Queen's Ships and Commanders in every Expedition.*

*Sir Francis Drake's Voyage to the West-Indies, Anno Dom. 1585. 1589.*

| Ships.                                                | Commanders.                                                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>The Elizabeth Bonaventure.</i><br><i>The Ayde.</i> | <i>Sir Francis Drake.</i><br><i>Capt. Forbisher.</i><br><i>Capt. Carlee, Lieutenant General by Land.</i> |

UPON knowledge of the Imbargo laid by the King of Spain in the year 1585, upon the English Ships, Men, and Goods found in his Country; Her Majesty having no Means to help or relieve her Subjects by friendly Treaty, authoriz'd such as sustain'd loss by the said Order, to repair themselves upon the Subjects of the King of Spain; and to that end gave them Letters of Reprisal, to take and Arrest all Ships and Merchandizes they should find at Sea, or elsewhere, belonging to the Subjects of the said King.

Her Majesty at the same time, to revenge the Wrongs offer'd her, and to resist the King of Spain's Preparations made against her, equipp'd a Fleet of 25 Sail of Ships, and employ'd them under the Command of Sir Francis Drake, as the fittest Man by reason of his Experience and Success in sundry Actions.

It is not my intent to set down all the Particulars of the Voyages treated of, but the Services done, and the Mistakes and Oversights committed, as a warning to

those that shall read them, and to prevent the like Errors hereafter.

This Voyage of Sir Francis Drake being the first Undertaking on either side, (for it ensu'd immediately after the Arrest of our Ships and Goods in Spain) I will deliver my Opinion of it before I proceed any farther.

One Impediment to the Voyage was, that to which the ill Success of divers others that after follow'd. is to be imputed, viz. the want of Victuals and other Necessaries fit for so great an Expedition; for had not the Fleet by chance met with a Ship of Biscay in her return from Newfoundland, laden with Fish, which reliev'd their Necessities, they had been reduced to great extremity.

The Service perform'd in this Action, was the taking and sack of *Santa Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, *Cartagena* on the Continent, and *Santa Justina* in *Florida*; Three Towns of great Importance in the West-Indies. This Fleet was the greatest of any Nation but the Spaniards, that had been ever seen in those Seas since the first discovery.

1587. of them; and if it had been as well considered of, before their going from home, as it was happily perform'd by the Valour of the Undertakers, it had more annoy'd the King of Spain, than all other Actions that ensu'd during the time of the War.

But it seems our long Peace made us incapable of Advice in War; for had we kept and defended those Places when in our Possession, and provided to have been reliev'd and succour'd out of England, we had diverted the War from this part of Europe: for at that time there was no comparison betwixt the Strength of Spain and England by Sea, by means whereof we might have better defended

them, and with more ease inroad'd upon the rest of the Indies, than the King of Spain could have aided or succour'd them.

But now we see and find by Experience, that those Places which were then weak and unfortifi'd, are since so fortifi'd, that it is to no purpose to us to annoy the King of Spain in his West-Indies.

And though this Voyage prov'd both Fortunate and Victorious, yet considering it was rather an awakening than a weakening of him, it had been far better to have wholly declin'd, than to have undertaken it upon such slender grounds, and with so inconsiderable Forces.

1587. *Sir Francis Drake's Second Voyage to the Road of Cadiz, and towards the Tercera Islands, Anno 1587.*

Ships.

*The Elizabeth Bonaventure.*  
*The Lyon.*  
*The Rainbow.*  
*The Dreadnought.*

Commanders.

*Sir Francis Drake, General.*  
*Sir William Borengbi, Vice-Admiral.*  
*Capt. Bellingham.*  
*Capt. Thomas Fenner.*

HER Majesty having receiv'd several Advertisements, that while the King of Spain was silent, not seeking revenge for the Injuries the Ships of Reprisal did him daily upon his Coasts, he was preparing an invincible Navy to invade her at Home. She thereupon sought to frustrate his Designs, by intercepting his Provisions before they should come to Lisbon, which was their Place of Rendezvous, and sent away Sir Francis Drake with a Fleet of 30 Sail great and small, 4 whereof were her own Ships.

The chief Adventure in this Voyage (besides those 4 Ships of her Majesty's) was made by the Merchants of London, who sought their private Gain more than the Advancement of the Service; neither were they deceiv'd of their expectation.

Sir Francis Drake being inform'd by Two Ships of Middleborough, that came from Cadiz, that a Fleet with Provisions and Ammunition, riding there, was ready to take the first opportunity of a Wind, to go to Lisbon and join with other Forces of the King of Spain, he directed his Course for Cadiz Road, where he found the Advertisement he receiv'd from the Ships of Middleborough in every point true; and upon his Arrival attempted the Ships with great Courage, and perform'd the Service he went for, by destroying all such

Ships he found in Harbour, as well of the Spaniards as other Nations that were hir'd by them; and by these Means he utterly defeated their mighty Preparations which were intended against England that year 1587.

The Second Service perform'd by him, was, the assaulting the Castle of Cape St. Vincent, upon the utmost Promontory of Portugal, and Three other strong Holds; all which he took, some by Force, and some by Composition. Thence he went to the Mouth of the River of Lisbon, where he anchor'd near Cascais, which the Marquess of St. Cruz beholding, durst not with his Gallies approach so near as once to charge him.

Sir Francis Drake perceiving, that though he had done important Service for the State by this fortunate Attempt of his, yet the same was not very acceptable to the Merchants, who adventur'd only in hope of Profit, and prefer'd their private gain before the security of the Kingdom, or any other respect. Therefore from Cascais he stood to the Tercera Islands, to expect the coming home of a Carrack, which he had Intelligence Winter'd at Adambique, and consequently he was to be home in that Month. And though his Victuals grew scarce, and his Company importun'd his return home, yet

with fair Speeches he persuaded, and so much prevailed with them, that they were willing to expect the issue some few days at the Islands; and by this time drawing near the Island of *St. Michael*, it was his good fortune to meet and take the *Carrack* he look'd for; which added more Honour to his former Service, and

gave great content to the Merchants, to have a profitable Return of their Adventure, which was the thing they principally desir'd. This Voyage proceeded prosperously and without exception, for there was both Honour and Wealth gain'd, and the Enemy greatly endamag'd.

1588.

*The first Action undertaken by the Spaniards in 1588, the Duke of Medina Sidonia General, encounter'd by our Fleet, the Lord Admiral being at Sea himself in Person.*

THE ENGLISH FLEET.

Ships.

*The Ark Royal.*  
*The Revenge.*  
*The Victory.*  
*The Lyon.*  
*The Bear.*  
*The Elizabeth Jonat.*  
*The Triumph.*  
*The Hope.*  
*The Bonaventure.*  
*The Dreadnought.*  
*The Nonpareille.*  
*The Swiftsure.*  
*The Rainbow.*  
*The Vanguard.*  
*The Mary Rose.*  
*The Antelope.*  
*The Foresight.*  
*The Ayde.*  
*The Swallow.*  
*The Tiger.*  
*The Scout.*  
*The Bull.*  
*The Tremontany.*  
*The Acatica.*  
*The Charles Pinnace.*  
*The Moon.*  
*The Spy.*  
*The Noy.*

Commanders.

*The Lord Admiral.*  
*Sir Francis Drake, Vice Admiral.*  
*Sir John Hawkins, Rear Admiral.*  
*The Lord Thomas Howard.*  
*The Lord Shiffwill.*  
*Sir Robert Southwell.*  
*Sir Martin Forbushen.*  
*Capt. Craft.*  
*Capt. Reynan.*  
*Capt. George Beezon.*  
*Capt. Thomas Fenner.*  
*Capt. William Fenner.*  
*The Lord Henry Seymore.*  
*Sir William Wentworth.*  
*Capt. Fenton.*  
*Sir Henry Palmer.*  
*Capt. Baker.*  
*Capt. John Wentworth.*  
*Capt. Rich. Hawkins.*  
*Capt. Will. Wentworth.*  
*Capt. Ashely.*  
  
*Capt. Roberts.*  
*Capt. Clifford.*  
*Capt. Bradbury.*

NOTwithstanding the great spoil and hurt Sir Francis Drake did the year past in *Cadiz Road*, by intercepting some part of the Provisions intended for this great Navy, the King of Spain us'd his utmost endeavours to revenge himself this year, left in taking longer time his Designs might be prevented as before, and arrested all Ships, Men, and Necessaries wanting for his Fleet, and compell'd them per force to serve in this Action.

He appointed for General the Duke of

*Medina Sidonia*, a Man employed rather for his Birth than Experience; for to many Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls, voluntarily going, would have repin'd to have been commanded by a Man of less Quality than themselves. They departed from *Lisbon* the 19th day of May 1588, with the greatest Pride and Glory, and least doubt of Victory, that ever any Nation did; but God being angry with their Insolence, dispos'd of them contrary to their expectation.

A a

The

1588. The Directions from the King of Spain to his General were, to repair as Wind and Weather would give leave, to the Road of *Callice* in *Picardy*, there to abide the coming of the Prince of *Parma* and his Army, and upon their meeting to have open'd a Letter directed to them both with further Instructions.

He was especially command'd to sail along the Coasts of *Britany* and *Nor-mandy*, to avoid being discover'd by us here; and if he met with the *English* Fleet, not to offer to fight, but only seek to defend themselves. But when he came athwart the North Cape, he was taken with a contrary Wind and foul Weather, and forc'd into the Harbour of the *Guyar*, where part of his Fleet lay attending his coming. As he was ready to depart from thence, they had Intelligence by an *English* Fisherman, whom they took, of our Fleets late being at Sea, and putting back again, not expecting their coming that way; in which that most part of the Men belonging to our Ships were discharg'd.

This Intelligence made the Duke alter his Resolution, and to break the Directions given him by the King: Yet this was not done without some difficulty, for the Council was divided in their Opinions; some held it best to observe the King's Command, others not to lose the Opportunity offer'd to surprize our Fleet unawares, and burn and destroy them.

*Don Alonso de Valde*, who had the Command of the *Audalysin* Squadron, and on whom the Duke most reli'd, because of his Experience and Judgment, was the main Man that perswaded the Attempt of our Ships in Harbour, and with that Resolution they directed their Course for *England*.

The first Land they fell in with, was the *Island*, the Southernmost part of *Cornwall*, which they took to be the *Rum Head* athwart *Plimouth*, and the night being at hand they tack'd off to Sea, making account in the morning to Attempt our Ships in *Plimouth*.

But whilst they were thus deceiv'd in the Land, they were in the mean time discover'd by Capt. *Hemming* a Pyrate, who had been at Sea pilfering, and upon view of them, knowing them to be the *Spanish* Fleet, repair'd with all speed to *Plimouth*, and gave notice to our Fleet, then riding at Anchor; whereupon my Lord Admiral hastn'd with all possible expedition to get out the Ships, and before the *Spaniards* could draw near *Plimouth*, they were welcom'd at Sea by my

Lord and his Navy, who continu'd fight with them till he brought them to an Anchor at *Callice*. The Particulars of the Fight, and the Success thereof, being things so well known, I purposely omit.

While this Armada was preparing, Her Majesty had from time to time perfect Intelligence of the *Spaniards* Designs; and because she knew his intent was to invade her at Sea with a mighty Fleet from his own Coast, she furnish'd out her Royal Navy under the Conduct of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, and sent him to *Plimouth*, as the likeliest place to attend their coming, as you have heard.

Then knowing that it was not the Fleet alone that could endanger her safety, for that they were too weak for any Enterprize on Land, without the assistance of the Prince of *Parma*, and his Army in *Flanders*; therefore she appointed 30 Sail of *Holland* Ships to lie at an Anchor before the Town of *Dunkirk*, where the Prince was to imbarque in Flat-bottom'd Boats, made purposely for the Expedition of *England*.

Thus had the Prince by the Queen's Providence been prevented, if he had attempted to put out of Harbour with his Boats; but in truth neither his Vessels nor his Army were in readines, which caus'd the King ever after to be jealous of him, and as 'tis suppos'd to hasten his end.

Her Majesty, notwithstanding this her vigilant care to foresee and prevent all danger that might happen at Sea, would not hold herself too secure of her Enemy, and therefore prepar'd a Royal Army to welcom him upon his Landing; but it was not the Will of God that he should set foot on *English* Ground, the Queen becoming Victorious over him at Sea, with little hazard or bloodshed of her Subjects.

Having shew'd the Design of the *Spaniards*, and the Course taken by her Majesty to prevent them; I will now collect the Errors committed as well by the one as by the other, as I have promis'd in the beginning of my Discourse.

As nothing could appear more rational and likely to take effect, after the Duke had got Intelligence of the State of our Navy, than his design to surprize them unawares in Harbour, he well knowing, that if he had taken away our Strength by Sea, he might have landed both when and where he list'd; which is a great advantage to an Invader; yet admitting it had taken that effect he design'd, I see not how he was to be commended in breaking the Instructions given him by the King; what blame then did he deserve, when so ill an Event

Event follow'd by his Rashness and Disobedience?

It was not the want of Experience in the Duke, or his laying the fault upon *Valdes*, that excus'd him at his return; but he had injured bitterly for it, had it not been for his Wife, who obtain'd the King's Favour for him.

Before th' arrival of the Ships that escap'd in this Voyage, it was known in *Spain*, that *Diego Flores del Valdes* was he who persuaded the Duke to break the King's Instructions; whereupon the King gave commandment in all his Ports, where the said *Diego Flores del Valdes* might arrive, to apprehend him; which was accordingly executed, and he carried to the Castle of *Santander*, where he was not permitted to Plead his Excuse, but remain'd there without being ever seen or heard of after, by report of his Page, with whom I spoke afterwards, we being both Prisoners together in the Castle of *Lisbon*.

If the King's Directions had been punctually follow'd, then had his Fleet kept the Coast of *France*, and arriv'd in the Road of *Callice* before they had been discover'd by us, which might have endanger'd her Majesty and the Realm, our Ships being so far off as *Plimouth*, where then they lay; and though the Prince of *Parma* had not been presently ready, yet he had gain'd time sufficient by the absence of our Fleet to make himself ready.

And whereas the Prince was kept in by the 30 Sail of *Hollanders*, so many of the Duke's Fleet might have been able to have put the *Hollanders* from the Road of *Dunkirk*, and possess it themselves, and so have secur'd the Army and Fleet's meeting together; and then how easie had it been after their joining to have transported themselves for *England*? And what would have ensu'd upon their Landing here may be well imagin'd.

But it was the Will of him that directs all Men and their Actions, that the Fleets should meet, and the Enemy be beaten as they were. put from their Anchorage

in *Callice* Road, the Prince of *Parma* beleaguerr'd at Sea, and their Navy driven about *Scotland* and *Ireland* with great hazard and loss; which shews how God did marvellously defend us against their dangerous Designs.

And here was Opportunity offer'd us to have follow'd the Victory upon them; for after they were beaten from the Road at *Callice*, and all their Hopes and Designs frustrated; if we had once more offer'd them fight, the General, it was thought by persuasion of his Confessor, was determined to yield, whose Example 'tis very likely, would have made the rest to have done the like. But this Opportunity was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the Lord Admiral, but merely through the want of Providence in those that had the Charge of Furnishing and Providing for the Fleet; for at that time of so great Advantage, when they came to Examining their Provisions, they found a general scarcity of Powder and Shot, for want whereof they were forc'd to return home: Besides, that the dreadful Storms which destroy'd the *Spanish* Fleet, made it impossible to pursue the remains of them. Another Opportunity was lost not much inferior to the other, by not sending part of our Fleet to the West of *Ireland*, where the *Spaniards* of necessity were to pass, after so many Dangers and Disasters as they had endur'd.

If we had been so happy as to have follow'd this Course, as it was both thought and discours'd of, we had been absolutely Victorious over this great and formidable Navy, for they were brought to that necessity, that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confess'd that were Shipwreck'd in *Ireland*.

By this we may see how weak and feeble the Designs of Men are, in respect of the Creator of Man, and how indifferently he dealt betwixt the Two Nations, sometimes giving one, sometimes the other, the advantage; and yet so that he only order'd the Battel.



1589.

## The Expedition to Portugal, An. 1589.

| Ships.                  | Commanders by Sea.    | Commanders by Land.           |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>The Revenge.</i>     | Sir Francis Drake.    | Sir John Norris.              |
| <i>The Dreadnought.</i> | Capt. Thomas Fenner.  | Sir Edward Norris.            |
| <i>The Ayde.</i>        | Capt. William Fenner. | Sir Henry Norris.             |
| <i>The Nonpareille.</i> | Capt. Sackville.      | Sir Roger Williams.           |
| <i>The Foresight.</i>   | Capt. William Winter. | Capt. Wilson, Sergeant Major. |
| <i>The Swiftsure.</i>   | Capt. Goring.         | Earl of Essex Voluntier.      |

THE last overthrow of 1588, given to the Invincible Armada or Navy, as they term'd it, did so encourage every Man to the War, that happy was he who could put himself into the Service against the Spaniards, as it appear'd by the Volunteers that went in this Voyage; which the Queen (considering the great loss the King of Spain receiv'd the year past, whereby it was to be imagin'd how weakly he was provided at home) was willing to countenance, though the undertook it not wholly her self, which was the main cause of its ill success and overthrow.

For whosoever he be of a Subject, that thinks to undertake so great an Enterprize without a Prince's Purse, shall be deceiv'd; and therefore these Two Generals, in my Opinion, never overshot themselves more, than in undertaking so great a Charge with so little Means; for where Victuals and Arms are wanting, what hope is there of prevailing?

The Project of this Voyage was to restore a distrels'd King to his Kingdom, usurp'd as he pretended; and though the Preparations for this Expedition were not so great as was expedient; yet in the Opinion of all Men, if they had directed their Course whither they intended it, without landing at the *Groyn*e, they had perform'd the Service they went for, restored *Don Antonio* to the Crown of *Portugal*, dislever'd it from *Spain*, and united it in League with *England*, which would have answer'd the present Charge, and have settled a continual Trade for us to the *West-Indies*, and the rest of the Dominions of *Portugal*, for so we might easily have condition'd.

But the Landing at the *Groyn*e was an unnecessary lingering and hinderance of the other great and main Design, a consuming of Victuals, a weakening of the Army by the immoderate drinking of the Soldiers, which brought a lamentable Sicknels amongst them, a warning to the Spaniards to strengthen *Portugal*, and (what is more than all this) a discouragement

to proceed further, being repuls'd in the first Attempt.

But notwithstanding the ill Success at the *Groyn*e, they departed from thence towards *Portugal*, and arriv'd at *Peniche*, a Maritime Town Twelve Leagues from *Lisbon*, where with small resistance they took the Castle, after the Captain understood *Don Antonio* was in the Army.

Thence General Norris march'd with his Land Forces to *Lisbon*, and Sir Francis Drake with his Fleet sail'd to *Cascais*, promising from thence to pass with his Ships up the River to *Lisbon*, to meet with Sir John Norris, which yet he did not perform, and therefore was much blam'd by the general consent of all Men, the overthrow of the Action being imputed to him.

It will not excuse Sir Francis Drake, for making such a Promise to Sir John Norris, though on the other hand, I would have accus'd him of great want of Discretion, if he had put the Fleet to so great an Adventure to so little purpose: For his being in the Harbour of *Lisbon*, signifi'd nothing to the Taking of the Castle, which was Two Miles from thence; and had the Castle been taken, the Town would have been taken of course.

Besides, the Ships could not furnish the Army with more Men or Victuals; wherefore I understand not in what Respect his going up was necessary; and yet the Fleet must have run many Hazards to so little purpose.

For betwixt *Cascais* and *Lisbon* there are Three Castles, *St. Julian*, *St. Francis*, and *Bellem*. The first of the Three I hold one of the most impregnable Forts to Sea-ward in *Europe*; and the Fleet was to pass within Calliver Shot of this Fort; though I confess, the passing it was not the greatest Danger: For with a reasonable Gale of Wind, any Fort is to be pass'd with small Hazard.

But at this time there was a general Want of Victuals; and being once entered the Harbour, their coming out again was

un-

uncertain, the place being ſubject to contrary Winds: In the mean while, the better part of the Victuals would have been conſum'd, and they would have remain'd there in ſo deſperate a Condition, that they would have been forc'd to have fir'd one half of the Fleet, to bring home the reſt: for as it was, when the Army imbarqu'd for *England*, many died for Hunger in their way home, and more would have done, if the Wind had taken them ſhort; or, if by the Death of ſome of them, the reſt who ſurviv'd had not been the better reliev'd.

Besides all theſe Casualties and Dangers, the *Adelantado* was then in *Lisbon* with the Gallies of *Spain*; and how eaſily he might have annoy'd our Fleet, by towing Fire-ſhips amongſt us, we may ſuppoſe by the Hurt we did the *Spaniards* the year before in *Cadiz* Road; and greater we might have done had we been aſſiſted with Gallies.

It was a wonder to obſerve every Man's Opinion of this Voyage, as well thoſe that were Actors in it, as others that ſtaid at Home; ſome imputing the Overthrow of it, to the Landing at the *Groyne*; others to the *Portugueſes* failing us of thoſe Helps and Aſſiſtances promis'd by *Don Antonio*; and others, to Sir *Francis Drake's* not coming up the River with his Fleet.

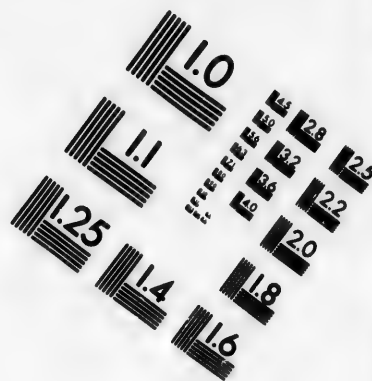
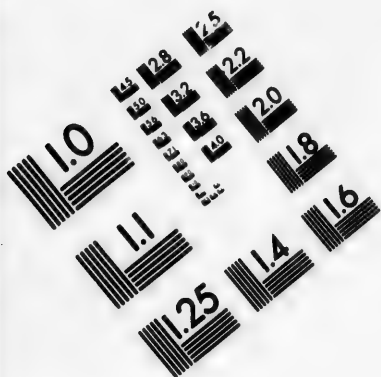
Though any of theſe Three Reaſons may ſeem probable enough, and the Landing at the *Groyne*, the chiefſt of the Three; yet if we weigh truly the Deſect, and where it was, it will appear, that the Action was overthrown before their ſetting out from home, they being too weakly provided of all things neceſſary for ſo great an Expedition.

For when this Voyage was firſt treated of, the Number of Ships was nothing equal to the Proportion of Men: Wherefore they were forc'd to detain divers *Eaſterlings*; they met with in our Channel, and compell'd them to ſerve in this Expedition, for the Tranſportation of our Soldiers; and though theſe Ships were an Eaſe to our Men, who would have been otherwiſe

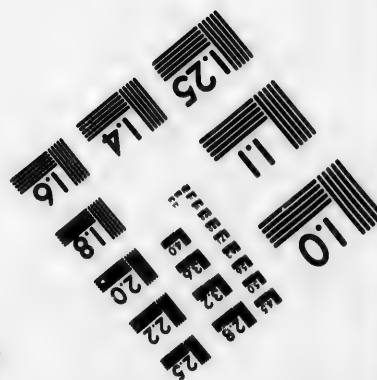
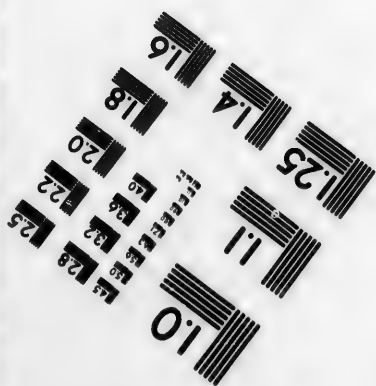
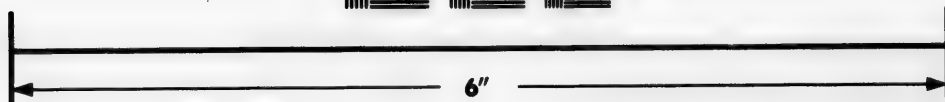
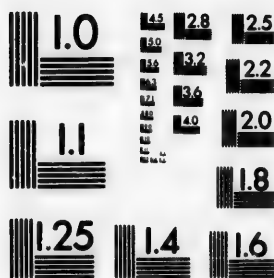
much peſter'd for want of Room; yet their Victuals were nothing augmented; 1589. but they were put aboard the Ships, like baniſh'd Men, to ſeek their Fortunes at Sea, it being confeſs'd, that divers of the Ships had not four days Victuals when they departed from *Plimouth*.

Another Impediment to the good Succeſs of this Voyage, was, the want of Field-Pieces; and this was the main Cauſe why we fail'd of taking *Lisbon*: For the Enemies Strength conſiſting chiefly in the Caſtle, and we having only an Army to countenance us, but no means for Battery, we were the Loſs of the Victory ourſelves: For it was apparent by Intelligence we receiv'd, that if we had preſented them with Battery, they were reſolv'd to Parley, and by Conſequence to yield; and this too was made uſe of by the *Portugueſes*, as a main Reaſon why they join'd not with us.

And there is as much to be ſaid in behalf of the *Portugueſes*, as an Evidence of their good Will and Favour to us, that though they ſhew'd themſelves not forward upon this Occaſion, to aid us, yet they oppos'd us not as Enemies: Whereas if they had purſu'd us in our Retreat from *Lisbon* to *Cascais*, our Men being weak, ſickly, and wanting Powder, and Shor, and other Arms, they had in all probability put us to a great Loſs and Diſgrace. And if ever *England* have the like Occaſion to aid a Competitor in *Portugal*, we ſhall queſtionleſs find, that our fair Deemeanor and Carriage in this Expedition towards the People of that Countrey, have gain'd us much Reputation among them, and would be of ſingular Advantage to us: For the General ſtrictly forbade the Riſing of their Houſes in the Country, and the Suburbs of *Lisbon*, which he poiſeſs'd, and commanded juſt Payment to be made by the Soldiers for every thing they took, without Compulſion, or rigorous Uſage: And this has made thoſe that ſtood but indifferently affected before, now ready upon the like Occaſion to aſſiſt us.



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1589.

*A Voyage undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, with One Ship Royal of her Majesty's, and Six of his own, and other Adventurers, Anno Dom. 1589.*

**Ships.**

*The Victory*, the Queen's Ship.  
*The Margaret*,  
And Five other.

**Commanders.**

The Earl of Cumberland.  
Capt. Christopher Lister.  
Capt. Monfon, now Sir William Monfon,  
Vice-Amiral.

AS the Fleets of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake return'd from the Voyage of Portugal, the Earl of Cumberland proceeded upon his, towards that Coast; and meeting with divers of that Fleet, reliev'd them with Victuals, who otherwise had perish'd.

This Voyage was undertaken at his and his Friends Charge, excepting the *Victory*, a Ship Royal of the Queen's, which she adventur'd.

This Voyage is writ at large by the famous Mathematician Mr. Wright, who was an Actor in it himself; what is here set down, is but a brief Collection out of his Account.

The Service perform'd at Sea, was the taking of Three French Ships of the League in our Channel, and his encountering upon the Coast of Spain, with Thirteen Hulks, who made some Resistance. Out of these he took to the Value of 7000 *l.* in Spices belonging to Portugal.

From thence he cross'd over to the *Tercera* Islands, about 300 Leagues from the Rock of Lisbon, and coming to *St. Michael's*, the first and greatest of the Islands, with his Boats, he fetch'd out from under the Castle which fir'd upon him, Two Ships that arriv'd there the night before from Spain.

In his Course from thence to the Island of Flores, the Westernmost of the *Terceras*, he took a Spanish Ship laden with Sugars and Sweetmeats that came from the Island of *Madera*.

At Flores, he receiv'd Intelligence by an English Man of War, of divers Spanish Ships which were in the Road of *Fayal*, whereupon he suddenly made from that Island, where Captain Lister and Captain Monfon gave a desperate Attempt in their Boats upon the said Ships; and after a long Fight possess'd themselves of one of them of 300 Tuns Burden, carrying Six Pieces of Ordnance, and Sixty Men. This Ship, with one other, came from the *Indies*, Two of the rest out of *Guiney*,

and another was Laden with Woad, which that Island affords in great Plenty. The Captain's returning after the carrying off that great Ship, took the rest, being Seven in all. This done, we all put to Sea again, and making the Island *Graciosa*, made several attempts there for two days to land, in order to get some Provision, but were still repuls'd with great loss; yet at last the Island came to Composition, and sent such Refreshments as it afforded. In the mean while we discover'd and took a French Ship of 200 Tun homeward bound from Canada.

Afterwards, sailing to the Eastward of the Road of *Tercera*, in the Evening we beheld 18 Tall Ships of the *Indies* entering into the said Road, one whereof we after took in her Course to the Coast of Spain: She was laden with Hides, Silver and Cochineal; but coming for England, she was cast away upon the *Mouni Bay* in Cornwall, being valued at 100000 *l.*

Two other Prizes of Sugar we took in our said Course to the Coast of Spain, esteemed each Ship at 7000 *l.* and one from under the Castle of *St. Maries* to the same Value.

There was no Road about those Islands, that could defend their Ships from our Attempts; yet in the last Assault we gave, which was upon a Ship of Sugars, we found ill success, being sharply resisted, and Two Parts of our Men slain and hurt: Which Loss was occasioned by Captain Lister, who would not be persuaded from Landing in the View of their Forts.

The Service perform'd by Land, was the taking of the Island of *Fayal*, some months after the surprizing of those Ships formerly mention'd. The Castle yielded us 45 Pieces of Ordnance, great and small: We sack'd and spoil'd the Town, and after ransom'd it, and so departed.

These Summer Services, and Ships of Sugar, prov'd not so sweet and pleasant as the Winter was afterwards sharp and painful: For in our Return for England, we

we found the Calamity of Famine, the Hazard of Shipwrack, and the Death of our Men so great, that the like befell not any other Fleet during the time of the War. All which Disasters must be imputed to Captain *Lifter's* Rashness, upon whom my Lord of *Cumberland* chiefly reli'd, wanting Experience himself.

He was the Man that advis'd the sending the Ships of Wine for *England*, otherwise we had not known the Want of Drink; he was as earnest in persuading our Landing in the Face of the Fortifications of *St. Marier*, against all Reason and Sense. As he was Rash, so was he

Valiant; but paid dearly for his unadvis'd Counsel: For he was the first Man hurt, and that cruelly, in the Attempt of *St. Marier*, and afterwards drown'd in the Rich Ship cast away at *Munt's Bay*.

After our quitting *St. Maries*, as you have heard, we repair'd to the Island of *S. George*, as you may read in the Sixth Book, where there happened a strange Accident to me, and indeed I may say, the strangest Escape that ever befall me in my Life. I refer you to that Book, thinking it fitter to be inserted there than in this.

Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Martin Forbusher, their Voyage to the Coast of Spain and Islands, Anno 1590.

Ships.

*The Revenge.*  
*The Mary Rose.*  
*The Lyon.*  
*The Bonaventure.*  
*The Rainbow.*  
*The Hippo.*  
*The Crane.*  
*The Quincen.*  
*The Foresight.*  
*The Swiftsure.*

Commanders.

Sir Martin Forbusher.  
Sir John Hawkins.  
Sir Edward York.  
Capt. Finner.  
Sir George Breebon.  
Capt. Bostock.  
Capt. Hawkins.  
Capt. Burnell.

From the year 1585. until this present Year 1590. there was the greatest possibility imaginable of enriching our Nation, by Actions at Sea, had they been well follow'd: The King of Spain was grown so weak in Shipping, by the Overthrow he had in 1588. that he could no longer secure the Trade of his Subjects.

Her Majesty now finding how necessary it was for her to maintain a Fleet upon the Spanish Coast, as well to hinder the Preparations he might make against her, to repair the Disgrace he receiv'd in 1588. as also to intercept his Fleets from the *Indies*, by which he grew Great and Mighty: she sent this year 1590. Ten Ships of her own, in Two Squadrons; the one to be Commanded by Sir John Hawkins, the other by Sir Martin Forbusher, Two Gentlemen of tried Experience.

The King of Spain hearing of this Preparation of hers, sent forth 20 Sail of Ships, under the Command of Don Alonso de Bassan, Brother to the late Famous Marquess of *St. Cruz*, who had not long before subdu'd the *Tercera* Islands, and overthrow'n the Navy of France. Don A-

lonso was charg'd to convoy home the Fleet from the *Indies*, and the Carracks expected home about that time.

But after Don Alonso had put off to Sea, the King of Spain becoming better advis'd, than to adventure 20 of his Ships to the loss of ours, sent for Don Alonso back, and so frustrated the Expectation of our Fleet.

He likewise made a Dispatch to the *Indies*, commanding the Fleets to Winter there, rather than to run the hazard of coming Home that Summer. But this prov'd so great a Hind'rance and Loss to the Merchants of Spain, to be so long without Return of their Goods, that many broke in *Sevil* and other Places; besides, it was to great a weakening to their Ships, to Winter in the *Indies*, that many years hardly sufficed to repair the Damage they receiv'd.

Our Fleet being thus prevented, spent Seven Months in vain upon the Coasts of Spain, and the Islands; but in that space, could not possess themselves of one Ship of the Spaniards; and the Carracks, upon which part of their Hopes depend-



ed, came Home without sight of the Islands, and arriv'd late at *Spain*.

1591. This Voyage was a bare Action at sea, though they attempted Landing at *Bay*, which the Earl of *Cumberland* the year before had taken and quitted; but the

Castle being re fortifi'd, they prevail'd not in their Enterprize: And thence forwards the King of *Spain* endeavour'd to strengthen his Coasts, and to encrease in shipping, as may appear by the next ensuing year.

1591. Two Fleets at Sea; the English, under the Lord Thomas Howard, and the Spanish, Commanded by Don Alonso Bassan, Anno 1591.

## Ships.

The *Dolphin*,  
The *Kent*,  
The *Nepaul*,  
The *Bombardier*,  
The *Lyons*,  
The *Frisch*,  
The *Croft*.

## Commanders.

The Lord Thomas Howard,  
Sir Richard Greenville, Vice-Admiral.  
Sir Edward Denny,  
Capt. Croft,  
Capt. Fenner,  
Capt. Vauxhall,  
Capt. Duffield.

HER Majesty being inform'd of the *Indian* Fleets Wintering in the *Havens*, and that Necessity would compel them home this year 1591, she sent a Fleet to the Islands under the Command of the Lord Thomas Howard.

The King of *Spain* perceiving her Drift, and being sensible how much the safety of this Fleet concern'd him, caus'd them to set out thence so late in the year, that it endanger'd the Shipwrack of them all: choosing rather to hazard the perishing of Ships, Men and Goods, than their falling into our Hands.

He had Two Designs in bringing home this Fleet so late: One was, he thought the Lord Thomas would have confirm'd his Victuals, and have been forc'd Home. The other, that he might in the mean time furnish out the great Fleet he was preparing, little inferior to that of 1588. In the first he found himself deceiv'd: For my Lord was suppli'd both with Ships and Victuals out of *England*; and in the second, he was as much disappointed: For the Earl of *Cumberland*, who then lay upon the Coast of *Spain*, had Intelligence of the *Spaniards* putting out to Sea, and gave notice thereof to the Lord Thomas, the very Night before they arriv'd at *Flores*, where my Lord lay.

The day after this Intelligence, the *Spanish* Fleet was discover'd by my Lord Thomas, whom he knew by their Number and Greatness, to be the Ships of which he had warning; and by that means escap'd the Danger that Sir Richard Greenville, his Vice-Admiral, rashly ran into.

Upon View of the *Spaniards*, which were 55 Sail, the Lord Thomas warily, and like a discreet General, weigh'd Anchor, and made Signs to the rest of his Fleet to do the like, with a purpose to get the Wind of them; but Sir Richard Greenville, being a stubborn Man, and imagining this Fleet to come from the *Indies*, and not to be the *Armada* of which they were inform'd, would by no means be persuaded by his Master or Company to cut his Cable, to follow his Admiral; nay, so head-strong and rash he was, that he offer'd violence to those that advis'd him so to do.

But the Old Saying, *That a Wise Man is the Cause of his own Woe*, could not be more truly verifi'd than in him: For when the *Armada* approach'd, and he beheld the Greatness of the Ships, he began to see and repent of his folly; and when it was too late, would have freed himself of them, but in vain: For he was left a Prey to the Enemy, every Ship striving to be the first should board him.

This wilful Rashness of Sir Richard, made the *Spaniards* triumph as much as if they had obtain'd a Signal Victory; it being the first Ship that ever they took of her Majesty's, and commended to them by some *English* Fugitives to be the very best she had; but their Joy continu'd not long. For they enjoy'd her but five days before she was cast away with many *Spaniards* in her, upon the *Tercera* Islands.

Commonly one Misfortune is accompani'd with another: For the *Indian* Fleet, which my Lord had waited for the whole Summer, the day after this mishap, fell into

into the Company of this *Spanish Armada*; who, if they had staid but one day longer, or the *Indian Fleet* had come home but one day sooner, we had possess both them and many Millions of Treasure, which the Sea afterwards devour'd: For from the time they met with the Armada, and before they could recover home, nigh an Hundred of them suffered Shipwrack, besides the *Ascension of Sevil*, and the double Fly-boat, that were sunk by the side of the *Revenge*.

All which was occasion'd by their Win-

tering in the *Indies*, and the late Disembarking from thence: For the Worm which that Country is subject to, weakens and consumes their Ships.

Notwithstanding this cross and perverse Fortune, which happen'd by means of Sir Richard Grenville, the Lord Thomas would not be dismay'd or discourag'd; but kept the Sea as long as he had Victuals; and by such Ships as himself and the rest of the Fleet took, delray'd the better part of the Charge of the whole Action.

1591.

### The Earl of Cumberland to the Coast of Spain, 1591.

1591.

#### Ships.

The Garland of Her Majesty's.

Seven other Ships of his and his Friends.

#### Commanders.

The Earl of Cumberland: Captain under him,  
Capt. Monson, now Sir William Monson.

THE Earl of Cumberland keeping the Coast of Spain, as you have heard, while the Lord Thomas remain'd at the Islands, and both to one end, viz. to annoy and damnify the Spaniards, though in Two several Fleets, the Earl found Fortune in a fort as much to frown upon him, as it had done upon the Lord Thomas Howard.

He departed England in May, and in his Course to the Spanish Coast met with several Dutch Ships which came from Lisbon, wherein he found a great quantity of Spices belonging to the Portuguese: So greatly were we abus'd by that Nation of Holland, who, though they were the first that engag'd us in the War with Spain, yet still maintain'd their own Trade into those Parts, and suppli'd the Spaniards with Ammunition, Victuals, Shipping and Intelligence against us.

Upon my Lord's arrival on the Coast of Spain, it was his hap to take Three Ships at several times, one with Wine, which he unladed into his own; and Two with Sugars, which he enjoy'd not long: no more did he the Spices, which he took out of the Hollanders.

For one of the Ships of Sugar, by means of a Leak that sprung upon her, was forced to be cast off, and the Men, with much difficulty, recover'd the Shore, and sav'd their Lives.

The other being sent for England, and tossed with contrary Winds, was for want of Victuals forc'd into the Grey, where they render'd themselves to the Enemies Mercy.

The Spices were determined to be sent for England, and a Ship appointed for that purpose, with other Ships to guard her to the Islands of the *Burlings*; in which Ship Capt. Monson was sent with Orders to see her safe dispatch'd for England.

But the other Ships, not observing the Directions given them, and the Night falling calm; early in the Morning, this forsaken Ship was set upon by Six Gallies, the rest of the Ships not being able to come up by reason of the Calm; and after a long and bloody Fight, the Captain and Principal Men being slain, both Ship and Spices were taken; but whether it was the respect they had to the Queen's Ship which was Admiral of that Fleet, or Honour to my Lord that commanded it; or Hope, by good Usage of our Men, to receive the like again, I know not; but true it is, that the ordinary Men were treated with more Courtesie than they had been from the beginning of the War: I mean, that of such Men as were taken, only Capt. Monson was detain'd as Hostage for Performance of Covenants agreed upon for Release of the rest; in which Imprisonment he remain'd almost Two years.

My Lord of Cumberland considering the Disasters that thus befell him, and knowing the Spanish Fleet's readiness to put out of Harbour; but especially finding his Ship but ill of Sail, it being the first Voyage he ever went to Sea, he durst not abide the Coast of Spain, but

B b

thought

1592. thought it more Discretion to return for England, having (as you have heard) sent a Pinnace to my Lord Thomas with the Intelligence aforesaid; which prov'd a Service of great moment to the Queen and State, in preventing the Danger that might have otherwise ensu'd, if that Notice had not been sent.

1592. *A Voyage undertaken by Sir Walter Raleigh; but he returning, left the Charge of it to Sir Martin Forbushier, Anno 1592.*

| Ships.                                                                  | Commanders by Sea.                                                                                                                | Commander by Land.        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>The Garland.</i><br><i>The Forcight, with divers Merchant Ships.</i> | <i>Sir Walter Raleigh.</i><br><i>Capt. Crofs, and others.</i><br><i>Sir Walter went not, but</i><br><i>Sir Martin Forbushier.</i> | <i>Sir John Boroughs.</i> |

SIR *Walter Raleigh*, who had tasted abundantly of the Queen's Favour, and found it now began to decline, put himself upon a Voyage at Sea, and drew to him divers Friends of great Quality, and others, thinking to have attempted some Place in the *West-Indies*; and with this Resolution he put out of Harbour; but spending two or three days in foul Weather, her Majesty was pleas'd to Order his Return, and to commit the Charge of the Ships to Sir *Martin Forbushier*, who was sent down for that purpose; but with an expresse Command, not to follow the Design of the *West-Indies*.

This sudden Alteration being known to the rest of the Captains, for the present made some Confusion, as commonly it happens in all voluntary Actions. Their General leaving them, they thought themselves free in point of Reputation, and at liberty to take what course they pleas'd: Few of them therefore submitted themselves to the Command of Sir *Martin Forbushier*, but chose rather each to take his particular Fortune and Adventure at Sea.

Sir *Martin*, with his own Ship the *Garland*, and Two others, repair'd to the Coast of Spain, where he took a *Biscainer* laden with Iron, and a *Portuguese* with Sugar: He remain'd there not without some danger, his Ship being ill of Sail, and the Enemy having a Fleet at Sea to guard the Coast.

Sir *John Boroughs*, Capt. *Crofs*, and another, stood to the Islands, where they met with as many Ships of my Lord of *Cumberland's*, with whom they consort'd. After some time spent thereabouts, they had sight of a Carreck, which they chas'd; but the recover'd the Island of *Flores* before they could approach her; but the Carreck, seeing the Island could not de-

send her from the Strength and Force of the *English*, chose rather, after the Men were got on Shore, to fire her self, than we the Enemy should reap Benefit by her.

The Pursuer of her was taken, and by Threats compell'd to tell of Four more of their Company behind, that had Orders to fall in with that Island; and gave us such particular Advertisement, that one of them was afterwards taken.

In the mean time Don *Alonso de Bassan* was at *Lubon* setting out 23 Galleons, which the year before he had when he took the *Revenge*; he was directed with those Ships to go immediately to *Flores*, to expect the coming of the Carrecks, who had Order to fall with that Island, there to put on Shore divers Ordnance for strengthening the Town and Cattle. Sir *William Monson* being then releas'd out of Prison, sail'd in a *Hamborough* Ship with this Fleet.

Don *Alonso* breaking his Instructions, unadvisedly repair'd first to *St. Michael*, and there deliver'd his Ordnance before he arriv'd at *Flores*; and in the mean time one of the Carrecks was burnt, and another taken, as you have heard.

This he held to be such a Disreputation to him, and especially for that it happen'd through his own Error and Default, that he was much perplex'd, and pursu'd the *English* 100 Leagues; but in vain, they being so far a Head.

The King of Spain being advertis'd of his Two Carrecks mishap, and the Error of Don *Alonso*, though he had much favour'd him before, on account of divers Actions he had been in with his Brother the Marquels of *St. Cruz*, and for what he had lately perform'd, by taking the *Revenge*; yet the King was so offended not to have his Instructions obey'd and observ'd,

observ'd, that he did not only take from Don Alonso his Command, but he liv'd and dy'd in Disgrace; which, in my Opinion, he worthily deserv'd.

The Queen's Adventure in this Voyage was only Two Ships; one of which, and

the least of them too, was at the taking of the Carreck; which Title, joined with her Regal Authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the Adventurers were fain to submit themselves to her Pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently.

1593.

### The Earl of Cumberland to the Coast of Spain, Anno Dom. 1593.

1593.

## Ships.

*The Lyon.*

*The Bonaventure, and Seven other Ships.*

## Commanders.

The Earl of Cumberland: Captain under him, Capt. Monfon.

Sir Edward Torke, Vice-Admiral.

THE Earl of Cumberland finding that many of his Voyages had miscarried through the Negligence or Unfaithfulness of those who were entrusted to lay in necessary Provisions; and yet, being incourag'd by the good Success he had the last year, obtain'd Two of Her Majesty's Ships, and Victuall'd them himself, together with Seven others that accompany'd them; and arriving upon the Coast of Spain, he took Two French Ships of the League, which did more than treble the Expence of his Voyage. My Lord being fever'd one day from his Fleet, it was his hap to meet with 12 Hulks, at the same place where Captain Monfon was taken the same day two years before: He requir'd that Respect from them that was due to her Majesty's Ship, which they peremptorily refus'd, presuming upon the Strength of their 12 Ships against one only; but they found themselves deceiv'd: For after two hours Fight he brought them to his Mercy, and made them acknowledge their Error; and not only so, but they willingly discover'd and deliver'd up to him a great quantity of Powder and Ammunition, which they carried for the King of Spain's Service. Here I must not let pass, as I promis'd in the beginning of my Discourse, to lay down all Errors and Miscarriages committed; and this that follows is one, for which my Lord and his Master deserve blame. My Lord, upon taking the Hulks aforesaid, flood to sea with part of them, leaving the rest with Capt. Monfon to be Examined and Rummag'd. His Lordship towards the Evening mis'd those Ships under his Custody; and it seems he had forgot that his Longboat and 50 of his Men were left with Capt. Monfon under the Guard of one small Ship for their Defence. These Hulks

being thus dismiss'd, and coming towards Sir William Monfon and their Consorts, Sir William mistrusted, as indeed it fell out, that they would take advantage of my Lord's keeping his Loose, to board and surprize them, as they had done, if Sir William had not prevented it by leaping into his Boat on one side, as they boarded him on the other. In which Leap he receiv'd a hurt in his Leg, which to this time, being the year 1620, he has found a prejudice to his whole Body.

My Lord of Cumberland having spent some time thereabouts, and understanding that Fernandelles de Menezes, a Portuguese, and the King's General of a Fleet of 24 Sail, was gone to the Islands; he pursu'd them, thinking to meet the Carrecks before they should join together. At his coming to Flores, he met, and took one of the Fleet, with the death of the Captain, who yet liv'd so long as to inform him both where the Fleet was, and of their Strength: The day after, he met the Fleet; but being far too weak for them, was forc'd to leave them, and spent his time thereabouts, till he understood the Carrecks were pass'd by, without seeing either Fleet or Island.

About this time the Earl being taken so ill, that his Recovery was despair'd of unless he could return to the English Shore, or get a Cow to supply him with Milk, Capt. Monfon ventur'd ashore on the Island of Corvo, where, what with Threats, and what with Promise of Reward, he got a Cow, which he carried aboard, and in all likelihood was the Means of saving the Earl's Life.

However Capt. Monfon valuing the Earl's Safety above all the Profit of the Voyage, hasted towards home, and lost Company of the rest of the Ships by so

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1594. strange an accident that it will scarce be believ'd, though it is a most undoubted Truth; for the whole Fleet being one day becalm'd, the said Calm lasted for several days, and in it the Ships were so parted that they lost sight of one another; and never saw one another more, till they met in England, about four or five weeks after. Those Ships so parted from the Earl took a Prize laden with Sugar, which was a good addition to what was taken before.

1594. *Sir Martin Forbusher, with a Fleet to Brest in Brittany, Anno 1594.*

## Ships.

*The Vanguard.*  
*The Rainbow.*  
*The Dreadnought.*  
*The Quittance.*

## Commanders.

*Sir Martin Forbusher.*  
*Capt. Fenner.*  
*Capt. Clifford.*  
*Capt. Savil.*

**A**Bout Three years before, and in 1591. the Queen sent Sir John Norris with 3000 Soldiers, to join with the French King's Party in those Parts of Brittany about Brest. The King of Spain, who upheld the Faction of the League, sent Don John de Aguila with the like Forces, to join with the Duke de Merceur, who was of that side. The Spaniards arriving first, had fortified themselves very strongly near the Town of Brest, expecting new Succours from Spain by Sea; which the French King fearing, craved Assistance from the Queen, which her Majesty was the more willing to grant,

because the Spaniards had gotten the Haven of Brest to entertain their Shipping in, and were like to prove there very dangerous Neighbours: Wherefore she sent Sir Martin Forbusher thither in this year 1594. with Four of her Ships: And upon his arrival there, Sir John Norris with his Forces, and Sir Martin with his Seamen, assail'd the Fort; and though it was as bravely defended as Men could do; yet in the end it was taken with the loss of divers Captains, Sir Martin Forbusher being himself sore wounded, of which Hurt he died at Plymouth after his return.

1594. *A Fleet to the Indies, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins Generals, wherein they ventur'd deeply, and dy'd in the Voyage, Anno 1594.*

## Ships.

*The Defiance.*  
*The Garland.*  
*The Hope.*  
*The Bonaventure.*  
*The Foresight.*  
*The Adventure.*

## Commanders by Sea.

*Sir Francis Drake.*  
*Sir John Hawkins.*  
*Capt. Gilbert Yorke.*  
*Capt. Troughton.*  
*Capt. Winter.*  
*Capt. Tho. Drake.*

## Commander by Land.

*Sir Tho. Baskerville.*

**T**Hese Two Generals, presuming much upon their own Experience and Knowledge, us'd many Persuasions to the Queen, to undertake a Voyage to the West-Indies, giving much assurance to perform great Services, and promising to engage themselves very deeply therein, with the Adventure of both Substance and Life. And as all Actions of this Nature promise fair till they come to be perform'd,

so did this the more in the Opinion of all Men, in respect of the Two Generals Experience.

There were many Impediments and Letts to this Voyage, before they could clear themselves of the Craft, which put them to greater Charge than they expected. The chiefest cause of their Lingring, was a mistrust our State had of an Invasion, and the Danger to spare so many good

good Ships and Men out of England as they carry'd with them.

The Spaniards with their usual subtilty, let slip no Opportunity to put us into a Fear, thereby to disappoint the Expedition, and sent Four Gallies to *Bluet* in *Briamy*, from thence to fall into some part of our Coast, that so we might apprehend a greater Force was to follow. These Gallies landed at *Penfants* in *Cornwall*, where, finding the Town abandoned, they sack'd and burnt it; but this Design of theirs took little effect; for the Voyage proceeded nevertheless.

The Intent of the Voyage was to land at *Nombré de Dios*, and from thence to march to *Panama*, to possess the Treasure that comes from *Peru*; and if they saw reason for it, to inhabit and keep it. A few days before their going from *Plimouth*, they receiv'd Letters from her Majesty, communicating the Intelligence she had out of *Spain*, that the *Indian Fleet* was arriv'd; and that one of them, with loss of her Malt, was put back to the Island of *Porto Rico*. She therefore commanded them, seeing there was so good an Opportunity offer'd, as the readiness of this her Fleet, and the weakness of *Porto Rico*, to possess themselves of that Treasure; and the rather, for that it was not much out of their way to *Nombré de Dios*. Neither Years, nor Experience, that can foresee and prevent all Mishaps; which is a manifest Proof, that God is the Guider and Disposer of Mens Actions: For nothing could seem more probable to be effected than this latter Design, especially considering the Ability and Wisdom of the Two Generals; and yet was unhappily prevented, and fail'd in the Execution: For there being Five Frigats sent out of *Spain* to fetch this Treasure from *Porto Rico*, in their way it was their fortune to take a Pinnacle of the *English Fleet*, by whom they understood the Secrets of the Voyage; and to prevent the Attempt of *Porto Rico*, they hasten'd thither with all speed, (whilst our Generals linger'd at *Guadalupe* to set up their Boats) and at their arrival, so strengthened the Town with the Soldiers brought in the Frigats, that when our Fleet came thither, not expecting Resistance; they found themselves frustrat'd of their Hopes; and were forc'd to retire with Dishonour, and loss of many Gentlemen there slain; which indeed they themselves were the occasion of, in managing their Design with no more Secrefie.

This Repulse was so grievously relented by Sir *John Hawkins*, who was then sickly, that it is thought to have hasten'd his Death; and being great and unexpected, did not a little discourage Sir *Francis Drake's* great Mind, who yet proceed'd upon his first resolv'd Design for *Nombré de Dios*, though with no better Success: For the Enemy having knowledge of their coming, fortified the Passage to *Panama*, and forc'd them to return with shame and loss. Sir *Francis Drake*, who was wont to rule Fortune, now finding his Error, and the difference between the present Strength of the *Indies*, and what it was when he first knew it, grew melancholy upon this Disappointment, and suddenly, and I hope naturally, died at *Portobello*, not far from the place where he got his first Reputation. The Two Generals dying, and all other Hopes being taken away by their Deaths. Sir *Thomas Baskerville* succeeded them in their Command, and began now to think upon his return for *England*; but coming near *Cuba*, he met and fought with a Fleet of *Spain*, though not long, by reason of the Sickness and Weakness of his Men. This Fleet was sent to take the Advantage of ours in its return, thinking, as indeed it happen'd, that they should find them both weak, and in want; but the swiftness of our Ships, in which we had the Advantage of the Spaniards, preserv'd us. You may observe, that from the year the *Revenge* was taken, until this present year 1595. there was no Summer but the King of *Spain* furnish'd a Fleet for the guarding of his Coasts, and securing of his Trade; and though there was little fear of any Fleet from *England* to impeach him, besides this in the *Indies*; yet because he would shew his greatness, and satisfy *Portugal* of the Care he had in preserving their Carrecks; he sent the Count of *Feria*, a young Nobleman of *Portugal*, who desired to gain Experience, with 20 Ships to the Islands; but the Carrecks did, as they used to do in many other years, miss both Islands and Fleets, and arriv'd safe at *Lisbon*. The other Fleets of the King of *Spain* in the *Indies*, consisted of 24 Ships, their General Don *Bernardino de Villa nova*, an approv'd Coward, as it appear'd when he came to encounter the *English Fleet*; but his Defects were supplied by the Valour of his Vice Admiral, who behav'd himself much to his Honour: His Name was *John de Garay*.

1594.



1596. *The Earl of Essex, and the Lord Admiral of England, Generals, equally, both by Sea and Land, Anno 1596.*

## Ships.

*The Repulse.**The Ark Royal.**The Mercur.**The Warpsire.**The Lion.**The Rainbow.**The Nonpareille.**The Vanguard.**The Mary R. B.**The Dreadnought.**The Swiftsure.**The Quittance.**The Tremontain.**The Crane, and others.*

## Commanders.

*The Earl of Essex, Captain under him Capt. Monson.**The Lord Admiral, Captain under him Sir Amos Preften.**The Lord Thomas Howard.**Sir Walter Raleigh.**Sir Robert Southwell.**Sir Francis Vere.**Sir Robert Dudley.**Sir John Wingfield.**Sir George Carew.**Sir Alexander Clifford.**Sir Robert Croft.**Sir George Gifford.**Capt. King.*

THE First of June 1596. we departed from *Plimouth*; and our Departure was the more speedy, by reason of the great Pains, Care and Industry of the Sixteen Captains, who in their own Persons labour'd the Night before to get out some of their Ships riding at *Cartwater*, which otherwise had not been easily effected. The Third we set Sail from *Cannion Bay*, the Wind, which when we weigh'd, was at West and by South, instantly cast up to the North East, and so continu'd till it brought us up as high as the *North Cape of Spain*; and this fortunate beginning put us in great hopes of a lucky Success to ensue.

We being now come upon our Enemy's Coast, it behov'd the Generals to be vigilant in keeping them from Intelligence of us, who therefore appointed the *Lit-ness*, the *True Love*, and the *Lion's Whelp*, (the three best Sailors of our Fleet) to run a Head, suspecting the *Spaniards* had some Carvels of Advice out, which they did usually send to discover at Sea, upon any Rumour of a less Fleet than this made ready in *England*.

No Ship or Carvel escap'd us, which I hold a second Happiness to our Voyage: For you shall understand hereafter the Inconvenience that might have happen'd upon our Discovery.

The 10th of June the said Three Ships took Three Fly-Boats that came from *Cadiz* 14 days before; by whom we understood the State of the Town, and that they had no suspicion of us, which we

look'd on as a Third Omen of our good Fortune to come.

The 12th of June, the *Swan*, a Ship of *London*, being commanded, as the other Three, to keep a good way off the Fleet, to prevent discovery, she met with a Fly-Boat, which made Resistance, and escap'd her. This Fly-Boat came from the *Streights*, bound Home, who discovering our Fleet, and thinking to gain Reputation and Reward from the *Spaniards*, shap'd her Course for *Lisbon*; but she was luckily prevented by the *John* and *Francis*, another Ship of *London*, commanded by *Sir Marmaduke Darrel*, who took her within a League of the Shore; and this we may account a Fourth Happiness to our Voyage. The first (as hath been said) was for the Wind to take us so suddenly, and to continue so long: For our Soldiers being Shipp'd, and in Harbour, would have consum'd their Victuals, and have been so pester'd, that it would have endanger'd a Sickness amongst them. The Second, was the taking all Ships that were seen, which kept the Enemy from Intelligence. The Third, was the intercepting of the Fly-Boats from *Cadiz*, whither we were bound, who assur'd us our coming was not suspected, which made us more careful to hail from the Coast than otherwise we should have been: They told us likewise of the daily expectation of the Galleons to come from *St. Lucar* to *Cadiz*, and of the Merchantmen that lay there, and were ready bound for the *Indies*. These Intelligences were of great moment, and

and made the General's presently to continue their Business both by Sea and Land, which otherwise would have taken up a longer time, after their coming thither; and whether all Men would have consented to attempt their Ships in Harbour, if they had not known the most part of them to consist of Merchants, I hold very doubtful. The Fourth, and fortunatest of all, was the taking of the Fly-Boat by the *John and Francis*, which the *Swan* let go: For if she had reach'd *Lubon*, she had been able to make report of the number and greatness of our Ships, and might have endanger'd the loss of the whole Design, the seeing the Course we bore, and that we had pass'd *Lubon*, which was the Place the Enemy most suspected, and made there his greatest preparation for Defence: But had the Enemy been freed of that doubt, he had then no Place to fear but *Andaluzia*, and *Cadiz* above the rest, which upon the least warning might have been strengthened, and we put to great Hazard; he might also have secur'd his Ships, by towing them out with Gallies; and howsoever the Wind had been, might have sent them into the *Straits*, where it had been in vain to have pursu'd them, or over the Bar of *St. Lucar*, where there had been no attempting of them.

And indeed, of the good and ill of Intelligence, we had had sufficient Experience formerly; Of the good in 1588. for how suddenly had we been taken and surpris'd when we least suspected, had it not been for Captain *Flemming*? Of the ill in the year before this, by the *Spaniards* taking a Barque of Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, which was the Occasion of the Overthrow of himself and the whole Action?

The 20th of June we came to *Cadiz*, earlier in the morning than the *Malters* made reckoning of. Before our coming thither, it was determin'd in Council, that we should land at *St. Sebastian's*, the Westernmost part of the Land; and thither came all the Ships to an Anchor, every Man preparing to land as he was formerly directed; but the Wind being to great, and the Sea so grown, and Four Gallies lying to intercept our Boats, there was no attempting to land there without the hazard of all.

This day was spent in vain, in returning Messengers from one General to another; and in the end, they were forc'd to resolve upon a Course which Sir *William Monson*, Captain under my Lord of *Essex*, advis'd him to, the same morning

he discover'd the Town; which was to surprize the Ships, and to be Possessors of the Harbour before they attempted landing.

This being now resolv'd on, there arose a great Question, who should have the Honour of the full going in? My Lord of *Essex* stood for himself; but my Lord Admiral oppos'd it, knowing if he mis-carried, it would hazard the Overthrow of the Action; besides, he was straightly charg'd by her Majesty, that the Earl should not expose himself to Danger, but upon great necessity.

When my Lord of *Essex* could not prevail, the whole Council withstanding him, he sent Sir *William Monson* that night on Board my Lord Admiral, to resolve what Ships should be appointed the next day to undertake the Service. Sir *Walter Raleigh* had the Van given him, which my Lord *Thomas Howard* hearing, challeng'd in right of his Place of Vice-Admiral; and it was granted him; but Sir *Walter* having Order over night to ply in, came first to an Anchor; but in that distance from the *Spaniards* as he could not annoy them: And he himself return'd on Board the Lord General *Essex*, to excuse his coming to Anchor so far off, for want of Water to go higher; which was thought strange, that the *Spaniards* which drew much more Water, and had no more Advantage than he of Tide, could pass where his could not: But Sir *Francis Vere*, in the *Rainbow*, who was appointed to second him, passing by Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Ship, Sir *Walter* the second time weigh'd and went higher. The Lord General *Essex*, who promis'd to keep in the midst of the Fleet, was told by Sir *William Monson*, that the greatest Service would depend upon three or four Ships; and Sir *William* put him in mind of his Honour; for that many Eyes beheld him.

This made him forgetful of his Promise, and to use all Means he could to be foremost in the Fight. My Lord *Howard*, who could not go up in his own Ship the *Mere-honor*, betook himself to the *Nonpareille*; and in respect the *Rainbow*, the *Repulse* and *Warspight*, had taken up the best part of the Channel, by their first coming to an Anchor, to his grief he could not get higher: Here did every Ship strive to be the headmost; but such was the narrowness of the Channel, as neither the Lord Admiral, nor any other Ship of the Queens could pass on. Order was given, that no Ship should shoot but the Queens, making account, that the Honour would be the greater, if the Victory were obtain'd

1588. cain'd with so few. This Fight continu'd from Ten till Four in the Afternoon: The *Spaniards* then set Sail, thinking either to run higher up the River, or else to bring their other Broad Sides to us, because of the heat of their Ordnance; but howsoever it was, in their floating they came a-ground, and the Men began to forsake the Ships: Whereupon it was order'd, that all the *Hoys* and Vessels that drew least Water, should go to them. Sir William Monfon was sent in the *Repulse* Boat with like Directions. We possess'd our selves of the great Galleons, the *Marathon*, and the *Andrew*; but the *Philip* and *Thomas* fir'd themselves, and were burnt down before they could be quench'd.

I must not omit to describe the manner of the *Spanish* Ships and Galleys riding in Harbour at our first coming to *Cadiz*. The Four Galleons singled themselves from out the Fleet, as Guards of their Merchants. The Galleys were plac'd to flank us with their Prows before Entry; but when they saw our approach, the next Morning the Merchants ran up the River, and the Men of War to the Point of the River, and brought themselves into a good Order of Fight, mooring their Ships a Head and a Stern, to have their Broad Sides upon us. The Galleys then betook themselves to the Guard of the Town, which we put them from before we attempted the Ships.

But because I have promis'd in the beginning of my Discourse, to particularize some Errors and Miscarriages my Capacity would permit me to judge of, before I proceed further on this Voyage, I will declare a main oversight in the *Spaniards*.

After the Galleons had (as you have heard) brought themselves to the mouth of the Bay of *Cadiz*, and found themselves unable to withstand us, if, instead of running to *Point Royal*, they had put themselves under the Defence of the Town, they had been defended by their Fort *Philip*, which had added a Strength to theirs; Or being overcome, as afterwards they were, they might with more security have run themselves a-ground near the Town, which would have secur'd their Men in flight of us, and not as they did: where there was no Fort, nor any force of Men to support them. Besides, the Men that had then escap'd into the Town, might have defended it with their Numbers, that though we had taken the Place, it must have been upon harder Conditions than we did. But to proceed:

The Victory being obtain'd at Sea, the Lord General *Essex* landed his Men in a

Sandy Bay, which the Castle of *Punta* commanded; but they seeing the Success of their Ships, and mistrusting their own Strength, neither offer'd to offend his Landing, nor to defend the Castle; but quitted it, and so we became Possessors of it.

After my Lord's Peaceable Landing, he consider'd what was to be done; and there being no place from whence the Enemy could annoy us, but the Bridge which crosses over from the main Land to the Island; by our making good of which Bridge, there would be no way left for the Galleys to escape us: He sent Three Regiments under the Command of Sir *Cornelius Clifford*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Garret* to the Bridge; who at their first coming were encountered by the Enemy, but yet possess'd themselves of it, with the loss of some Men; but whether it was for want of Victuals, or for what other Reasons our Men quitted it, I know not, and the Galleys breaking down divers Arches pass'd it, and by that means escap'd.

My Lord dispatch'd a Messenger to my Lord Admiral, intreating him to give Order to attempt the Merchants that rode in *Port Royal*, for that it was dangerous to give them a Nights respite, lest they should convey away their Wealth, or take Example by the *Philip* and *Thomas*, to burn themselves. This Message was deliver'd by Sir *Anthony Ashley*, and Sir *William Monfon*, as my Lord Admiral was in his Boat, ready with his Troops of Seamen to land, who fearing the Lord General *Essex* should be put to Distress with his small Companies, which were but Three Regiments, hastened by all means to second him, and gave order to certain Ships next day to pursue them.

Since I have undertaken to shew the Oversight committed in any of our *English* Voyages, such as were committed here, shall without Fear or Flattery appear to the Judicious Reader.

Though the Earl of *Essex* his Carriage and Forwardness merited much, yet if it had been with more Deliberation and less Haste, it would have succeeded better: And if he were now living, he would confess Sir *William Monfon* advis'd him, rather to seek to be Master of the Ships, than of the Town; for it was that would afford both Wealth and Honour: For the Riches in Ships could not be conceal'd, or convey'd away, as in Towns they might. And the Ships themselves being brought for *England*, would be always before Mens Eyes there, and put them in mind

mind of the greatness of the Exploit; as for the Town, perhaps it might be soon won, but probably not long enjoy'd, and so quickly forgotten: And to speak indifferently, by the Earl's sudden Landing, without the Lord Admiral's Privity; and his giving Advice by a Message to attempt the Ships, which should have been resolv'd upon mature Deliberation, no doubt the Lord Admiral found his Honour a little Eclips'd, which perhaps haften'd his Landing for his Reputation sake, whereas he thought it more advisable to have posses'd himself of their Fleet.

Before the Lord Admiral could draw near the Town, the Earl of *Effex* had enter'd it; and though the Houses were built in such manner, that every House serv'd for a Platform; yet they were forc'd to quit them, and retire to the Castle.

My Lord at last, in despite of the Enemy, gain'd the Market-place, where he found the greatest Resistance from the Houses thereabouts; and where that worthy Gentleman Sir *John Wingfield* was unluckily slain. The Lord General *Effex* caus'd it to be proclaim'd by Beat of Drum through the Town, that all that would yield, should repair to the Town-House, where they should have promise of Mercy, and those that would not, to expect no Favour. The Castle desir'd Respite to consider till the morning following; and then by one general Consent, they surrend'red themselves to the Two Lord Generals Mercy. The Chief Prisoners, Men and Women, were brought into the Castle, where they remain'd a little space, and were sent away with Honourable Usage. The noble Treating of the Prisoners has gain'd everlasting Honour to our Nation, and the Generals in particular.

It cannot be suppos'd the Lord Generals had leisure to be idle the day following, having so great business to consider of, as the securing the Town, and enjoying the Merchant Ships: Wherefore, for the speedier dispatch, they Treat'd with the best Men of the City about the Ransom to be given for their Town and Liberties. 120000 Duckets was the Sum concluded on; and for Security thereof, many of them became Hostages. There was likewise an Overture for the Ransom of their Ships and Goods, which the Duke of *Medina* hearing of, rather than we should reap any Profit by them, he caus'd them to be fir'd.

We found by Experience, that the destroying of this Fleet (which did amount to the value of Six or Seven Millions)

was the general impoverishing of the whole Country: For when the Pledges were sent to *Sevil*, to take up Money for their Redemption, they were answer'd, that all the Town was not able to raise such a Sum, their Loss was so great by the destruction of their Fleet. And to speak the truth, the King of *Spain* never receiv'd so great an Overthrow, and so great an Indignity at our Hands as this: For our Attempt was at his own Home, in his Port that he thought as safe as his Chamber, where we took and destroy'd his Ships of War, burnt and consum'd the Wealth of his Merchants, sack'd his City, ransom'd his Subjects, and enter'd his Country without Impeachment.

To write all Accidents of this Voyage, were too tedious, and would weary the Reader; but he that would desire to know the Behaviour of the *Spaniards*, as well as of us, may confer with divers *Englishmen* that were redeem'd out of the Gallies in exchange for others, and brought into *England*.

After we had enjoy'd the Town of *Cadix* a fortnight, and our Men were grown rich by the Spoil of it, the Generals imbarqued their Army, with an intent to perform greater Services before their Return; but such was the Covetousness of the better Sort, who were enrich'd there, and the fear of Hunger in others, who complain'd for want of Victuals, that they could not willingly be drawn to any farther Action, to gain more Reputation. The only thing that was afterwards attempted was *Faro*, a Town of *Algarve* in *Portugal*, a Place of no Resistance or Wealth, only famous for the Library of *Ossirin*, who was Bishop of that Place; which Library was brought into *England* by us, and many of the Books bestow'd upon the new erected Library of *Oxford*.

Some Prisoners were taken, but of small account; who told us, that the greatest Strength of the Country was in *Lagos*, the chief Town of *Algarve*, 12 miles distant from thence; because most part of the Gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither, to make it good, expecting our coming. This News was acceptable to my Lord of *Effex*, who prefer'd Honour before Wealth: And having had his Will, and the Spoil of the Town of *Faro*, and Country thereabouts, he Shipp'd his Army, and took Council of the Lord Admiral how to proceed. My Lord Admiral divert'd his Course for *Lagos*, alledging the Place was strong, of no Wealth, always held in the nature of a

1596. Fisher-Town, belonging to the *Portugueses*, who in their Hearts were our Friends; that the winning of it, after so eminent a Place as *Cadiz*, could add no Honour; though it should be carry'd, yet it would be the Loss of his best Troops and Gentlemen, who would rather dye than receive the Indignity of a Repulse. My Lord of *Effex*, much against his Will, was forc'd to yield to these Reasons, and desist from that Enterprize.

About this time there was a general Complaint for want of Victuals; which proceeded rather out of a desire that some had to be at home, than out of any necessity: For Sir William Monfon and Mr. Darel were appointed to Examine the Condition of every Ship, and found Seven Weeks Victuals (Drink excepted) which might have been supplied from the Shore in Water; and this put the Generals in great hope to perform something more than they had done. The only Service now to be thought on, was to lie in wait for the Carrecks, which in all probability could not escape us, though there were many Doubts to the contrary; but easily answer'd by Men of Experience: But in truth some Mens desires homeward were so great, that no Reason could prevail with, or persuade them.

Coming into the height of the Rock, the Generals took Council once again; and then the Earl of *Effex*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, offer'd with great earnestness to stay out the time our Victuals lasted; and desir'd to have but 12 Ships furnish'd out of the rest to stay with them; but this would not be granted, though the Squadron of the *Hollanders* offer'd voluntarily to stay. Sir *Walter Raleigh* alleadg'd the scarcity of Victuals, and the Inflection of his Men. My Lord General *Effex* offer'd, in the Greatness of his Mind, and the Desire he had to stay, to supply his want of Men and Victuals, and to exchange Ships; but all Proposals were in vain: For the Riches of *Cadiz* kept them that had got much, from attempting

more; as if it had been pure Want and not Honour would have enforc'd them to greater Enterprises.

This being the last Hopes of the Voyage, and being generally withstood, it was concluded to steer away for the *North Cape*, and afterwards to view and search the Harbours of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*; and if any of the King of *Spain's* Ships chanc'd to be there, to give an Attempt upon them.

The Lord Admiral sent a Carvel of our Fleet into these Two Harbours, and apparell'd the Men in *Spanish* Cloaths to avoid Suspicion. This Carvel return'd the next day with a true Relation, that there were no Ship in the Harbours: And now palling all Places where there was any hope of doing good, our Return for *England* was resolv'd upon; and on the 8th of *August* the Lord Admiral arriv'd at *Plimouth* with the greatest part of the Army: And the Lord General *Effex*, who staid to accompany the *St. Andrew*, which was under his Charge, and reputed of his Squadron, two days after us, being the 10th of *August*, where he found the Army in that perfect Health, as the like has not been seen, for so many to go out of *England* to such great Enterprises, and to return home again so well.

He himself rid up to the Court, to advise with her Majesty about the winning of *Callis*, which the *Spaniards* took the *Easter* before: Here was a good opportunity to have regain'd the ancient Patrimony of *England*; but the *French* King thought he might with more ease regain it from the *Spaniard* who was his Enemy, than recover it again from us who were his Friends.

My Lord Admiral with the Fleet went to the *Downs*, where he landed, and left the Charge of the Navy to Sir *Robert Dudley* and Sir William Monfon. In going from thence to *Chatham*, they endur'd more foul Weather and contrary Winds, than in the whole Voyage besides.

## A Voyage to the Islands, the Earl of Essex General, Anno 1597. 1597.

## Ships.

*The Merc-honour.*  
*After in the Repulse.*  
*The Lyon.*  
*The Warspite.*  
*The Garland.*  
*The Defiance.*  
*The Mary Rose.*  
*The Hope.*  
*The Matthew.*  
*The Rainbow.*  
*The Bonadventure.*  
*The Dreadnought.*  
*The Swiftsner.*  
*The Antelope.*  
*The Nonpareille.*  
*The St. Andrew.*

## Commanders.

The Earl of Essex; Captain under him,  
*Sir Robert Mansell.*  
The Lord Thomas Howard.  
*Sir Walter Rawleigh.*  
The Earl of Southampton.  
The Lord Mountjoy.  
*Sir Francis Vere.*  
*Sir Richard Lewson.*  
*Sir George Carew.*  
*Sir William Monson.*  
*Sir William Harwey.*  
*Sir William Brooke.*  
*Sir Gilly Merick.*  
*Sir John Gilbert, he went not.*  
*Sir Thomas Varasor.*  
Captain Throgmorton.

HER Majesty having Knowledge of the King of Spain's drawing down his Fleet and Army to the *Groyn* and *Ferrol*, with an intent to enter into some Action against Her; and that, notwithstanding the Loss of 36 Sail of his Ships that were cast away upon the *North Cape*, in their coming thither: He prepar'd, with all possible Means, to revenge the Disgrace we did him the year last past at *Cadix*. Her Majesty likewise prepar'd to defend her self, and fitted out the most part of her Ships for the Sea; but at length, perceiving his Drift was more to afright than offend her, tho' he gave it out otherwise, because she should provide to resist him at home, rather than to annoy him abroad, she was unwilling the great Charges she had been at should be bestow'd in vain, and therefore turn'd her Preparations another way, than that for which the first intended them.

The Project of this Voyage was to assault the King of Spain's Shipping in the Harbour of *Ferrol*, which the Queen chiefly desir'd to do for her own Security at home, and afterwards to go and take the *Tercera Islands*, and there to expect the coming home of the *India Fleet*: But neither of these Two Designs took that effect which was expected; for in our setting forth, the same day we put to Sea, we were taken with a most violent Storm and contrary Winds; and the General was seperated from the Fleet, and one Ship from another, so that the one half of the Fleet was compell'd to return home, and the rest that kept the Sea, having reach'd the Coast of Spain, were commanded home, by order of the Lord General.

Thus, after their return, they were to advise upon a new Voyage, finding by their Ships and Victuals they were unable to perform the former: Whereupon it was thought convenient all the Army should be discharg'd, for saving of Victuals, except 1000 of the prime Soldiers of the Low Countries, which were put into Her Majesty's Ships, that they might be the better prepar'd, if they should chance to encounter the *Spanish Fleet*. Thus the second time they departed *England*, tho' not without some danger of the Ships, by reason of the Winter's near approach.

The first Land in Spain we fell in withal was the *North Cape*, the Place whither our Directions led us, if we happen'd to lose Company: Being there descried from the Shore, and not above Twelve Leagues from the *Groyn*, where the *Spanish Armada* lay, we were in good hopes to have enticed them out of the Harbour to fight us; but spending some time thereabouts, and finding no such Disposition in them, it was thought fit no longer to linger about that Coast, lest we should lose our Opportunity upon the *India Fleet*; therefore every Captain receiv'd his Directions to stand his Course into 36 Degrees, there to spread our selves *North* and *South*, it being a height that commonly the *Spaniards* sail in from the *Indies*.

At this time the Lord General complain'd of a Leak in his Ship; and two days after, towards midnight, he brought himself upon the Lee to stop it. *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, and some other Ships, being a-head of the Fleet, and it growing dark, they could not discern the Lord General's



1597. Working, but flood their Course as before directed; and through this unadvise'd working of my Lord, they lost him, which was a great disheartening to his Fleet.

The day following, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was inform'd by a Pinnace he met, that the great *Armada*, which we suppos'd to be in the *Groyn* and *Ferrol*, was gone to the Islands, for the Guard of the *India* Fleet. This Pinnace, with this Intelligence it gave us, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* immediately sent to look out the General. My Lord had no sooner receiv'd this Advice, but at the very instant he directed his Course to the Islands, and dispatch'd some small Vessels to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, to inform him of the sudden Alteration of his Course, upon the News receiv'd from him, commanding him with all expedition to repair to *Flores*, where he would not fail to be at our Arrival. At the Islands we found this Intelligence utterly false; for neither the *Spanish* Ships were there, nor were expected there: We met likewise with divers *Englishmen* that came out of the *Indies*, but they could give us no Assurance of the coming home of the Fleet; neither could we receive any Advertisement from the Shore, which made us half in despair of them.

By that time we had watered our Ships, and refresh'd our selves at *Flores*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* arriv'd there, who was will'd by the Lord General, after he was furnish'd of such Wants as that poor Island afforded, to repair to the Island of *Fajal*, which my Lord intended to take. Here grew great Questions and Heart-burnings against Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: For he coming to *Fajal*, and missing the Lord General, and yet knowing my Lord's Resolution to take the Island, he held it more advisable to land with those Forces he had, than to expect the coming of my Lord; for in that space the Island might be better provided; whereupon he landed, and took it before my Lord's Approach. This Act was held such an Indignity to my Lord, and urg'd with that Vehemence by those that hated Sir *Walter*, that if my Lord, tho' naturally kind and flexible, had not fear'd how it would have been taken in *England*, I think Sir *Walter* had finaried for it.

From this Island we went to *Graciosa*, which did willingly relieve our Wants as far as it could; yet with humble intreaty to forbear landing with our Army, especially because they understood there was a Squadron of *Hollanders* amongst us, who did not use to forbear Cruelty wherever

they came; and here it was that we met the *India* Fleet, which in manner following miraculously escap'd us.

The Lord General having sent some Men of good Account into the Island, to see there should be no Injury offer'd to the *Portugueses*, because he had pass'd his word to the contrary; those Men advertis'd him of four Sail of Ships descry'd from the Shore, and one of them, greater than the rest, seem'd to be a Carrock: My Lord receiv'd this News with great Joy, and divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, to be commanded by himself, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. The next Ship to my Lord, of the Queen's, was the *Rainbow*, wherein Sir *William Monfon* went, who receiv'd Direction from my Lord to steer away South that night; and if he should meet with any Fleet, to follow them, carrying Lights, or shooting off his Ordnances, making any other Sign that he could; and if he met with no Ships, to direct his Course the next day to the Island of *St. Michael*; but promising that night to send 12 Ships after him. Sir *William* befought my Lord, by the Pinnace that brought him this Direction, that above all things he should have a care to dispatch a Squadron to the Road of *Angra* in the *Tercera's*; for it was certain, if they were *Spaniards*, thither they would resort.

Whilst my Lord was thus contriving his Business, and ordering his Squadron, a small Bark of his Fleet happen'd to come to him, who assur'd him, that those Ships discover'd from the Land were of his own Fleet, and that they came in immediately from them. This made my Lord countermand his former Direction; only Sir *William Monfon*, who was the next Ship to him, and receiv'd the first Command, could not be recall'd back. Within Three Hours of his departure from my Lord, which might be about 12 of the Clock, he fell in company of a Fleet of 25 Sail, which at the first he could not assure himself to be *Spaniards*, because the day before, that number of Ships was missing from our Fleet. Here he was in a Dilemma and great Perplexity with himself; for in making Signs, as he was directed, if the Ships prov'd *English*, it were ridiculous, and he would be expos'd to scorn; and to respite it till morning were as dangerous, if they were the *India* Fleet; for then my Lord might be out of view, or of the hearing of his Ordnance: Therefore he resolv'd rather to put his Person than his Ship in Peril. He commanded his Master to keep the

the Weather-gage of the Fleet whatsoever should become of him; and it blowing little Wind, he betook himself to his Boat, and row'd up with this Fleet, demanding whence they were: They answer'd, of *Sevil in Spain*; and ask'd of whence he was? He told them of *England*, and that the Ship in fight was a Gallion of the Queen's of *England*, single and alone, alledging the Honour they would get by winning her; his Drift being to draw and entice them into the Wake of our Fleet, where they would be so entangl'd, as they could not escape; they return'd him some Shot and ill Language, but would not alter their Course to the *Tercera's*, whither they were bound, and where they arriv'd to our misfortune. Sir *William Monfon* return'd aboard his Ship, making Signs and Lights, and Report with his Ordnance, but all in vain; for my Lord altering his Course, as you have heard, flood that night to *St. Michael's*, and pass'd by the North side of *Tercera*, a farther way than if he had gone by the way of *Angra*, where he had met the *India* Fleet.

When day appear'd, and Sir *William Monfon* was in hopes to find the 12 Ships promis'd to be sent to him, he might discern the *Spanish* Fleet Two Miles and a little more a-head of him, and a Stern him a Gallion, and a Pinnace betwixt them; which putting forth her Flags, he knew to be the Earl of *Southampton* in the *Garland*: The Pinnace was a Frigate of the *Spanish* Fleet, who took the *Garland* and the *Rainbow* to be Gallions of theirs; but seeing the Flag of the *Garland*, she found her Error, and sprang a-loof, thinking to escape; but the Earl pursued her with the loss of some time, when he should have follow'd the Fleet, and therefore was desir'd to desist from that Chase by Sir *William Monfon*, who sent his Boat to him. By a Shot from my Lord this Frigate was sunk; and while his Men were rising her, Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *William Brook* came up in their Two Ships, who the *Spaniards* would have made us believe were Two Gallions of theirs; and so much did my Lord signify to Sir *William Monfon*, wishing him to stay their coming up; for that there would be greater hope of those Two Ships, which there was no doubt but we were able to master, than of the Fleet, for which we were too weak.

When Sir *William* knew the Two Ships to be the Queen's, which he had before suspected, he began to pursue the *Spanish* Fleet afresh; but by reason they were lo

far a-head of him, and had so little way to sail, they recover'd the Road of *Tercera*; but he and the rest of the Ships pursued them, and himself led the way into the Harbour, where he found sharp Resistance from the Castle; but yet to batter'd the Ships, that he might see the Masts of some shot by the Board, and the Men quit the Ships; so that there wanted nothing but a Gale of Wind to enable him to cut the Cables of the *Hawfers*, and to bring them off: Wherefore he sent to the other Three great Ships of ours, to desire them to attempt the cutting their Cables; but Sir *Francis Vere* rather wish'd his coming off, that they might take a Resolution what to do. This must be rather imputed to want of Experience than Backwardness in him; for Sir *William* sent him word, that if he quitted the Harbour, the Ships would tow near the Castle; and as the night drew on, the Wind would freshen, and come more off the Land, which indeed prov'd so, and we above a League from the Road in the morning.

We may say, and that truly, there was never that Possibility to have undone the State of *Spain* as now; for every Royal of Plate we had taken in this Fleet had been two to them, by our converting it by War upon them.

None of the Captains could be blam'd in this Business; all is to be attributed to the want of Experience in my Lord, and his flexible Nature to be over-ru'd: For the first hour he anchor'd at *Flores*, and call'd a Council, Sir *William Monfon* advis'd him, upon the Reasons following, after his Waterings, to run *West*, spreading his Fleet *North* and *South*, so far as the *Eastern* Wind that then blew would carry them; alledging, that if the *India* Fleet came home that year, by computation of the last light Moon, from which time their disimboгуing in the *Indies* must be reckoned, they could not be above 200 Leagues short of that Island; and whenever the Wind should chop up *Westerly*, he bearing a slack Sail, they would in a few days overtake him.

This Advice my Lord seem'd to embrace, but was diverted by divers Gentlemen, who coming principally for Land Service, found themselves tir'd by the tediousness of the Sea. Certain it is, if my Lord had follow'd his Advice, within less than 40 Hours he had made the Queen owner of that Fleet; for by the Pilot's Card, which was taken in the Frigate, the *Spanish* Fleet was but 60 Leagues in traverse with that *Eastern* Wind when my

1597. my Lord was at *Flores*, which made my Lord with, the first time Sir *William Monfon* repair'd to him, after the escape of the Fleet, that he had lost his Hand so he had been rul'd by him.

Being met aboard Sir *Francis Vere*, we consulted what to do, and resolv'd to acquaint my Lord with what had happen'd, desiring his Presence with us, to see if there were any possibility to attempt the Shipping, or surprize the Island, and to to possess the Treasure.

My Lord receiv'd this Advertisement, just as he was ready with his Troops to have landed in *St. Michaels*; but this Message diverted his Landing, and made him presently cast about for the Islands of the *Tercera*, where we lay all this while expecting his coming. In his Course from *St. Michaels*, it was his hap to take Three Ships that departed the *Havana* the day after the Fleet: Which Three Ships did almost then countervail the Expence of the whole Voyage.

At my Lord's meeting with us at *Tercera*, there was a Consultation how the Enemy's Ships might be fetch'd off, or destroy'd as they lay; but all Men with one consent agreed the impossibility of it. The attempting the Island was propounded; but withstood for these Reasons; the difficulty in Landing, the Strength of the Island, which was increas'd by Fourteen or Fifteen hundred Soldiers in the Ships, and our want of Victuals to abide by the Siege. Seeing then we were frustrate of our Hopes at the *Tercera*, we resolv'd upon landing in *St. Michaels*, and arriv'd the day following at *Punta Delgada*, the chief City. Here my Lord imbarqued his small Army in Boats, with offer to Land; and having thereby drawn the Enemies greatest Force thither to resist him, suddenly he row'd to *Villa Franca*, three or four Leagues distant from thence; which, not being detended by the Enemy, he took. The Ships had order to abide in the Road of *Delgada*; for that my Lord made account to march thither by Land; but being ashore at *Villa Franca*, he was inform'd that the March was impossible, by reason of the high and craggy Mountains, which diverted his purpose.

Victuals now grew short with us, and my Lord General began discreetly to foresee the danger in abiding towards Winter upon these Coasts, which could not afford him an Harbour, only open Roads that were subject to Southerly Winds; and upon every such Wind, he must put to Sea for his safety. He consider'd, that

if this should happen when his Troops were ashore, and he not able to reach the Land in a Fortnight or more, which is a thing ordinary, what a desperate Case he should put himself into, especially in so great a want of Victuals: And so concluding, that he had seen the end of all his Hopes by the Escape of the Fleet, he imbarqued himself and Army, though with some difficulty, the Seas were now grown so high.

By this time the one half of the Fleet that rid in *Punta Delgada*, made away for *Villa Franca*; and those that remain'd behind being thought by a Ship of *Brazile* to be the Spanish Fleet, she came in amongst them, and so was betray'd: After her there follow'd a Carreck, who had been serv'd in the like manner, for the hasty and indiscreet weighing of a *Hollander*, which made her run ashore under the Castle; when the Wind lessen'd Sir *William Monfon* weigh'd with the *Rainbow*, thinking to give an attempt upon her notwithstanding the Castle; which she perceiving, as he drew near unto her, she set her self on fire, and burn'd down to the very Keel. She was a Ship of 1400 Tuns Burden, that the year before was not able to double the Cape of *Good Hope* in her Voyage to the *East-Indies*; but put into *Brazile*, where she was laden with Sugars, and afterwards thus destroy'd. The Spaniards, who presum'd more upon their Advantages than Valour, and thought themselves in too weak a Condition to follow us to the Islands, and put their Fortunes upon a days Service, subtilly devis'd how to intercept us as we came Home, when we had least Thought or Suspicion of them and their Fleet, which was all this while in the *Greys* and *Ferrol*, not daring to put forwards while they knew ours to be upon the Coast. Their General the *Adelantado* came for *England*, with a Resolution to land at *Falmouth*, and fortifie it, and afterwards with their Ships to keep the Sea, and expect our coming home scatter'd: And having thus cut off our Sea Forces, and possessing the Harbour of *Falmouth*, they thought with a second Supply of 37 *Levantine* Ships, which the Marquis *Arumbullo* commanded, to have return'd and gain'd a good footing in *England*.

We may say, and that truly, that God fought for us: For the *Adelantado* being within a few Leagues of the Island of *Silly*, he commanded all his Captains on Board him to receive his Directions; but whilst they were in Consultation, a violent Storm took them at East, insomuch that

the

the Captains could hardly recover their Ships, but in no case were able to save their Boats: The Storm continu'd so furious, that happy was he who could recover home, seeing their Design thus overthrown by the loss of their Boats, whereby the Means of Landing was taken away. Some who were willing to stay, and receive the farther Commands of the General, kept the Seas so long upon our Coast, that in the end they were taken; Others put themselves into our Harbours for Refuge and Succour; and it is certainly known, that in this Voyage the Spaniards lost Eighteen Ships, the *St. Luke* and the *St. Baribolomew* being Two, and in the Rank of his best Gallies.

We must ascribe this loss of theirs to God only; for certainly the Enemies De-

signs were dangerous, and not diverted by our Force, but by his Will, who from time to time would not suffer the Spaniards in any one of their Attempts to set footing in *England*, as we did in all Quarters of *Spain*, *Portugal*, the Islands, and both *Indies*.

In this Voyage to the Islands, I have set down my Lord's Design upon the Spanish Fleet lying at *Ferrol*, wherein his Lordship requir'd a Captain he most relied on to have his Opinion in Writing; First, Whether he should attempt the Ships in Harbour, or no? Secondly, Whether before or after his being at the *Tercera*? And lastly, The Manner how to Assault them? The Captain's Answer follows, which you may Read and Judge of.

*To the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex.*

IN answer to your Lordship's demand, Whether to give an Attempt upon the Ships in *Ferrol*, before the landing your Men, and the Castles gain'd, (this I say) that before I can give my Resolution, I must describe the State of the Harbour, and the situation of the Forts, with the Strength of the Ships; for out of these must proceed my Reasons.

I conceive at the entrance of the Harbour there are Two Castles, the one on the Southside, the other on the North, both commanding any Ship that shall enter; they are seated low by the Water, the Cliffs on both sides very high, and the Harbour to be Chain'd.

My Opinion is, if your Lordship do land your Men in the Bay before you take the Forts, as there is no other Place of Landing, you must consider it is an open Road, the Coast subject to Northerly Winds, which beat so hard on the Shore, that you cannot land your Soldiers and their Furniture with convenience and safety, especially being fure to find Resistance at your Landing.

But your Lordship may Answer, That he who attempts Great Things, must run all Hazards; And as it is Wisdom to forecast all Doubts and Dangers, so were it too great Security not to hazard Loss upon hope of Victory; And whereas the danger of Landing by reason of the Seas breaking on the Shore is alledged, you may think we are not always fure of a Northerly Wind, nor of so great a Sea, and therefore you must put your Attempt in adventure.

But for your Lordship's Satisfaction in this Point: You must know that you cannot seize that Coast, but with such a Wind as makes such a Sea as renders it difficult for you to Land. Or, suppose that being upon the Coast as you were the last year, when you came from *Cadix*, and that the Wind should now do as then it did, chop up from the South west to the North west, your Lordship would be imbar'd, and forc'd to seek the Harbour of the *Groyne* or *Ferrol*, and make good those Places, which then you might have done; but now you must consider your Army is not so great as it was then, and their Fortifications and Shipping are much stronger than they were: My Opinion is therefore, That there is little Possibility of attempting the Shipping without gaining the Forts; neither do I see any Possibility to possess them with your small Army.

But your Lordship may alledge, that though the Ports were impregnable, yet they may be pass'd with a large Wind, for every Shot that comes from them hits not, or if it does it kills not, but though it should it sinks not.

I allow it is no great difficulty to pass any Fort with a Ship under Sail, being a moveable thing, where no certain aim can be had, yet I think no Place more dangerous than *Ferrol*, because of the highness of the Hills, and the narrowness of the entrance that makes a continual Calm, or the little Wind so uncertain, that every Puff brings sundry Shift of

1597. 'of Wind; many of the King of Spain's  
'Ships have been there lost: And there-  
'fore the advantage of a Ship in passing  
'a Castle is the force and largeness of a  
'Wind; as to the contrary, these Ports  
'will be able to annoy a Ship upon the  
'former Reasons.

'But allow that your Lordship's Fleet  
'should enter safely, for the greatest Dif-  
'ficulty is not to pass in, but to perform  
'the Service when they are within; your  
'Fleet being entered, they will be in the  
'State of a Prisoner, that cannot get out  
'of a House without Leave of his Keeper,  
'for the Wind that is good and large for  
'them to enter, is as much against their  
'coming out; and therefore it behoves  
'every Commander, as well to think of  
'bringing himself off with Discretion, as  
'of falling on with Resolution.

'Hitherto I have shewed the uncer-  
'tainty of your Lordship's Landing, the  
'doubtfulness of your Attempt, and the  
'danger in not having the Castles; but  
'I will now suppose the Ports to be ours,  
'and the whole Shipping pass'd them  
'without any loss, yet will the Enemy  
'have as great an advantage as they can  
'with; for the number of Men and Ship-  
'ping, and the greatness of their Ves-  
'sels, are known to exceed ours; and  
'where there is an equality in Shipping  
'on both sides, the Victory is not to be  
'obtain'd on neither side, whilst there is  
'Ammunition and Men on the other side,  
'unless it be by a general Boarding, or  
'Stratagem of Firing, in which the Spa-  
'niard shall have advantage of us, they  
'being in their own Harbour, where  
'they may be supplied; and we can have  
'no Relief but what we bring with us.

'If your Lordship shall hold it con-  
'venient, as in Discretion I think you  
'will not, to send in her Majesty's  
'Ships upon this Service, then you must  
'consider the rest of your Fleet to be far  
'inferior to the Enemies Strength, and so  
'you will send them apparently to their  
'own Destruction, Slaughter and Ruin.

'As I am against the Attempt of Fer-  
'rol before you return from the Islands,  
'so I am also against your Lordship's  
'presenting your self upon that Coast;  
'for in thinking to intice forth the Fleet,  
'besides that you shall discover your own  
'Strength, you shall give them occasion  
'to Arm their Country; and besides, it

'will be in their choice, whether to Fight  
'with you or no; for they will be able to  
'discover and judge of your Forces; and  
'such is their Discipline, that though they  
'had your Lordship upon advantage, yet  
'they dare not attempt you without a  
'Special Order from the King; which  
'your Lordship found by Experience in  
'the Count de Fuentes his Answer to your  
'Lordship's Challenge at the Walls of  
'Lisbonne. And to conclude, since your  
'Lordship intends to go from Ferrol to  
'Tercera, it were much better, in my O-  
'pinion, first to attempt that Island, whilst  
'your Army is strong and in health; it  
'is a Place of much more importance, and  
'more likelihood of prevailing than in  
'your Enterprize upon the Shipping;  
'That Island being possess'd, will draw  
'Contributions from the rest to maintain  
'it; your Lordship will cut off the Sup-  
'plies the Spaniards and Portugueses receive  
'from both the Indies, Guinea and Brazil;  
'your Lordship will provide a Place of  
'Refuge for our Fleet hereafter, from  
'whence they may with ease keep the  
'Seas, and endanger all the Trades afore-  
'said; your Lordship will Unite that  
'Island to the Crown of England; and  
'if there be an Agreement of Peace be-  
'twixt the Two Nations, you will gain  
'advantageous Conditions to the State of  
'England upon a Treaty; your Lordship  
'will be in a possibility of drawing the  
'Armada of Ferrol to pursue you thither,  
'that Island importing them so much to  
'defend, and then your Lordship will  
'have your desire to Fight them upon  
'equal Terms at Sea. If you attempt  
'Ferrol at first, and should happen to be  
'repulsed, your Lordship will confess it  
'will be so great a Dishonour and Loss,  
'that you will not be able to resolve upon  
'any other Service, and then will your  
'Expedition for the Tercera be utterly  
'void; whereas if you would please to  
'make your Attempt upon the Tercera's  
'first, it will not take away your Hope  
'of Ferrol afterwards; for in your re-  
'turn from thence, you will find the  
'Shipping either in the same State you left  
'them in Harbour; or if you meet them  
'at Sea, you will Encounter them upon  
'advantage. Thus have I answer'd your  
'Lordship's Demand as you requir'd.

W. M.

The



*The Lord Thomas Howard Admiral in the Downs, from whence  
he return'd in a Month, Anno 1599.*

## Ships.

*The Elizabeth Jonas.  
The Ark Royal.  
The Triumph.  
The Mere-bonour.  
The Repulse.  
The Garland.  
The Defiance.  
The Nonpareille.  
The Lyon.  
The Rainbow.  
The Hope.  
The Foresight.  
The Mary Rose.  
The Bonaventure.  
The Crane.  
The Swiftsure.  
The Tremontain.  
The Advantage.  
The Quittance.*

## Commanders.

*The Lord Thomas Howard.  
Sir Walter Rawleigh.  
Sir Fulke Greville.  
Sir Henry Palmer.  
Sir Tho. Vavasor.  
Sir Will. Harvey.  
Sir Will. Monson.  
Sir Robert Cross.  
Sir Richard Lewson.  
Sir Alexander Clifford.  
Sir John Gilbert.  
Sir Tho. Sherley.  
Mr. Fortescue.  
Capt. Troughton.  
Capt. Jonas.  
Capt. Bradgate.  
Capt. Slingsby.  
Capt. White.  
Capt. Reynolds.*

I Cannot write of any thing done in this Year of 1599. for there was never greater Expectation of War, with less Performance. Whether it was a Mistrust the one Nation had of the other, or a Policy held on both sides, to make Peace with Sword in Hand, a Treaty being entertain'd by consent of each Prince, I am not to examine; but sure I am, the Preparation was on both sides very great, as if the one expected an Invasion from the other: And yet it was generally conceiv'd, not to be intended by either; but that ours had only relation to my Lord of Essex, who was then in Ireland, and had a Design to try his Friends in England, and so be reveng'd of his Enemies, as he pretended, and as it prov'd afterwards by his Fall. Howsoever it was, the Charge was not so great as necessary: For it was commonly known, that the *Adelantado* had drawn both his Ships and Gallies to the Groyne; which was not usually done, but for some Action intended upon England or Ireland, though he converted them afterwards to another use; for the Gallies were sent into the Low-Countries, and pass'd the Narrow Seas, whilst our Ships lay there, and with the Fleet the *Adelantado* pursu'd the *Hollanders* to the Islands, whither he suspected they were gone. This Fleet of *Hollanders*, which consisted of 73 Sail, were the first Ships that ever displayed their Colours in War-like sort against the *Spaniards*, in any Action of

their own: For how cruel soever the War seem'd to be in *Holland*, they maintain'd a Peaceable Trade in *Spain*, and abus'd us. This first Action of the *Hollanders* at Sea prov'd not very successful: For after the Spoil of a Town in the *Canary's*, and some Hurt done at the Island of *S. Tome*, they kept the Sea for some seven or eight months, in which time their General and most of their Men sickned and died, and the rest return'd with Loss and Shame. Another Benefit which we receiv'd by this Preparation, was, That our Men were now taught suddenly to Arm, every Man knowing his Command, and how to be commanded, which before they were ignorant of: and who knows not, that sudden and false Alarms in an Army, are sometimes necessary? To say truth, the Expedition which was then us'd in drawing together so great an Army by Land, and rigging so great an Army by Sea to Sea in so little a space of Time, was so admirable in other Countreys, that they received a Terror by it; and many that came from beyond Sea, said, the Queen was never more dreaded abroad for any thing she ever did.

*Frenchmen* that came aboard our Ships, did wonder (as at a thing incredible) that her Majesty had Rigg'd, Victuall'd and Furnish'd her Royal Ships to Sea in 12 days time: And *Spain*, as an Enemy, had reason to fear, and grieve to see this sudden Preparation; but more, when they

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understood how the Hearts of her Majesty's Subjects join'd with their Hands, being all ready to spend their dearest Blood for her and her Service. *Holland* might likewise see, that if they became intolent, we could be as soon provided as they; nor did they expect to find such celerity in any Nation but themselves.

It is probable too, that the King of Spain, and the Arch-Duke, were hereby drawn to entertain Thoughts of Peace:

For as soon as our Fleet was at Sea, a Gentleman was sent from *Brussels*, with some Overtures, though for that time they succeeded not. However, whether it was, that the intended Invasion from Spain was diverted, or that her Majesty was fully satisfi'd of my Lord of *Essex*, I know not; but so it was, that she commanded the suddain return of her Ships from Sea, after they had lain three weeks or a month in the Downs.

1600.

## Sir Richard Lewson to the Islands, Anno Dom. 1600.

## Ships.

*The Repulse.*  
*The Waspigbt.*  
*The Vanguard.*

## Commanders.

Sir Richard Lewson.  
Capt. Troughton.  
Capt. Sommers.

THE last year, as you have heard, put all Men in expectation of War, which yet came to nothing. This Summer gave us great hope of Peace; but with the like effect: For by consent of the Queen, the King of Spain, and the Arch Duke, their Commissioners met at *Bologne* in *Picardy*, to Treat of Peace; a Place chosen indifferently, the French King being in League and Friendship with them all. Whether this Treaty were intended but in shew only, or, that they were out of hopes to come to any Conclusion; or, what else was the true and real cause of its breaking off so suddenly, I know not; but the pretence was slender, for there grew a difference about Precedency betwixt the Crowns of Spain and England; and so the hopes of Peace were frustrated; though had it been really intended, matters might easily have been accommodated.

The Queen suspected the Event hereof before their meeting, and the rather, because the Spaniards entertain'd her with the like Treaty in 1588. when at the same Instant their Navy appear'd upon her Coast to Invade her; therefore, lest she should be guilty of too great security, in relying upon the success of this doubtful Treaty, she furnish'd the Three Ships before named, under pretence to guard the Western Coast, which at that time was infested by the *Dunkirkers*.

And because there should be the less notice taken, part of the Victuals was provided at *Plimouth*, and Sir Richard Lewson, who was then Admiral of the Narrow Seas, was appointed General, for

the more secret carrying on of the Business; so as it could not be conjectur'd, either by their Victualling, or by their Captain, being Admiral of the Narrow Seas, that it was a Service from home. As they were in a readiness at *Plimouth*, expecting Orders, the Queen being fully satisfi'd that the Treaty of *Bologne* would break off without effect, she commanded Sir Richard Lewson to hasten to the Islands, there to expect the Carrecks and Mexico Fleet. The Spaniards on the other side, being as circumspect to prevent a Mitchell, as we were subtil to contrive it; and believing (as we did) that the Treaty of Peace would prove a vain, hopeless shew of what was never meant, furnished Eighteen tall Ships to the Islands, as they had usually done since the year 1591. The General of this Fleet was Don Diego de Borachero.

Our Ships coming to the Islands, they and the Spaniards had Intelligence of one another, but not the sight, for that Sir Richard Lewson hailed Sixty Leagues Westward, not only to avoid them, but in hopes to meet with the Carrecks, and Mexico Fleet, before they could join them: But the Carrecks being formerly warned by the taking of one of them, and burning of another in 1591. had ever since that year endeavour'd to shun the sight of that Island; so that our Fleet being now prevented, as they had often before been, (nothing being more uncertain than Actions at Sea, where Ships are to meet one another casually) they return'd home, having consum'd time and Victuals to no purpose, and seen not so much as one Sail, from the time they quitted the Coast of

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England, till their return, two Ships of either) which Ships Sir Richard Lewson  
Holland excepted, that came from the reliev'd, finding them in great distress  
East-Indies, (for then began their Trade and want.

Sir Richard Lewson into Ireland, Anno 1601.

Ships.

The Warpight.  
The Garland.  
The Defiance.  
The Swiftsuer.  
The Crane.

Commanders.

Sir Richard Lewson.  
Sir Amias Prefton.  
Captain Goer.  
Captain Sommers.  
Captain Mainwaring.

IN the Year 1600, and part of the Year 1601, there was a kind of Cessation from Arms, tho' not by Agreement; for this Year gave a hope of Peace, which failing, the former course of annoying each other was reviv'd; we in relieving the Low Countries, the Spaniards in assisting the Rebels in Ireland. This was the Summer that the Arch-Duke besieg'd Ostend, which was bravely defended, but principally by the Supplies out of England. And towards Winter, when the Spaniards thought we least look'd for War, Don Diego de Boracero, with 48 Sail of Ships, and 4000 Soldiers, was sent to Invade Ireland.

In his way thither he lost the company of his Vice-Admiral *Siriago*, who return'd to the *Groyn*; which, when the King heard, he was much distast'd with *Siriago*, and commanded him, upon his Allegiance, to hasten with all speed for Ireland, as he was formerly directed. Don Diego's Landing was known in England, when it was too late to prevent it; yet, least he should be supply'd with further Forces, Sir Richard Lewson valiantly enter'd the Harbour, drew near their Fortifications, and fought the Enemy for the space of one whole day, his Ship being an hundred times shot through, and yet but Eight Men slain. God so blest him, that he prevail'd in his Enterprize, destroy'd their whole Shipping, and made *Siriago* fly by Land into another Harbour, where he obscurely embarked himself in a French Vessel for Spain. All this while the main Army, which Landed with their General Don Juan de Avila, was at *Kingale*, expecting the Aid of Tyroen, who promis'd every day to be with him. Our Army,

commanded by the Lord Montjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, besieg'd the Town, so that he prevented their meeting, and many Skirmishes pass'd betwixt them.

The Siege continu'd, with great Miseries to both the Armies, and not without cause, considering the Season of the Year, and the Condition of the Country, that afforded little Relief to either. Some few days before Christmas Tyroen appear'd with his Forces, which was some little heartening to the Enemy, in hopes to be freed of their Imprisonment; for so may I call it, they were so strictly beleaguerr'd. The day of Agreement betwixt the Spaniards and Tyroen was Christmas-Eve, on which day there happen'd an Earthquake in England; and, as many times such Signs prove *aut bonum, aut malum Omen*, this prov'd Fortunate to us, the Victory being obtain'd with so little Loss, as is almost incredible.

This was the day of Tryal, whether Ireland should continue a Parcel of our Crown, or no; for if the Enemy had prevail'd in the Battel, and a Treaty had not afterwards obtain'd more than Force, it was to be fear'd Ireland would hardly have been ever recover'd. The Spaniards in Ireland seeing the Success of Tyroen, and the Impossibility for him to reinforce his Army, being hopeless of Supplies out of Spain, and their Poverty daily encreasing, they made Offers of a Parley; which was granted, and a Peace ensu'd: The Conditions whereof are extant in Print. They were furnished with Ships, and secur'd of their Passage into Spain, where arriving in English Vessels, the Ships return'd back for England.

1602. Sir Richard Lewson, and Sir William Monson, to the Coast of Spain, Anno 1602.

## Ships.

*The Repulse.*  
*The Garland.*  
*The Defiance.*  
*The Mary Rose.*  
*The Warpight.*  
*The Nonpareil.*  
*The Dreadnought.*  
*The Adventure.*  
*The English Carvel.*

## Commanders.

Sir Richard Lewson, Admiral.  
 Sir William Monson, Vice-Admiral.  
 Captain Goer.  
 Captain Slingsby.  
 Captain Sommers.  
 Captain Reynolds.  
 Captain Maimwaring.  
 Captain Trevor.  
 Captain Sawkel.

THE last Attempt of the Spaniards in Ireland awaken'd the Queen, who, it seems for two or three Years together, entertain'd the hopes of Peace, and therefore was sparing in setting forth her Fleets. But now perceiving the Enemy had found the way into Ireland, and that it behov'd her to be more vigilant than ever, she resolv'd, as the safest Course, to Inset the Spanish Coasts with a continual Fleet; and this year furnished the Ships aforesaid, having Promise from the States of Holland to join to them 12 Sail of theirs; and because this important Service requir'd great speed, she had not time enough to Man them, or supply them with Provisions altogether so well as they were usually wont to be, but was content with what could be got in so short a warning, so delicious was she to see her Ships at Sea.

Sir Richard Lewson set sail with Five of them the 19th of March, and left Sir William Monson behind with the other Four, to attend the coming of the *Hollanders*; tho' within two or three days after Sir William receiv'd Command from the Queen to hasten with all speed to Sir Richard Lewson; for that she was advertis'd, that the Silver Ships were arriv'd at the *Tercera's*. Sir William Monson hereupon neglected no time, nor stay'd either to see himself better Mann'd, or his Ships better furnish'd, but put to Sea the 26th of March.

This Intelligence of the Queen's was true; for the Plate Fleet had been at the *Tercera's*, and departing thence, in their Course for Spain, Sir Richard Lewson, with his few Ships, met them, but to little purpose, wanting the rest of his Fleet, and the help of the 12 *Hollanders*. We may very well account this not the least Error or Negligence that has been committed in our Voyages; for if the *Hollanders* had

kept touch according to Promise, and the Queen's Ships had been fitted out with Care, we had made Her Majesty Mithers of more Treasure than any of her Progenitors ever enjoy'd.

Sir Richard Lewson's Design against the India Fleet, notwithstanding his great Valour, being thus frustrated, and by the *Hollanders* slackness cross'd, he ply'd towards the Rock, to meet Sir William Monson, as the Place resolv'd on between them; but Sir William having spent 14 days thereabouts, and hearing no Tidings of him, went round to the Southward Cape, where he was likewise frustrated of a most promising Hope; for meeting with certain *Frenchmen* and *Scots*, at the same instant, he deserv'd three Ships of ours, sent by Sir Richard to look him. These *French* and *Scottish* Ships came from St. Lucar, and gave an account of five Galeons, ready the next Tide to set sail for the *Indies*: They likewise told him of two others that departed three days before, wherein went Don Pedro de Valdes, to be Governor of the *Havana*, who had been Prisoner in England in 88.

These two latter Ships were met one night by the *Warpight*, whereof Captain Sommers was Commander; but whether it was by the darkness of the night, or by what other Casualty, (for the Sea is subject to many) I know not, but they escap'd.

This News of the five Galeons, and the three Ships of the Queen's so happily meeting together, made Sir William direct his Course into the Latitude the Spaniards were most likely to fall in; and coming to it, he had sight of five Ships, which in respect of their Number and Course, he made reckoning to be the five Galeons; and thought that day should fully determine and try the difference between the Strength and Puissance of the English and Spanish

*Spanish Ships*, their Number and Greatness being equal: But his Joy was soon abated; for coming up with them, he found them to be *English Ships* from the *Streights*, and bound home; yet this did not lessen the Hope he had conceiv'd that the *Spaniards* might be met withal; and the next day he gave Chase to one Ship alone that came out of the *Indies*, which he took, tho' he had been better without her; for she brought him so far to Leeward, that at night the Galeons pass'd to Windward, not above eight or ten Leagues off us, by report of an *English Pinnace* that met them, who came in to our Company the day following. These Misfortunes lighting first upon Sir *Richard*, and after upon Sir *William*, might have been sufficient Reasons to discourage them; but they knowing the Accidents of the Sea, and that Fortune could as well laugh as weep, having good Ships under foot, their Men sound and in health, and plenty of Victuals, they did not doubt but that some of the Wealth which the *Indies* sent forth into Spain would fall to their shares.

Upon *Tuesday*, the first of *June*, to begin our new Fortune with a new Month, Sir *Richard Lewson* and Sir *Wm. Monson*, who some few nights before had met accidentally in the Sea, were close on board the Rock, where they took two Ships of the *East Country*, bound for *Lubon*; and while they were romaging these Ships, they descried a Carvel from Cape *Espeichel* bearing with them; which, by Signs she made, they perceiv'd had a desire to speak with them. Sir *Richard* immediately chas'd her, and left Sir *William* with the two *Easterlings* to abide about the Rock till his return. The Carvel being fetch'd up, gave Account, That a Carreck and 11 Gallies were in *Cerimbra Road*, and that she was sent by two Ships of ours, the *Nonpareille* and the *Dreadnought*, which lay thereabouts, to look out the Admiral. With what Joy this News was apprehended may be easily imagin'd: Sir *Richard* made Signs to Sir *William* to stand with him; and lest he should not be discern'd, he caus'd the Carvel to ply up with him, wishing him to repair to him; but before they could approach the Cape, it was midnight, and nothing chanc'd all that time, but the exchanging of some Shot, that pass'd betwixt the Admiral and the Gallies.

Upon *Wednesday*, the second of *June*, every Man look'd early in the morning what Ships of Her Majesty's were in sight, which were five in number; the

*Warspight*, wherein Sir *Richard* was; for the *Repulse* he had sent for *England* some few days before, by reason of a Leak; the *Garlanda*, the *Nonpareille*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, besides the two *Easterlings* taken the day before. All the Captains resorted on board the Admiral, to counsel, which took up most part of the day. At first there was an Opposition by some, who alledg'd the Danger and Impossibility of taking the Carreck, being defended by the *Cattle* and 11 Gallies: But Sir *William Monson* prevail'd so far, as that all consented to go upon her the next day, and concluded upon this Course following, That he and Sir *Richard* should anchor as near the Carreck as they could, the rest to ply up and down, and not anchor. Sir *William* was glad of this Occasion, to be reveng'd of the Gallies, hoping to require the Slavery they put him to when he was Prisoner in them, and singled himself from the Fleet a League, that the Gallies might see it was in defiance of them; and so the Marquess of *St. Cruz*, and *Frederick Spinola*, the one General of the *Portuguese*, the other of the *Spanish Gallies*, apprehended it, and came forth with an intent to fight him; but being within Shot, were diverted by one *John Bedford*, an *Englishman*, who undertook to know the Force of the Ship, and Sir *William* that commanded her.

Before I go farther, I will a little digress, and acquaint you with the Situation of the Town, and the manner of placing the Gallies against us. The Town of *Cerimbra* lies in the bottom of a Road; which is a good Succour for Ships with a Northerly Wind. It is built with Free-stone, and near the Sea is erected a strong and spacious Fort, well replenish'd with Ordnance: Above the Town, upon the top of a Hill, is seated an ancient, strong Friery, whose Situation makes it impregnable, and able to command the Town, Castle and Road: Close to the Shore lay the Carreck, like a Bulwark to the West side of the *Cattle*, so as it defended both that and the East part of the Town: The 11 Gallies had flank'd and fortify'd themselves with the small Neck of a Rock on the West side of the Road, with their Prows right forward, to play upon us, every one carrying a Cannon in her Bunk, besides other Pieces in their Prows; and they were no way to be damaged by us, till our Ships came so nigh the Town, that all these Forces might play upon us in one instant.

102. The Gallies being plac'd to this great Advantage, they made account (as a Captain of one of them we took confel'd) to have sunk our Ships of themselves, without any farther Help. We saw the Tents pitch'd, and great Troops of Soldiers drawn together; which was no less than the whole Country in Arms against us: The Boats pass'd betwixt the Shore and the Carreck all the day long, which we suppos'd was to unlade her; but we found afterwards it was rather to strengthen her with Men and Ammunition. Here appear'd many Difficulties and Dangers, and little hope of taking; but rather of sinking or burning her, as most Men conjectur'd. The Danger from the Gallies was great, they being flank'd with the point of a Rock at our Entrance, as you have heard, it being likewise calm, and they shooting low: Another Danger was, that of the Wind: For if it had come from the Sea, the Road being open, and the Bay deep, our Attempt must have been in vain. And notwithstanding these, and many more apparently seen; and that there was no Man but imagin'd, that most of the Carrecks Lading was ashore, and that they would hale her aground under the Castle, where no Ship of ours should be able to come at her; all which Objections, with many more, were alledg'd; yet they little prevail'd: Procrastination was perilous, and therefore with all expedition they thought convenient to charge the Town, the Fort, the Gallies, and Carreck, all at one instant. And they had determin'd, if the Carreck had been aground, or so nigh the Shoar, that the Queen's Ships could not reach her, that the Two Easterlings, the day before taken, should Board and Burn her.

Thursday the Third day, early in the morning, every Man commending himself to God's Tuition and Protection, expected when to begin, according to the agreement the day before. A Gale of Wind happening about Ten of the Clock, the Admiral weigh'd, shot off a Warning-piece, and put forth his Flag in the Main-top: The Vice-Admiral did the like in his Foretop, according to the Custom of the Sea; every Captain encourag'd his Men, which so imbolden'd them, that though they were weak and feeble before, they now revived and bestir'd themselves, as if a new Spirit had been infus'd into them. The Admiral was the first that gave the Charge, after him follow'd the rest of the Ships, shewing great Valour, and gaining great Honour; The last of all was the Vice-Admiral, who entering into

the Fight, still strove to get up as near the Shore as he could, where he came to an Anchor, continually fighting with the Town, the Fort, the Gallies, and Carreck, all together, for he brought them betwixt him, that he might play both his Broad-sides upon them. The Gallies still kept their Prows towards him, the Slaves offer'd to forsake them and swim to us, and every thing was in confusion amongst them; and thus they fought till Five of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Vice-Admiral was Anchor'd in such a place, that the Gallies Row'd from one side to another, seeking to thum him, which Sir Richard Lewson observing, came on Board him, and openly, in the view and hearing of his whole Company, embraced him, and told him, *He had won his heart for ever.*

The rest of the Ships, as they were directed, plied up; except the Admiral, who by the negligence of his Master, or some other impediment, when he should have Anchor'd, fell so far to Leeward, that the Wind and Tide carry'd him out of the Road, so that it was the next day before his Ship could be fetch'd in again; whereat the Admiral was much intrag'd, and put himself into the *Dreadnought*, and brought her to an Anchor close to the Vice-Admiral, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon. There was no Opportunity let pass, for where the Admiral saw defect in any other Ship, he presently caus'd it to be supply'd; and the Easterlings, who were appointed to Board the Carreck, beginning to faint, and fail of observing the Directions given them, the Vice-Admiral perceiving it, went on Board them himself, vowing, that if they seem'd backward in putting in Execution the Design of firing the Carreck, they should look for as little Mercy from the *English*, as they could expect from the Enemy. Whilst the Vice-Admiral was thus ordering things, Sir Richard Lewson came to him, and would in no case suffer him to Board the Carreck himself, but carry'd him into the *Dreadnought*, where they consulted how to preserve the Carreck, and enjoy her.

The Result of this Consultation was to offer her Parley, which they presently put in practice, and commanded all the Ships to leave shooting till the return of the Messenger: The Man employ'd was one Captain Sewell, who had escap'd, and swam to us, having been four years Prisoner in the Gallies, as did many Turks and Christians. The design of this Parley was to persuade them to yield, promising



misg honourable Conditions; and he was to indurate, as from himself, that the Gallies, whole Strength they presum'd upon, were beaten, some burnt, the rest fled; That we had the possession of the Road, the Castle not being able to abide our Ordnance, much less the Carreck; and if they refus'd this offer of Mercy, they were to expect all the Cruelty and Rigour that a Conquerour could impose upon his Enemy: Alter some Conference to this effect, the Captain of the Carreck told him, He would send some Gentlemen of Quality, with Commission to Treat, and desir'd that some of like Quality from us, might repair to him to the same purpose.


These Gentlemen came aboard the *Dreadnought*, where the Admiral and Vice-Admiral were, attending the return and success of Capt. Sewell; alter the delivery of their Message, they would needs hasten on Board the Carreck again, for that, as it seem'd, there was an uproar and a division in her, some being of Opinion to entertain a Parley, others to save themselves, and set her on fire: which Sir William Monson hearing, without further delay or conference with Sir Richard, what was to be done, he leap'd suddenly into his Boat, and row'd to the Carreck; when he drew near to her, he was known by diverse Gentlemen on Board her, as having once been a Prisoner among them: they seem'd to be very glad of this Meeting, and they embrac'd in remembrance of their old Acquaintance: The Captain was Don Diego Lobo, a Gallant young Gentleman, of a Noble Houle. He came down upon the bend of the Ship, and commanded his Men to stand aside; Sir William did the like to his Company in the Boat; The Captain demanded of him if he had the Portuguese Language; he told him he had enough to Treat of that Builness; acquainted him of the Place he commanded in the Fleet, intimated the affection and respect he bore to the Portuguese Nation, and that the Treaty which was offer'd was his Motion, and with'd him to make his Proposals, which were as follows: The first Demand he made was, *That they should be safely put ashore with their Arms.* The Second, *That it should be done the same Night.* The Third, *That they should enjoy their Ship and Ordnance, as appertaining to the King, but we the Wealth.* The Fourth, *That the Flag and Ancient should not be taken down, but worn while the Carreck was unlading.* His Speech being ended, Sir William told him, *That his Demands gave suspicion, that under*

*pretence of Parley, they meant Treachery, or that their hopes were greater than there was cause; and, but that he knew it was the use of some Men to demand great things, when less would serve them, he would not lose his advantage to entertain a Parley.* He desired, that what they intended might be quickly concluded, for Night growing on might advantage them, and for his Resolution he should understand it in few Words, viz. To his first Demand, *He was willing to yield, That they should be put ashore with their Arms.* To the Second, *That he was content they should be set ashore that Night, except Eight or Ten of the Principal Gentlemen, whom he would detain Three days.* To the Third, *He held it idle and frivolous to imagine he would consent to separate Ship and Goods, and look'd upon it as a Jest.* To the Fourth, *He would not consent, being resolv'd never to permit a Spanish Flag to be worn in the presence of the Queen's Ships, unless it were disgracefully overto. Poop.* There was long Expollulation upon these Points; and Sir William Monson seeing the oblinacy of the Captain, offer'd in a great rage to leap into his Boat, resolving to break the Treaty; which the rest of the Gentlemen perceiving, and that he had propounded nothing but what might very well stand with their Reputation, they intreated him once more to ascend into the Carreck, and they would enter into new Capitulations: The effect whereof, as it was agreed upon, were these that follow;

That a Messenger should be sent to the Admiral, to have his Confirmation of the Points concluded on; and that in the mean time the Flag and Ancient should be taken down; and if the Admiral should not consent to the Agreement, they to have leisure to put out their Flag and Ancient before the Fight should begin. That the Company should be presently set on Shore; but the Captain, with Eight others of the Principal Gentlemen three days after. That the Ship with her Goods, should be surrender'd without any Practice or Treason. That they should use their endeavours, that the Castle should forbear shooting whilst we rid in the Road; and this was the effect of the Conditions agreed upon. This Carreck Winter'd in *Mesembique*, in her return from the *Indies*, a Place of great Infection, as appear'd by the Mortality among them: For of 600 and odd Men, twenty liv'd not to return Home. After a great deal of Calamity and Mortality, she arriv'd at this Port of *Cerimbra*, as you have heard, the Viceroy of Portugal having

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1602.  ving sent Eleven Gallies to her Rescue, and 400 *Mocas du Camera*, which is a Title of Gentlemen that serve the King upon any Honourable Occasion, when they are commanded. That she was brought to this pass, and forc'd to yield on these Conditions, Sir Robert Cecil was wont to impute to the Gentlemens Acquaintance with Sir William Monson. Though three days were limited for setting the Captain on Shore, yet it was held Discretion not to detain them longer than till the Carreck was brought off safely to our Ships; and therefore Sir William Monson having carry'd the Captain, and the rest of the Gentlemen aboard him, where they Supp'd, had variety of Musick, and spent the Night in great Jollity; the Morning following he accompany'd them ashore himself, whither the *Conde de Vidigueira* had drawn down all the Force of the whole Country, amounting to the number of 20000 Men.

I must not omit to describe the Behaviour of the Gallies in the Fight, that every Man may have that Honour that is due to him: Those of Portugal, being of the Squadron of the Marquess of St. Cruz, betook themselves, with their General, to Flight in the middle of the Fight; but Frederick Spinola, who was to convey his Gallies out of Spain into the Low-Countries, follow'd not the Example of the Marquess, but made good the Road; which the other seeing, with Shame return'd; but to both their Costs: for before they departed, they found the Climate so hot, that they were forc'd to fly, their Gallies being so miserably beaten, and their Slaves so pitifully slain, that there wanted nothing but Boats to possess them all, as well as the Two we took and burnt; which is a thing has been seldom seen or heard of, for Ships to take and destroy Gallies. The number of Men slain in the Town, the Castle, the Carreck and Gallies, is unknown, though they could not chuse but be many: The Wealth of the Carreck could then as ill be estimated, though after found to be great: The Value of the Two Gallies burnt with their Loading of Powder, is hard to judge, though it's known to have been a Service of great Importance. For our Loss, it was not much, only one Man kill'd in the Fly-Boat, five slain, and as many hurt in the *Garland*, and one hurt in the *Adventure*: Sir William Monson had the left Wing of his Doublet shot off, but receiv'd no other Hurt.

The day following, with a favourable Wind, we stood our Course for England,

which brought us into 47 Degrees; and there we met a Pinnace, sent with a Pacquet from the Lords, signifying the readines of a second Fleet to supply us, and the setting out of the *Hollanders*, which were so long look'd for; which Fleet of *Holland* was in View of the Pinnace the same Night; but pass'd by us unseen. This unlook'd for Accident made the Admiral and Vice-Admiral consider what to do, and concluded, they could not both appear at Home, and leave a Fleet of so great Importance upon the Enemies Coast without a Guide or Head; and therefore they held it fit the Vice-Admiral should put himself into the *Nonspareille*, as the ablest Ship of the Fleet, and make his Return once more to the Coast of Spain; but he having taken his Leave, and standing his Course for the Coast, a most violent Storm, with a contrary Wind took him, which continu'd ten days, and discover'd the weakness of his Ship, who had like to have foundr'd in the Deep. The Carpenters and Company seeing the apparent Danger, if he bore not up before the Wind, presented him with a Petition, beseeching him to have regard to their Lives; for by keeping the Seas they should all perish. Thus was he forc'd by mere extremity to bear for England; and coming for *Plimouth*, he found the Carreck safely arriv'd, and the Fleet he went back to take Charge of, not to have quitted the Coast of England.

Though it be somewhat impertinent to this Voyage, to treat of more than the Success thereof; yet I will a little digress, and relate the Misfortune of that worthy Young Gentleman Don Diego Lobo, Captain of the Carreck; and because his Worth will more appear by his Answer to Sir William Monson's Offer to him when he was his Prisoner: Thus it was; Sir William Monson told him, he doubted, that by the loss of the Carreck, he had lost his best Means; for that he suppos'd, what he had gain'd in the *Indies* was laden in her; and therefore offer'd, that what he would challenge upon his Reputation to be his own, he should have Freedom to carry along with him. The Gentleman acknowledg'd the Favour to be extraordinary; but replied, that what he had, he gain'd by his Sword; and that his Sword, he doubted not, would repair his Fortunes again, utterly refusing to accept any Courtship in that kind: But, poor Gentleman, ill Fortune thus left him not: For the Viceroy, Don *Cristoval de Mora*, holding it for a great Indignity to have the Carreck taken out of the Port,

that

that was defended by a Castle, and guarded with Eleven Gallies, and especially in his hearing of the Ordinance to Lisbon, and in the view of Thousands of People who beheld it; some of them feeling it too,

by the loss of their Goods that were in her; others grieving for the Death of their Friends that were slain; but every Man finding himself touched in Reputation.

1602.

*The Names of the Carrack and Eleven Gallies.*

*The St. Valentine, a Carrack of One thousand seven hundred Tuns.*

*The Christopher, the Admiral of Portugal, wherein the Marques de Sancta Cruz went.*

*The St. Lewis, wherein Frederick Spinola went General of the Gallies of Spain.*

*The Forteleza, Vice-Admiral to the Marques.*

*The Trinidad, Vice-Admiral to Frederick Spinola, burnt.*

*The Leva, in which Sir William Monson was Prisoner, 1591.*

*The Occasion, burnt, and the Captain taken Prisoner.*

*The St. John Baptist.*

*The Lazar.*

*The Padilla.*

*The Philip.*

*The St. John.*

And the Viceroy not knowing how to clear himself so well as by laying it upon the Gentlemen he put on Board her, the same Night they return'd to their Lodging, he caus'd most of them, with their Captain, to be apprehended, imputing the loss of the Carrack to their Cowardise and Fear, if not Treason and Connivance with the Enemy. After some time of Imprisonment, by mediation of Friends, all the Gentlemen were releas'd but the Captain, who receiv'd secret Advice, that the Viceroy intended his Death, and that he should seek by Escape to prevent it. Don Diego being thus perplex'd, practis'd with his Sister, who finding Means for his Escape out of a Window, he fled into Italy, where he liv'd in Exile, from 1602, when this happen'd, till 1615. His Government of Malacca in the Indies, for which he had a Patent in Reversion, was confiscate, and he left hopeles ever to return into his Native Country, much less to be restor'd to his Command; an ill Welcome after so long and painful a Navigation. Having thus spent Thirteen years in Exile, at the last he advis'd with Friends, whose Council he follow'd, to repair into England, there to enquire after some Commanders, that had been at the taking of the Carrack, by whose Certificate he might be clear'd of Cowardise or Treason in the loss of her, which would be a good Motive to restore him to his Government again. In the year 1515, he arriv'd in London, and after some Enquiry found out Sir William Monson, to whom he complain'd of his hard Mishap,

craving the Assistance of him and some others, whom Sir William knew to be at the taking of the Carrack, and desir'd him to testify the manner of surprizing her, which he alledg'd, was no more than one Gentleman was bound to afford another in such a Case.

Sir William wonder'd to see him, and especially upon such an Occasion; For the present he entertain'd him with all Courtesie; and the longer his stay was in England, the Courtesies were the greater which Sir William did him, who procur'd him a true and effectual Certificate from himself, Sir Francis Howard, Capt. Barlow, and some others who were Witnesses of that Service; and to give it the more Reputation, he caus'd it to be inrolled in the Office of the Admiralty. The Gentleman being well satisfied with his Entertainment, and having what he desir'd, return'd to Flanders, where he presented his Certificate to the Arch-Duke and the Infanta, by whose Means he got Assurance, not only of the King's Favour, but of Restitution likewise to his Government. The Poor Gentleman having been thus toss'd by the Waves of Calamity, from one Country to another, and never finding rest, Death that Masters all Men, now cut him off short, in the midst of his hopes, as he was preparing his Journey for Spain; and this was an end of an unfortunate gallant young Gentleman, whose Deserts might justly have challeng'd a better Reward, if God had pleas'd to afford it him.

1602.

## Sir William Monson to the Coast of Spain, Anno 1602.

## Ships.

*The Swiftsure.*  
*The Mary Rose.*  
*The Dreadnought.*  
*The Adventure.*  
*The Answer.*  
*The Acquittance.*  
*The Lion Whelp.*  
*The Paragon, a Merchant.*  
*A small Carvel.*

## Commanders.

*Sir Will. Monson.*  
*Capt. Trevers.*  
*Capt. Cawfield.*  
*Capt. Norris.*  
*Capt. Brodgate.*  
*Capt. Browne.*  
*Capt. May.*  
*Capt. Jason.*  
*Capt. Hooper.*

THE Fleet of Sir Richard Twisden being happily returned, with the Fortune of a Carreck, as you have heard, and the Queen having now no Ships upon the Spanish Coast, to impeach the Enemies Preparations, she fear'd, the Fleet which was ready at the Groyn, would give a Second Assault upon Ireland; whereupon Sir William Monson, who by this time was arriv'd at *Plimouth*, was sent for in great haste by her Majesty, to Advise about, and take on him the Charge of the Fleet then at *Plimouth*. After a long Conference with Sir William Monson, in the Presence of her Majesty, her Lord Admiral, Treasurer, and Secretary, it was Resolv'd, That Sir William should repair to *Plimouth*, and with all speed get forth those Ships, and others that were there making ready. His Directions were, to present himself before the Harbour of the *Groyn*, being the Place where the Spaniards made their Rendezvous; and if he found any likelihood of a Design upon Ireland, not to quit that Coast till he saw the Issue; but if he found Ireland secure, and the Enemies Preparations to be intended only for defence of their own Coasts, then his Instructions led him thence, to the place where the Holland Fleet had order to attend, and expect him; and afterwards, the whole Carriage of the Action was refer'd to his Discretion, but with this Caution, that above all respects of other Profit or Advantage, he attended the Affair of Ireland. The Wind this part of the Summer hung contrary, and it was six weeks before he could clear the Coast, during which time he lost his greatest hopes, by the return of the Carracks of the Indian Fleet, which happen'd a full Month before his arrival: He set Sail from *Plimouth* the last of *August*, with a scant Wind, which continu'd with foul Weather till he recover'd the *Groyn*, choosing rather to keep

the Sea, than hazard the overthrow of this Voyage by his return.

He stay'd at the *Groyn* till he understood that the Fleet which was suspected to be prepar'd for Ireland, was gone to *Lisbon*, to join with Don Diego de Bornachero, who all that Summer durst not budge forth for fear of our Fleet, that made good the Coast thereabouts. Sir William in his way to the Rock, commanded his Carvel to repair to the Islands of *Bayona*, as the likeliest Place to procure Intelligence of the State of those Parts: As the Carvel drew near the Islands, she discern'd the Spanish Fleet, consisting of Twenty four Sail, whose Design was, as she understood by a Boat she took, to look out the English Fleet, whose coming they daily expected upon the Coast; and meeting Sir William with this News, he held it a good Service to be thus warn'd of them. Here he took Two goodly Ships of France, bound for *Lisbon*, which Harbour he put them from, and took Pledges, that they should directly return into France, without touching in any Harbour of Spain, for that he understood the Spanish Fleet was ill provided of Men, and many other Things which these Ships could supply. Sir William and the *Dreadnought* were carry'd with a Chase into the Road of *Cerimbra*, where the Carrack was taken not long before, and after some Fight with the Cattle, who defended the Vessel chas'd, they came to a Friendly Treaty, and Presents pass between them.

That Night, while the Admiral rid in the Road, a Carvel coming in, not mistrusting him, was taken, but dismiss'd in a friendly manner; by whom he understood the Affairs of *Lisbon*, but could get no notice of the Holland Fleet, which was appointed to attend at the Rock, whither once more he repair'd.

Coming

Coming thither the 26th of September, a light was spied in the Night, which the Admiral chas'd, thinking it had been the Fleet of *St. Tome*, or *Brazil*, bound for *Lisbon*, where they were expected; but drawing so near them, that he might hail them, he found them, by the hugeness of their Vessels, and the number, which answer'd the relation the Carvel made, to be the *Armada* of *Spain*: whereupon he sought means how to clear himself, being engag'd amongst them, and made a *Spaniard* that serv'd him call to them, but they could not hear him; the *Adventure* only, and the *Whelp*, were left with him, the rest losing company four Nights before in a Storm: The Enemy perceiving our Lights, and thinking it to be some Fleet of *Flemmings*, stood in amongst us, but the *Adventure* being discover'd to be an Enemy, the Alarm was soon taken, and they shot at her, and slew and hurt some of her Men; as soon as the day appear'd, the *Spaniards* beheld the Three *English* Ships a-head of them, which they chas'd, and Three of them, which were better Sailors than the rest, fetcht upon us, and drew near the *Whelp*, who was of small Force to resist them.

But the Admiral resolving, tho' it was to his own evident Peril, not to see a Pin-nace of her Majesty's so lost, if he could rescue her with the loss of his Life, tho' it was much against the Persuasions of his Master and Company, he struck his two Sails for the *Whelp*, and commanded her to stand her course, while he staid for the Three *Spanish* Ships, with hope to make them have little lift to pursue us: The Admiral of the *Spaniards* perceiving how little he cared for his Three Ships, in that he linger'd for their coming up, took in with the Shore, and shot off a piece for his Three Ships to follow him. It may appear by this, as by several other Expeditions of ours, how much the swift Sailing of Ships does avail, being the principal Advantage in Sea-service, and indeed the main Thing we could presume upon, in our War against the *Spaniards*. Sir *William* having thus escap'd the Enemy, in his travel at Sea, there happen'd, as there does upon all Coasts, where there is plenty of Trade, divers occasions of Chafes; and one one day Sir *William* following one Ship, and the *Adventure* another, they lost company for the whole Voyage.

Sir *William* was advertis'd by a Ship he took, being a *Frenchman*, who came from *St. Lucar*, that the *St. Domingo* Fleet was look'd for daily, which Intelligence made

him bear up for the *South Cape*, as well in hopes to meet with them, as to have news of his Fleet.

He was no sooner come to the *Cape*, but he was inform'd by some *English* Men of War, that the *St. Domingo* Fleet was pass'd by two days before; here he met with Ships of several Nations, some he rescu'd from Pyrates, and to others that were in League with her Majesty, he gave his safe Conduct for their free Passage on the Sea; he kept that Coast till the 21st of October, on which morning he gave chase to a Galeon of the King of *Spain*, who recover'd the Castle of *Cape St. Vincent*, before he could fetch her up; tho' he knew the strength of the Castle, yet he attempted, and had carried her, had it not been for the Fear and Cowardize of him at the Helm, who bore up, when he was ready to Board her: The Fight was not long, but sharp and dangerous, for there never pass'd Shot between them, till they were within a Ship's length one of another: The Castle play'd her part, and tore the *Swiftsure*, so that a Team of Oxen might have crept through her under the Main-Deck, and one shot kill'd seven Men. Between the Castle and the Galeon, they slew in the Admiral ten Men, and hurt many more, in the view of *Sireago* and his Squadron, to the *Westward*, and of divers *English* Men of War, to the *Eastward*, who durst not put themselves upon the Rescue of Sir *William*, for fear of the Castle: Sir *William* being now left alone, and seeing what head Land soever he came to, he was to encounter a *Spanish* Squadron, stood his Course that night to Sea, thinking to try if the Islands of *Tercera* would afford him any better Fortune, but coming within Forty or Fifty Leagues of the Islands, he was taken short with the Wind, yet still bearing up what he could for the Rock; but at length finding his Victuals grew short, his Mast perish'd, and the Dangers he was expos'd to, by keeping that Coast, he directed his course for *England*, and came to *Plimouth* the 24th of November, where he found the *Maryrose* and *Dreadnought*, most part of their Men being dead or sick.

The *Adventure* arriv'd within an hour after him, who in her way homewards fell amongst the *Brazil* Fleet, and encountering with them, lost divers Men, but took none: The *Paragon* was at home long before, with a Prize of Sugar and Spices, which countervail'd the charge of the Voyage. The *Quittance* in her return, met two Ships of *Dunkirk*, and in fight with them, her Captain was slain, but the

1602. acquitted her self very well, without further harm. This Fleet, as you have heard, was to keep the Enemy busy'd at home, that he might be diverted from the thoughts of Ireland; what hazard it endur'd by the Enemy, the fury of the Sea, and foul Weather, does appear; and no marvel; for it was the latest Fleet in Winter that ever kept upon the Spanish Coast, as it was likewise the last Fleet her Majesty employ'd; for in March after she died, and by her Death all War ceas'd. As Sir William Monfon was General of this last

Fleet, so he was a Soldier, and a Youth, at the beginning of the Wars, and was at the taking of the first Spanish Prize that ever saw the English Coast, which yet was purchas'd with the loss of Twenty five of our Men, besides Fifty hurt. This Prize was afterwards a Man of War, and serv'd against the Spaniards, and was in those days reckon'd the best Ship of War we had; she was call'd the *Commander*, and belonged to Sir George Carew, then Governor of the Isle of Wight.

1603. *Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monfon into the Narrow Seas, Anno 1603.*

## Ships.

*The Repulse.*  
*The Mere-Honour.*  
*The Disfance.*  
*The Warspite.*  
*The Rainbow.*  
*The Dreadnought.*  
*The Quittance.*  
*The Lyons Whelp.*

## Commanders.

Sir Richard Lewson.  
 Sir William Monfon.  
 Capt. Guer.  
 Capt. Seymers.  
 Capt. Trevor.  
 Capt. Reynolds.  
 Capt. Howard.  
 Capt. Polwhele.

SIR William Monfon returning with his Fleet, in November, there was a Resolution to furnish another against February, which should be recruited with fresh Ships, Men and Victuals, in June. Sir Richard Lewson was to command the Fleet, and Sir William Monfon the later: For the Queen found it a Course both Secure and Profitable, to keep a continual Force upon the Spanish Coast, from February to November, that being the time of the greatest Peril to her Majesty; and she was the rather encourag'd thereto, by the safety she found the last Summer, and the Wealth and Riches she had from time to time taken from the Enemy. The Complaint of the ill furnishing out of her Ships in other Voyages, made it more carefully to be look'd to now, and there was better Choice of Victuals and Men than usually had been; but in the mean time, it pleas'd God to visit her Majesty with Sickness, which caus'd a lingering, tho' no absolute dissolving of the Fleet; but when her Danger was perceiv'd to increase, the Ships were hasten'd out to Sea, it being a point of good Policy, to keep our Seas guarded from any Foreign Attempt, till his Majesty should be peaceably settled in England.

This Fleet departed from *Quinborough* the 22th of March, and arriv'd in the *Downes* the 25th of the same, being the day after her Majesty's Death: The News whereof, and Commandment to proclaim King James the Sixth of Scotland, our Lawful King, and the Rightful Inheritor to the Crown, arriv'd both together; which put us into two contrary Passions, the one of Grief, the other of Joy: Grief for the Loss of the Queen, Joy for accepting of the King in that peaceable manner, which was a Happines beyond all Expectation, either at home or abroad.

As the Design of this Fleet was to guard and defend our own Coasts from any Incursion that might be made out of France or the Low Countries; so the Commanders were vigilant to appear on those Coasts once in two days, to dishearten them, in case they had any such Thought; but the truth is, it was beyond their Abilities, whatever was in their Hearts, to impugn his Majesty. And because the Archduke would make the Candidness of his Intention apparent to the World, he call'd in his Letters of Reprizal against the English; and published an Edict for a free and unmolested Traffick into Flanders: So that now our Merchants might again Trade



Trade peaceably into those Parts, from which they had been debar'd the space of Eighteen years. The King finding, that France neither impeach'd his Right, nor gave any Jealousie by the raising of an Army; and that the Archduke made a Demonstration of his desire of Peace, his Majesty did the like, acknowledging the League he had with those Princes, with whom the late Queen had Wars: For

Wars betwixt Countries are not hereditary, but commonly end with the Death of their Kings: Wherefore he commanded his Ships to give over their *Southern* Employment, and to repair to *Graham*, giving manifest Testimonies, how desirous he was that his Subjects should recover that Wealth and Freedom by Peace, which they had formerly lost by War.

1603.

*The Voyage of the Earl of Cumberland to the Island of Puerto Rico, and the Reasons why it is inserted at the end of this First Book.*

I Shall exceed my first design, by adding this Voyage to *Puerto Rico* to the rest of her Majesty's Actions, or those where her Ships were employ'd at the Charge of others; yet because this was the greatest Undertaking by Subjects, without the help or assistance of the Queen, both in number of Ships and Land-Forces, being furnish'd as well for Land as Sea Service, as also because so great a Person as the Earl of *Cumberland* took upon him the Command of it, having by several Voyages before attain'd to a perfect Knowledge in Sea-Affairs, for these Reasons I have inserted his Action to *Puerto Rico* among the rest of the Queen's, aforesaid.

The Earl, being naturally addicted to the Sea from his Youth, as may appear by his Undertakings, the first whereof was in a Voyage he undertook at his great Charge and Expence in 1585, intending his Ships should pass to the South-Sea by the Streights of *Magellan*, but unadvisedly they fail'd: After this he made sundry Adventures in his own Person, as in the former Discourse is declar'd; and he often obtain'd the favour of her Majesty, to assist him with some of her Ships, which she was the more willing to grant, to encourage him in his Enterprizes, and to cherish the forward spirit of so great a Person.

But at last my Lord began discreetly to consider the Obligation he had to the Queen, for the loan of her Ships from time to time, and withall, weigh'd what fear and danger he brought himself into if unluckily any of those Ships should miscarry, for he valued the Reputation of the least of them at the rate of his Life.

Upon these Considerations, no persuasions being of force to divert him from his resolution of attempting some great Action on the Sea, where he had spent much Time and Money, and thinking thereby as well to enrich himself, as to show his forwardness to do his Prince and Country Service, he resolv'd to build a Ship from the Stocks, that should equal the middle Rank of her Majesty: An Act so noble and so rare, it being a thing never undertaken before by a Subject, that it deserv'd immortal Fame.

This Ship which he nam'd the *Malice Scourge* (for by that Name it seems he talst the Envy of some that repin'd at his honourable Achievement) was 800 Tuns burthen, proportioned in all degrees to equal any of her Majesty's Ships of that Rank, and no way inferior to them in sailing, or other property or condition of Ships.

When built, she had several Employments to Sea, whilst my Lord was owner of her, and prov'd as all other Ships and Men usually do, sometimes Fortunate and sometimes otherwise; for there is nothing that a Man can account firm or stable in this World, especially where the Sea hath the most predominant Power.

And for her last tacew to Sea, my Lord perform'd this Voyage to *Puerto Rico* in her, where he had tryal of her Goodness and Wholesomeness in the Sea, by the violent Storms he endur'd, better than most part of his Fleet.

It was not the ceasing of warlike Actions by the King's coming to his Crown, who brought Peace with him, that made this Ship cease from doing the Part for which she was built: But another while

she



1603. she was employ'd by the Merchants of the *East-Indies*, who bought her for that Trade, and whither she returned, and made two happy Returns: But in her third, what by foul Play and Treachery, she became a Prey to the *Hollanders*, where she ended her days in fire, being worthy of a far better Funeral.

My Lord being aboard this Ship (the *Malice-Scourge*) and having divers others of burthen and strength under his Command, he set sail from *Plimouth* the 6th of *March*, 1597. Besides his general Design to take, to destroy, or any way else to impoverish and impeach the King of *Spain*, or his Subjects, he grounded his Voyage upon two hopes, the first more probable than the second in my opinion, who undertake as I have said before, to observe the Errors committed in such Voyages.

From *Plimouth* he directed his course to the Mouth of the River *Tagus*, upon which River the City of *Lisbon* is seated, that sends forth yearly a number of Ships to the *East-Indies*, called Carracks, and that in the Month of *April*: There was no question to be made of the certainty of their departure, because if they stay beyond that Month, they meet with much bad weather, and cannot weather the Capes South of the Line in their Voyage to the *Indies*, but particularly that of *Good Hope*.

My Lord's principal end in this Voyage was to intercept those Carracks, which for Burthen exceed all other Ships in *Europe*, and go full freighted with Commodities for the *East-Indies*, besides the abundance of Money transported in them, which would have enrich'd my Lord abundantly, and the rest of the Adventurers.

Against the time they should depart out of Harbour, my Lord appear'd with his Fleet before it, which did so much dishearten and dismay the *Portugueses*, that rather than they would put themselves in hazard of him and his Fleet, they chose to give over their Voyage, and lose the excessive Charge they had been put unto in furnishing their Ships, by means whereof their Carracks lay at home, without Employment, the whole Year after.

Besides the Profit my Lord propos'd to himself by this Project thus frustrated, it tended to a matter of greater Consequence to the State of *England*, if it had prov'd Successful; for you must understand that in the *East-Indies* they are prohibited planting of Vines, and want many other things for their sustenance, with which they are supply'd yearly out of *Portugal*, that the

*Indies* may not subsist without *Portugal*. Then let us consider what Hindrance and Losses both *Portugal* and the *Indies* receiv'd, by hind'ring their Ships from going to the *Indies* that Year.

And if one Year prov'd so prejudicial to them, what would three or four Years have done, if they had been so serv'd and prevented? It would have reduc'd them to great want, and forc'd them to accept of a friendly Traffick with us, or in time we might have divided the *Indies* from *Portugal*, especially if we had carried a younger Son of *Don Anthony*, whom no doubt they might have been forc'd to accept as King.

The Error committed in the Prosecution of this Voyage, must be imputed to my Lord himself, in not forecasting how to prevent the Hazard and Fears that might be impediments to his Design: Therefore he worthily deserv'd blame, to prevent himself and Fleet in the Eye of *Lisbon*, to be there discover'd, knowing, that the secret Carriage thereof gave Life and Hope to the Action: By a familiar Example, of a Man that being safely seated in a House and in danger of an Arrest, knows that Catchpoles lie to attack him, and yet notwithstanding would venture abroad, and not seek to avoid them; so far'd it with the Carracks at that time, who rather chose to keep themselves in Harbour, than venture upon an unavoidable Danger.

If my Lord had done well and providently, his Fleet should have been furnish'd without Rumour, Noise, or Notice, in several Harbours in *England*; the Men that went in them not to know or imagine the design of their Voyage, or that they should meet to compose a main Fleet, till they were come to the height the Carracks were to sail in, and after that each Captain to have open'd their Directions, with a special Caution not to appear within sight of the Shore, for fear of Discovery: This way and no other there was, to lull the *Portugueses* into Security, or to avoid mistrust, till they had fallen into their hands.

My Lord's other hope, if this should fail, was to give an Attempt with his Land-Forces, either upon some Island or Town that would yield him Wealth and Riches, being the chief end of his Undertaking; and after many Propositions made at Council, his Resolution was to make an Attempt upon the Island of *Puerto Rico*, in which Island there is a Town of convenient bigness and strength, which my Lord not long after took and possessed, with

with little Loss of Men on either side, because they came to Composition.

Herein lies my part to except against this Design of my Lord's, as I promis'd in my former Relations; for whereas all Men's Actions have a reasonable shew of likelihood of good to redound to them in their intended Enterprizes, yet cannot I conceive how a Land Attempt upon Towns could yield my Lord any Profit, or the Merchants that adventur'd with him; for my Lord by Experience well knew, having been himself at the taking of some Towns, that they afforded little Wealth to the Taker, because Riches of Value will be either bury'd, or secretly convey'd away. And for Merchandizes of great Bulk, which that poor Island yielded, it was only some few Hides, Black Sugar and Ginger, which would not amount to any great matter, to countervail the Charge of so costly a Journey.

Commonly that Island sends out two or three Ships of a reasonable Burthen to transport the yearly Commodities it yieldeth; for tho' it have the Name of being in the *Indies*, yet it is a Place remote, and unfrequented with Traffick, either from the *Indies*, or any other Place: Or tho' the Island should be surprized at such a Season of the year as their Commodities were ripe, and ready for Transportation, yet the Value is not to be esteem'd, where so many People that adventur'd with my Lord were to look for a Dividend according to their Adventure.

And yet I will not deny but by Accident this Island was made worthy an Attempt upon it, by Example of Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, who, as you have heard, sail'd thither on their own account, Anno 1595. and their Defeat made it the more admir'd, and purchas'd my Lord's greater Honour, in that he carry'd it with a smaller number of Men, and less Loss than *Drake* was repuls'd.

But because time and opportunity alter the Circumstances of Things, therefore, to satisfy these common and vulgar People, who judge according to Event, and not to Reason, you shall understand the Difference, and the Cause that made the

Difference betwixt Sir *Francis Drake* in the year 1595. and the Earl of *Cumber.* 1603. land in 1598.

Sir *Francis Drake* was commanded thither by Directions from the Queen; not that she expected Profit or Benefit from the Island, which she well knew of it self was unworthy any Enterprize; but what she did was upon Intelligence she receiv'd of a Galeon of Plate; which, with the loss of her Malt, was forc'd into that Island, as I gave an Account, when I treated before of that Voyage of 95.

In the mean time Five Frigats were preparing in *Spain* to bring home that Treasure, and in them to the number of 8 or 900 Soldiers, who in their Course to *Puerto Rico* surpriz'd a Pinnace of Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, that gave Intelligence of his Design, as well against that Place as *Nombre de Dios*, whither he was bound; by which Accident his Designs were prevented, and the Enemy had leisure to Fortifie, Strengthen, and Man the Town with the Soldiers brought in by the Frigats, which made Sir *Francis Drake* suddenly and dishonourably retire, with the loss of divers Gentlemen and others of good Quality. This Misfortune was suppos'd to hasten the Death of Sir *John Hawkins*, who then dy'd, after he had seen himself thus repuls'd.

My Lord might as well have consider'd that no use could be made of the Situation of that Island, as of other Islands of less value and Riches there might be; as for instance, the *Tercera*, which, tho' the Soil yields not that Plenty and Profit *Puerto Rico* does, yet, by our Inhabiting it, the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* would find great Annoyance in their returns from their *Indies*, *Brazil* and *Guinea*; in which Seas our Ships would continually lie, and endeavour cutting them off: As on the contrary, *Puerto Rico* is seated so lonesomely, that they have scarce the sight of a Ship in the whole year, except those few of their own I have formerly spoke of.

And thus much for my Exception against my Lord's Voyage to *Puerto Rico*. Now will I collect some brief Proceedings in that Voyage, taken out of the Printed Copy publish'd by Dr. *Lafeld*, Chaplain to my Lord in that Expedition.

1603.

## Ships.

*The Malice Scourge.*  
*The Merchant Royal.*  
*The Ascension.*  
*The Sampson.*  
*The Alcedo.*  
*The Consent.*  
*The Prosperous.*  
*The Centurion.*  
*The Galeon Constance.*  
*The Affection.*  
*The Guemna.*  
*The Scout.*  
*The Antony.*  
*The Pegajus.*  
*The Royal Defence.*  
*The Margaret and John.*  
*The Bartley Bag.*  
*The Old Frigate.*

## Commanders.

*The Earl of Cumberland.*  
*Sir John Bariley.*  
*Capt. Flicke.*  
*Capt. Clifford.*  
*Capt. Coach.*  
*Capt. Slingsby.*  
*Capt. Langton.*  
*Capt. Palmer.*  
*Capt. Foliambe.*  
*Capt. Fleming.*  
*Capt. Calesburff.*  
*Capt. Jolliffe.*  
*Capt. Carclest.*  
*Capt. Goodwyn.*  
*Capt. Bromley.*  
*Capt. Dixon.*  
*Capt. Lea.*  
*Capt. Harper.*

My Lord, with the Ships aforesaid, being furnished with all Things necessary for such a Fleet, set sail from *Plimouth* the 6th of *March*, 1597. and directed his Course for *Cape Finister*, the Northernmost Cape of *Spain*.

But before he could reach that Coast, he found a Defect in his Main-mast, which was almost perish'd, and he forc'd to favour it with a slack Sail, until he arrived at the Island of the *Burlings*, over-against *Peniche* in *Portugal*, where he anchored, and commanded his Fleet to keep a good distance off at Sea, to avoid being discovered from the Shore, knowing that the hopes of his Voyage consisted in Secrecy.

He was not many days sitting his Mast, having Carpenters and Materials enough for Disasters: But notwithstanding his Directions to his Ships to stand off to Sea, it could not keep the Enemy from knowledge of them at *Lisbon*, where the Carracks lay ready to depart, and thus the Expectation of my Lord's Voyage was frustrated; for the Carracks being fallen down as low as the Bay, ready to sail, they were instantly commanded to give over their Voyage and return to *Lisbon*.

My Lord finding it Bootless to expect any good of the Carracks, upon which the Grounds of his Voyage depended, directed his Course to the *Canaries*, rather to refresh his Men ashore, who were raw Soldiers, and wearied at Sea, than out of expectation of Gain, or any way to annoy the Enemy: He Landed without Resistance at the poor Island of *Lanzarote*, and the rather, because he was made believe a Marquis lived there, who

being taken Prisoner, would yield Ten thousand Pounds Ransom; but the Projector knew as little of the truth thereof, as he did of the Place when he came to Land.

This miserable Island afforded nothing but Earth to walk on, and some little store of Wine, not worth the speaking of; and yet, as small a quantity as it was, it put his Company into a mutinous Disorder of Drunkenness; that to pacify them, my Lord was forc'd to use Threats and the Rigour of his Commission, and to admonish them how to carry themselves ever after, upon danger and Peril of their Lives.

The 21st of *April* he set sail from thence; and being off at Sea, he call'd a Council, in which he propos'd to his Captains, Whether in their Opinions it was better to direct his Course for *Fernan-Buco* in *Brazil*, or *Dominica* in the *West-Indies*, and there to take a new Consultation. After long discussing this Point, every Man having the liberty to use his best Argument, it was at last resolv'd for *Dominica*, whether he hasten'd, and Landed there on the 23d of *May*. Having water'd, for the Island afforded nothing else, he stood for the Island of *Virginet*, a Place unpeopl'd, where he Landed, and multer'd his Soldiers, and found the greatest part of them both rude and raw.

At this Island he was not far from *Puerto Rico*, whither his former Resolution led him: My Lord himself went in his Boat to view a convenient Landing-place, and found a sandy Bay fit for his purpose; whereupon he instantly put his Men ashore on the 6th of *June*, where he found no Resistance: And because there needs

no long Account of the Assault he gave to the Outworks, before his Approach to the Town, I shall say no more, to avoid Prolixity, but that in two days he took both Town, Fort, and what else were Impediments to his Enterprize.

Having brought the Enemy to his mercy, he carry'd himself both Nobly and with Pity: And whereas in such Tumults Disorders cannot be avoided; yet, if they appear'd, or were made known to him, he punish'd the Actors with great Severity, and in sight of the *Spaniards*, who beheld the Justice of his Carriage.

We have one Instance of it in a Valiant Soldier, who otherwise had deserv'd well, and whom, for having committed Violence upon the Wife of a *Spaniard*, (my Lord being without hearkening to Mediation or Mercy) hang'd in the Publick Market-place. A Sailor had been so seiz'd for defacing the Church, but, by the Impunity of other Sailors, (for at that time there was occasion to please him above Soldiers) my Lord forbore his Execution, after he was brought to the Gibbet. As the Fleet lay in Harbour, upon St. Peter's Day, there was a Ship came bearing in amongst them from *Angola* in *Africa* laden with Blacks, a Commodity that Country does chiefly deal in, and was there secur'd: Another had been so seiz'd, but that seeing so many Ships in the Harbour, the suspected they could not be *Spaniards*, and so escap'd. There was another which came from *Trynidad*, but of so small value that she is not worth mentioning.

After all things were thus quieted and settled in the Town, there was a Consultation whether it should be kept or quit; but in the end one Reason prevail'd against all Objections, which was a sudden Sickness among the Soldiers, which in a few days swept away 400 of them.

There was nothing more to do now but to embark Ordnance, and Goods as the Town afforded, which consisted of Hides, Ginger, and coarse Sugar; things of small value to countervail so great an Expence as that of this Voyage. In fine he return'd into *England*. It is needless to set down Accidents at Sea, but he arriv'd safely in the Month of October following.

And thus much concerning the Voyages, Successes, Designs, and Commanders, from the year 1585, to 1603, that the Wars ceased; wherein it plainly appears how Conquering and Victorious our Nation has been in their latter Actions at Sea: And to add the more to their Ho-

nour, you must observe the Exploits they have performed by Land in the Land Voyages, in taking and spoiling of Towns, Ports, Fortresses, and other Places of Moment, which for a time they have enjoy'd and possess'd in the several Dominions of the Kings of *Spain*; as namely, in the *Indies*, *Brazil*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, the Islands, and farther than all these, in the *South Sea*, which at that time no Nation fail'd to but the *Spaniards* themselves, till the Voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Cavendish*.

*The Taking of these Places following is to be justify'd by the Lawfulness of a War begun 1585. betwixt England and Spain.*

Sir *Francis Drake*, at his First Voyage, which was in the year 1585, took these Places following in the *West Indies*.

*Playa*, } in *Cape Verde*.  
*St. Jago*, }  
*St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*.  
*Cartagena* in *Terra-Firma*.  
*St. Antonio* in *Florida*.  
*St. Helena* and the Fort of *St. John* in *Florida* likewise.

*Ria de la Hacha*.  
*Tapia*.  
*Rancheria*.

Sir *Francis Drake* in the *West-Indies*, 1595.

*Sancta Marta*.  
*Nombre de Dios*.  
*Porto-Bello*.

Captain *Presbon* in the *West-Indies*, 1595.

*Puerto Sancto*.  
*Oboco*.  
*Chapa*.  
*St. Joán de Lima*.  
*Camena*.

Captain *Parker* in the *West-Indies*, 1601.

*St. Vincent* in *Cabo Verde*.  
*Porto-Bello* once more.  
The Fort of *St. Jago*.  
*Triana*.  
*Campeachy*.

The Earl of *Cumberland*, 1597.

The Island of *Lanzarote*, one of the *Canaries*.

The Isle and Town of *Puerto Rico*.

Captain *Newport* in the *West-Indies*, 1591.

*Taguana*, } in *Hispaniola*.  
*Oieda*, }  
*Truxilo*.

1603.

Sir John Burroughs took a Town in the Island of *Trinidad* in the *West-Indies*, and Sir Walter Rawleigh another after.

Mr. Cavendish's First Voyage about the World, 1586.

A Fort and Ordnance in the Streights of *Magellan*.

*Sancta Maria*.

*Marmaroma*.

*Africa*.

*Pisco*.

*Paraca*.

*Cherifca*.

*Paito*.

The Isle of *Puna*.

*Acapulco* in *New Spain*.

The Port of *Nanidad*.

The Port of *St. Jago*.

The Bay of *Compostella*.

The Isle of *St. Andrea*.

The Bay of *Mafellan*.

All in the *South Sea*.

Mr. Cavendish's Second Voyage to *Brazil*, 1591.

*Sanctos*.

*St. Vincent*.

*Fernando Buco* taken and quitted, and the Carracks and Goods brought from thence by Capt. *Lancaster* and others.

Capt. *Langton* in the *West-Indies*, 1593. burnt and ranfom'd several Farms and Plantations in *Margarita*, *Hispaniola*, and *Jamaica*.

*Drake* to the Bay of *Cadiz*, 1587. and 1589. took two or three Forts upon Cape *St. Vincent* and Cape *Sagre*.

He and Sir *John Norris* took in the Voyage to *Portugal* *Peniche*, and several Villages: In Sir *John Norris's* March to *Lisbon* he took the Suburbs of *Lisbon*, and *Drake* took *Cascais*.

1589. The Earl of *Cumberland* took the Island of *Fayal*, and made *Graciosa*, the Island of *Flores*, and *Cuervo*, give him Relief.

1596. The Earl of *Essex* and the Lord Admiral took the City of *Cadiz*, the Bridge of *Swafe*, and the Town of *Faro* in *Portugal*, (a Bishop's Seat.)

1597. The Earl of *Essex* took the Island and Town of *Fayal*, and *Villa-Franca* in the Island of *St. Michael*.

I omit divers other Places taken by Private Ships of War.

*The Names of such Private Persons as went to the West-Indies upon their own account, with such Prizes as they took; by which may appear how little hurt we have done or can do to the Spaniards in the West-Indies, in comparison of other Places we have annoy'd them in; as I have more largely prov'd in my Second Book.*

1587. Sir *George Gary* set out three Ships, two of which took nothing, and the third took a Prize, and brought her into *Bristol*, worth 2000 l.

1589. Captain *Michelson*, in the *Dog*, took three Ships, but of no value, none of which he brought for *England*.

1593. A small Ship of Sir *George Gary's* took nothing, but had like to be taken her self.

In the same year Captain *Newport* return'd with the like Success.

1594. These Ships following were set forth:

Capt. *Lane* with 3 Ships of Mr. *Wat's*. Captain *Roberts* in a Ship of *Bristol*.

Captain *Benjamin Wood* with 4 Ships of my Lord *Thomas*.

Captain *Kevill* of *Linne-House*; and Captain *King* of ———: In all 13. which return'd not the Charge of their Voyage.

1594. Sir *Robert Dudley* having two Ships and two Pinnaces, did not countervail his Charges.

1596. Sir *Anthony Shurley* and Captain *Parker* took some Towns, but no Profit to them.

1596. My Lord of *Cumberland*, as I have said, took *Puerto Rico*, without Profit.

1593. Two Ships and a Pinnace of my Lord of *Cumberland* did some Spoil to the *Spaniards*, but little good to themselves.

1601. Captain *Parker* did some Spoil upon Towns, but they were like the rest in Profit.

*David Middleton* brought home a Prize of 140 Tuns of *Campeachy Wood*, but of little value.

1595. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* to *Guiana*, no Profit at all; and the year before Sir *John Burroughs* with the like Success.

There were divers Pinnaces that went several years to discover *Guiana*, and the River of *Amazon*, but never any of them return'd with Profit.

1601. Captain *Cleive*, with a Ship and a Pinnace, took a Prize of Hides, which he restor'd at his return, the Peace being concluded between the Two Kingdoms in the time of his Absence.

These



These Private Voyages being compar'd with the rest of the Queen's that went before, a Man may plainly perceive that they produced greater Loss, Spoil and Damage to the *Spaniards*, than Profit or Advantage to the *English*; for computing the Expence of our Publick Actions and Private Adventures with the Gain that

arose out of them, we shall find they were much more Chargeable than Gainful to us; tho' I confess in that case we are not to value the Expence and Loss in our Disbursements, for it was repaid with the Honour we gain'd, which will immortalize our Nation.

1603.

### *The Advantages of keeping a Fleet on the Coast of Spain in time of War.*

I Omit in this First Book to insert a Treatise I was requir'd by Sir Robert Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State, to write, concerning the Abuses and Corruptions at Sea, which then began to creep in, not only in Ships, Men and Victuals, but in the Designs; with a Remedy how to amend and redress them: But because it is more proper for my 3d Book, where I treat of Projects, a Reformation of the Abuses of the Navy; as also how to make an Offensive and Defensive War upon our neighbouring Countries that oppose us on the Seas, I refer you to that Book, and have gather'd by this that follows; That whilst the *Spaniards* were employ'd at home by our yearly Fleets, they never had opportunity nor leisure either to make an Attempt upon us, or to divert the Wars from themselves; by which means we were secur'd from any Attempt of theirs; as will appear by what follows.

The *Spaniards* stood so much in awe of Her Majesty's Ships, that when a few of them appear'd on the Coast, they commonly diverted their Enterprizes; as namely, in the year 1587. when Sir *Francis Drake* with 25 Ships prevented an Expedition that Summer out of *Cádiz* Road for *England*, which the next year after they attempted, in 1588. because not molested as the year before.

Our Action in *Portugal* following so quick upon the Overthrow in 88. made the King of *Spain* so far unable to offend, that if the Undertaking had been prosecuted with Judgment, he had been in ill Circumstances to defend it, or his other Kingdoms.

From that year to the year 1591. he grew great by Sea, because he was not busy'd by us as before; which appear'd by the Fleet that took the Revenge: Which Armada of his it is very likely had been employ'd against *England*, had it not been diverted that year by my Lord *Thomas Howard*.

And for 4 years together after this the King employ'd his Ships to the Islands,

to guard his Merchants from the *Indies*, which made him have no leisure to think of *England*.

The Voyage to *Caliz* in 95. did not only frustrate his intended Action against *England*, but we destroy'd many of his Ships and Provisions that should have been employ'd in that Service.

He design'd the second Revenge upon *England*, but was prevented by my Lord of *Essex* to the Islands; which Action of his, if it had been well carry'd, and that my Lord would have believ'd good Advice, it had utterly ruin'd the King of *Spain*.

The next year that gave Cause of Fear to the Queen was 99. the King of *Spain* having a whole year, by our Sufferance, to make his Provisions, and brought his Ships and Army down to the *Groyne*, which put the Queen to a more Chargeable Defensive War, than the value our Offensive Fleet would have been maintain'd with upon his Coast.

This great Expedition was diverted by the Fleet of *Holland*, which the *Adelantado* pursu'd to the Islands.

The following years, 1600. and 1601. there was hope of Peace, and nothing was attempted on either side till the latter end of 1601. that he Invaded *Ireland*, but with ill Success, as you have heard.

The last Summer, 1602. he was brav'd by Her Majesty's Ships in the Mouth of his Harbour, with the loss of a Carrack, and render'd unable to prosecute his Designs against *Ireland*; for no sooner was Sir *Richard Lewson* return'd, but Sir *William Monson* was sent back again upon that Coast; as you have heard, who kept the King's Forces so employ'd, that he betook himself only to the guard of his Shores.

It is not the meanest Mischief we shall do the King of *Spain* if we War thus upon him, to force him to keep his Shores still arm'd and guarded, to the infinite Vexation, Charge and Discontent of his Subjects; for no time or Place can secure them so long as they see or know us to be upon the Coast.



1603. The Sequel of all these Actions being duly consider'd, we may be confident, that whilst we busie the Spaniards at home, they dare not think of Invading England or Ireland; for by their absence their Fleet from the Indies may be endanger'd, and in their Attempts they have as little hope of prevailing.

*The Names of such Ships as Her Majesty left at her Death.*

| Names of Ships.        | Tonnage. | Men in Harbour. | Men at Sea, whereof | Mariners. | Gunners. | Sailors. |
|------------------------|----------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------|----------|----------|
| <i>Elizabeth Jonas</i> | 900      | 30              | 500                 | 340       | 40       | 120      |
| <i>Triumph</i>         | 1000     | 30              | 500                 | 340       | 40       | 120      |
| <i>White-Bear</i>      | 900      | 30              | 500                 | 340       | 40       | 120      |
| <i>Victory</i>         | 800      | 17              | 400                 | 268       | 32       | 100      |
| <i>Mere honour</i>     | 800      | 30              | 400                 | 268       | 32       | 100      |
| <i>Ark-Royal</i>       | 800      | 17              | 400                 | 268       | 32       | 100      |
| <i>Saint Matthew</i>   | 1000     | 30              | 500                 | 340       | 40       | 120      |
| <i>Saint Andrew</i>    | 900      | 17              | 400                 | 268       | 32       | 100      |
| <i>Due Repulse</i>     | 700      | 16              | 350                 | 230       | 30       | 90       |
| <i>Garland</i>         | 700      | 16              | 300                 | 190       | 30       | 80       |
| <i>Warspite</i>        | 600      | 12              | 300                 | 190       | 30       | 80       |
| <i>Mary-Rose</i>       | 600      | 12              | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>The Hope</i>        | 600      | 12              | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Bonaventure</i>     | 600      | 12              | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>The Lion</i>        | 500      | 12              | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Nonpareil</i>       | 500      | 12              | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Defiance</i>        | 500      | 12              | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Rainbow</i>         | 500      | 12              | 250                 | 150       | 30       | 70       |
| <i>Dreadnought</i>     | 400      | 10              | 200                 | 130       | 20       | 50       |
| <i>Antelope</i>        | 350      | 10              | 160                 | 114       | 16       | 30       |
| <i>Swiftsure</i>       | 400      | 10              | 200                 | 130       | 20       | 50       |
| <i>Swallow</i>         | 330      | 10              | 160                 | 114       | 16       | 30       |
| <i>Forefight</i>       | 300      | 10              | 160                 | 114       | 16       | 30       |
| <i>The Tide</i>        | 250      | 7               | 120                 | 88        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>The Crane</i>       | 200      | 7               | 100                 | 76        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Adventure</i>       | 250      | 7               | 120                 | 88        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Quittance</i>       | 200      | 7               | 100                 | 76        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Answer</i>          | 200      | 7               | 100                 | 76        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Advantage</i>       | 200      | 7               | 100                 | 70        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Tiger</i>           | 200      | 7               | 100                 | 70        | 12       | 20       |
| <i>Tremountain</i>     |          | 6               | 70                  | 52        | 8        | 10       |
| <i>The Scout</i>       | 120      | 6               | 66                  | 48        | 8        | 10       |
| <i>The Cat</i>         | 100      | 5               | 60                  | 42        | 8        | 10       |
| <i>The Charles</i>     | 70       | 5               | 45                  | 32        | 6        | 7        |
| <i>The Moon</i>        | 60       | 5               | 40                  | 30        | 5        | 5        |
| <i>The Advice</i>      | 50       | 5               | 40                  | 30        | 5        | 5        |
| <i>The Spy</i>         | 50       | 5               | 40                  | 30        | 5        | 5        |
| <i>Merlyn</i>          | 45       | 5               | 35                  | 26        | 5        | 4        |
| <i>The Sun</i>         | 40       | 5               | 30                  | 24        | 4        | 2        |
| <i>Synnet</i>          | 20       | 2               |                     |           |          |          |
| <i>George Hoy.</i>     | 100      | 10              |                     |           |          |          |
| <i>Pennyrose Hoy</i>   | 80       | 8               |                     |           |          |          |

Her Majesty left these Ships aforesaid at her Death in good Condition, and whilst she liv'd they gain'd her and her Realms Honour, by the Exploits and Victories they and her Subjects obtain'd; and she left in every one of those Ships Officers, serving in their several Places whilst they lay in Harbour.

But

But as Abuses by continuance of time are crept in for want of Care and Over-looking, like Chimneys that gather Soot by continual Fires, that may indanger the House if it be not prevented by Sweeping; So shal'd it with our Navy at the latter end of the Queen's Reign, which

Sir Robert Cecil, the Principal Secretary, carefully foresaw, and caus'd me to write the ensuing Discourse how the then Abuses might be taken away, and a Course settled for a Reformation, that the like might not hereafter happen; which I Directed to him as follows.

1603.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil Principal Secretary to Her Majesty.*

I Have by your Honour's Command, and my own Experience and Observation, briefly collected the Abuse of our Seamen, and the Corruptions that are tolerated; and shew the Injuries offered

in Furnishing, Victualling, and Manning her Majesty's Ships; and lastly, how such Wrongs may be Reform'd; all which I humbly represent to your Honour.

*Concerning the Abuses of our Seamen.*

Nothing breeds Disorders in our Sailors, but Liberty and over much Clemency: The one they have in their ordinary Ships of Repriſal, where no Discipline is us'd, nor Authority obey'd; The other in elcaping Punishment when they justly deserve'd it, which hath brought her Majesty's Service to be no more accomplished of, than the Actions of Private Men: It is strange what Misery such Men will chooſe to endure in small Ships of Repriſal, though they be hopeles of Gain, rather then serve her Majesty, where their Pay is certain, their Diet plentiful, and their Labour not so great; Nothing breeds this but the Liberty they find in the one, and Punishment they fear in the other.

The Ships these Men covet to go in, are neither of Service nor Strength to the State, or annoyance to the Enemy; their Owners are Men of as base Condition as themselves, making no more reckoning what Outrages their Ships commit at Sea, than the Men themselves that commit them; They grow so bold upon the Lenity us'd toward them, that they as confidently detain Men after they are Preſt, as if there were no Law to prohibit it; Nor are they satisfied with a Competent number of Men in their Ships, but commonly carry twice as many as their Ships and Victuals require; and the first Carvel or Filherman they take, they put their spare Men into, who many times sink in the Sea, famish for want of Victuals, or are forc'd ashore into Spain, where they must either be compell'd to serve against their Country, or dye in misery. And thus have more Seamen been consum'd, then in all other Actions or Enterprizes

against Spain. And no Man dares reprove it, because the Lord Admiral is interested in all such Prizes as these unprofitable Ships take.

It is time to foresee and prevent these Inconveniencies; for it is apparent this neglect of the Queen's Service lost her Majesty the Indies Fleet Sir Richard Lewis met withall, being forc'd to leave Sir William Monson with half the Ships at Plymouth for want of Sailors to Man them; when at the same time more Men were suffered to go in private Ships of War, then would have Mann'd her Majesty's Navy.

And yet this is not all the Mischief that ensues upon it; for these Men being thus suffer'd to go, her Majesty's Ships are supplied with Filhermen at the Season of their Voyage to Newfoundland; so that not only the poor Sailors, but the Countreys about them that are supported by that Trade, are half undone. The Men themselves are so unserviceable, and of so little spirit, that I look upon it as a Principal Cause of Sickneſs in her Majesty's Ships. These Abuses are well known to the Spaniards, which made Sereago, General of their Sea, covet nothing more than to board one of her Majesty's Ships, knowing how ill they are Mann'd in comparison of Privateers.

Besides, many private Voyages have prov'd prejudicial to her Majesty's Designs, for very often those Men that go in such Ships are taken Prisoners, and give notice of our Intentions, whereby the Enemy is provided, and we prevented. As for Example, the Two Voyages of Sir Francis Drake and Mr. Cavendish about the World, which though Honourable to them-

Fleet  
and in  
oe of

ain'd;  
Ships  
Places

But

1602. themselves, yet it had been much better for the Queen that they had not been undertaken, but with greater Forces; for we have now discovered to the Spaniards our finding the way through the Straits of Magellan, which they thought to conceal from us: We have pass'd by the Coast of Chile and Peru up to Panama, crost over to the Philippine and Molucco Islands, and the East-Indies. Thus have we warn'd. without annoying them, to strengthen themselves in those Parts; so that such Places as had no defence, are now made able both to defend and offend, as appear'd by the taking of Mr. Hawkins in the South-Sea 1594.

And since that time, it is apparent by Three several Voyages made by the *Hollanders*, the one in 1597 with Five Ships; the Second in 1614 with as many; but lastly, and especially, in the Fleet call'd by the Name of the *Nassau Fleet* in 1623, all which Fleets pass'd the Straits of Magellan, attempted landing in divers Parts of Peru and New-Spain, with a Force of 3000 Soldiers, and were repuls'd in those Places which Mr. Carvendish had taken and enjoy'd Anno 1587. but with 30 Shot.

### *How to Redress these Disorders.*

IF it be true, as it is held to be, an easier thing to cure than discover a Disease, then may there be hopes of amendment of these Enormities and Abuses. But the first thing that must be obtain'd, is, the Consent and Countenance of the Lord Admiral; for I have shew'd, that these Abuses are crept in by his Permission, or at least his Officers.

The Second is, not to admit of all Men to become Owners and Captains, that are able to Buy or Victual a Ship, but to Examine their Condition, their Estate and Qualities, and to cause them to give Security not to connive at the Abuses here mention'd.

Thirdly, to restrain all private Actions whilst her Majesty's are on foot; but if they will adventure, to let it be done in the Company of her Ships, where they shall have a Share proportionable to their

Adventure; and I believe it will prove more beneficial than now they find it: Or if they refuse it, it shall be Lawful for them to adventure alone Four Months in the year, (when it is not fit to keep the King's Ships at Sea) but to injoin them to return at a day limited; and the Care to see this executed, may be committed to the Vice-Admiral of every County, who is to take care they carry no more Men than the Ships requires, nor less Provision than is requisite, lest they run into the Misfortunes above-mention'd.

This will be the way to Redress all Abuses, to make Men Obedient to Discipline and Command, to avoid Sicknes in her Majesty's Ships, to employ none but such as are serviceable, not to molest the poor Labouring Fishermen, to give the Merchants Satisfaction, and to Preserve the Life and Liberty of Sailors.

### *Now follows the Abuses in her Majesty's Ships.*

THERE are so many and several Abuses in her Majesty's Ships, that the Reforming of one is to little purpose, unless there be a Reformation in the whole; and I will first begin with Victuals, upon which the Lives of Men depend: In this there is such great Abuse in every Voyage, that there is no Man but has cause to Complain.

The Gunners, into whose Charge is committed the Strength of the Ship, are prefer'd to their Places rather for Money than Merit; and to descend to the Ships themselves, there are so many Impedi-

ments in them in our Southern Voyages, that we cannot say any thing is strong or serviceable about them. And though their Wants be made known before their going from Home, the Officers of the Navy, either out of Frugality, or following Precedents of former Ages, not considering there was no such Employment for the Queen's Ships heretofore, have not that Care which is expedient: And lastly, the Men that serve in them are so ill Treated, that they allege it for the cause of their backwardness to serve the Queen.

1603.

*The Manner how to Reform these Abuses.*

THE way to Redress every Abuse is to execute severe Justice upon the chief Men in Office; As, First, the Victualler, if he fail either in Goodness or Quantity of her Majesty's Allowance, let his Life answer it, for no Subject's Estate is able to countervail the Damage her Majesty may sustain by such Defect; and to take away all Excuses of his part, and to provide there may be no failing of the Service, it were convenient to have a Surplus of Victuals transported in other Ships, to be exchange'd, if upon view the other prove to be ill Condition'd.

Secondly, for the Gunners; their Frauds in Powder and Shot, and other Things under their Charge, are intolerable; and they have been the more embolden'd, by the Bafeness of some Captains who have consented to their Theft.

For Reformation hereof, it were good to have a Deputy appointed in every Ship from the Officers of the Ordnance, to take Charge of Powder, Shot, Muskets, &c. and to deliver them to such Men as shall be accountable for them at the end of the Voyage; for it is no Reason so great a Charge should be committed to the Gunners, who make no Conscience to Steal, and may Steal without controlement when it is in their possession.

Another thing, a Captain must have Orders to forbid, and look precisely it be obey'd, which is the Lavishness of Shooting for Pleasure, at the Meeting of Ships, passing by Castles, and Feasting a-board, for indeed there is more Powder wastefully spent in this sort than against an Enemy.

For the Third, which is the Disability of Ships to the Southward; it is occasion'd by the great weight of Ordnance, which makes them Labour some, and causes their Weakness; and considering how few Gunners are allowed to every Ship, it were better to leave some of these Pieces at home, then to pester the Ships with them. I must say, and with truth, that all her Majesty's Ships are far undermanned; for when People come to be divided into Three Parts, the One Third to Tackle the Ship, the other to Ply their Small Shot, and the Third to Manage their Ordnance; all the Three Services fail for want of Men to execute them.

Neither do I see that more Men can be contain'd in the Queen's Ships to the Southward, for want of Stowage for Victuals, and Room to lodge in. No

Ship that returns from the Southward should go to Sea again under half a years respite; in which time she will be well Ayr'd, and her Ballast must be chang'd.

There should be a General Workman appointed in Harbour, carefully to overlook the Ships that shall be employed: This Man should go the Voyage, and have the like Charge at Sea. Nothing that is necessary for Ships, but must be carried in a great abundance by a Deputy from the Officers of the Navy, as I have formerly said in the like Case of the Officers of the Ordnance. All Precedents of former times of furnishing the Queen's Ships to be abolish'd; and whosoever takes upon him this Office as Deputy, to be bound to give an account of the Surplusses remaining, that what is not spent may be restor'd; which will nothing increase the Charge in carrying them to Sea; and yet the Ships shall be so provided, as no Casualty that can happen at Sea will bring them into Distress. Besides, they shall supply the want of such Prises as they take, who by reason of their long Voyages have consum'd their Sails, Ropes, and Tackling, as in the like Case we found by the Carrack, which we could not have brought for England if we had not supply'd her want out of the Queen's Ships.

And lastly, For the Men that Sail in the Ships, without whom they are of no use, their Usage has been so ill at the end of their Voyages, that it is no marvel they shew their unwillingness to serve the Queen; for if they arrive Sick from any Voyage, such is the Charity of the People ashore, that they shall sooner dye then find Pity, unless they bring Money with them.

And seeing her Majesty must and does Pay those that Serve, it were better for them, and much more Profit and Honour to the Queen, to Discharge them upon their first Landing, than to continue them longer unpaid; for whether they are Sick, or lie idle in Harbour, their Pay runs on till the Ships and they are Discharg'd, to the great Consumption of Victuals and Wages, which fallst on the Queen.

Wherefore it is necessary, that an Under-Treasurer be appointed in every Fleet, who should carry Money for all necessary Disbursements. I have borrow'd some part of these Re-formations, and annex them to my Fifth Book, which I presented to the King's View, shewing the Abuses of this time both in Ships, Victuals, Men, &c.

W. Mon.

1603

When all these Things are Reform'd and well Order'd, and Ships ready Furnish'd to Sea, the next Important Thing in a General is to provide how to get Intelligence of his Enemy, and to keep the Enemy from having Intelligence of him; which in our late Wars with Spain we compass'd by the following Means.

What I have said touching an Offensive and Defensive War with Spain, needs no other Repetition than what is contain'd in the Fifth Book; for as I have often said in the precedent Discourses, the Life of all Action by Sea is to get Intelligence of an Enemy, and to keep the Enemy from Intelligence; for in so doing a Man is arm'd to encounter an Enemy naked and unprovided, as I have instanc'd in many Examples before; for whosoever is Successful by chance and good Luck, rather than by Providence and Foresight, cannot challenge the Honour as his own, but must allow Fortune a share with him; for Success is the Mistress of Fools, and true Management proceeds from Judgment.

And to the end in our succeeding Actions and Wars with Spain, if ever there should happen a new Breach, we may not be Ignorant how to proceed against that Nation by our former Precedents, I have annexed these following Precepts as a Light and Guide how to get Intelligence at our arrival upon that Coast, by which we shall be able the better to direct our selves in the whole Voyage; for it is an easier thing to follow a Lesson well taught us, than to compass it by our own Practice or Study.

The first Means we us'd to get Intelligence of the Affairs of Spain upon our arrival, was to hail into the height of the *Burlings*, a small desert Island, whether every night the Carvels of *Periche*, opposite to it, resorted to take Fish, which serv'd the whole Country. About the time the Carvels were to draw near the Island, in the night time, we us'd to leave some Ships Boats, well Mann'd, near the Shore, where there could be no suspicion of them, and at the Dawning of the Day the Shallops suddenly boarded and seiz'd some of the said Carvels, of which we made good use in Two Kinds: The first was the Intelligence we receiv'd of the State and Affairs of *Lisbon*, and the whole Coast, as also what Preparations were made either to defend or offend; The Second was in respect of the Carvels excellent Sailings, for there were few Ships but they could fetch up, and then keep sight of them both night and day, till our approach to them: Thirdly, by the unusual Sails Carvels carry, by means whereof we deceiv'd the *Spaniards*, and made them believe they were their own. At last, when the Voyage was at end, the Poor Men were restor'd again to their Vessels, and some Reward bestow'd on them.

### *The Means how we obtain'd Intelligence of the South Parts of Spain by a Method of my own.*

IN the Voyage of Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monfon to the Coast of Spain, you will find an Intelligence I receiv'd from certain Scotch and French Ships, of Five Gallions riding at *St. Lucar*, watching an opportunity of Wind and Spring Tides to pass the Bar of *St. Lucar*, being ready bound for the *West-Indies*; And because I would be particularly resolv'd of all the Circumstances thereof, I Employ'd Captain William Love to the Ports of *Sally* and *Mamora* in *Barbary* with the following Instructions:

*Imprimis*, That you first repair to *Sally*, and if you cannot be fully inform'd of such things as you desire to know, to de-

part thence to *Mamora*, 7 Leagues Eastward of *Sally*.

*Item*, You are to have especial Care to Manage your Business with Secrecy, as well from the English that go with you in the Bark, as from the *Spaniards* and *Moors* resident in the Country. And because you shall have the better Pretence of coming into their Ports, I will deliver you certain Commodities to Trade with that are vendible in that Country.

*Item*, You are to inquire and seek for the Chiefest Englishman in either of the Two Places, and to deliver him a Letter with a Superfcription, To my Faithful Countryman. And finding no such Man there,



there, if you break your mind to any other Stranger, let it be to a *Hollander*, that either lieth there as Agent or Merchant, to whom you shall have another Letter To my Dear Friend and Neighbour.

*Item*, If you find neither *English* nor *Hollander*, your having the Language, may insinuate your self into the Acquaintance of some *Portuguese* or *Spaniard*, of whom you may learn by Circumlocutions, so that he may find you have an intention to be inform'd of any thing in particular; and if you find his Intelligence to concur with that I received from the *French* and *Scotch*, you may the more boldly give credit to him.

*Item*, The Things you are principally to enquire after, are these following; The Number and Quality of all Ships at *Cadix* or *St. Lucar*; Secondly, Whether the Galeons you are employ'd to hearken after, be gone to the *Indies* or no; or, whether they came over the Bar the last Spring Tide; Or, if they be not gone, to demand the cause of their stay, or when they will depart; To enquire whether there be any Ships appointed to convoy them to the *Canaries*, and how many, and their Names, because I have a Catalogue of all the King of *Spain's* Ships, and may judge of their Strength accordingly. To learn whether they alter their ordinary Course of Sailing for

fear of her Majesty's Ships being upon their Coast: Speak nothing of their Wealth, lest it should give some cause of Mistrust: I will not write thus particularly either to the *Englishman* or the *Hollander*: But they having my Letter to credit what you shall say, and shewing my Hand to these Instructions, it will be sufficient to give them Satisfaction.

*Item*, That you suffer not any of the Barks Company to go ashore, nor as near as you can any of the *Moors* to come aboard; But if any of the *English* should happen to go ashore, to give them great charge not to discover the Place or Height I lie in, or that any of the Queen's Ships are at Sea, pretending it was Four Months since you left *England*, unless the cleanness of your Ship may give suspicion, and then you may tell them you trim'd her at *Mogothor*, an Island in *Barbary*.

*Item*, That finding your selves fully inform'd as to these things you desire, or what else you think convenient to know, then speedily to repair to me in the same height you left me: And missing me there, to direct your Course to *Puerto Santo*, near the Island *Madera*, where I intend to refit my Ships after the Fight, if I chance to meet with the Galeons aforesaid.

Given on Board the *Garland* the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1602.

### The Means to get Intelligence at the Tercera Islands.

THE Instructions following I have formerly us'd to be inform'd of Affairs in those Parts, and employed Captain *Whitkens* in a small Carvel to the effect following:

*Imprimis*, You are to keep Company with the *Primrose* of *London*, which is bound for *Gratiosa*, till you come short of that Island, and then to ply into the Road of *Villa Franks* and *St. Michael*, where you shall use your endeavour to speak with the Ships there Riding, that Trade under the *Scots* Colours, but are properly *English*; and to avoid suspicion and danger that may after arise to the said *Englishmen*, you shall speak with them in the night.

*Item*, The Things you shall desire to know are these, *viz.* Of the State of the *West-India* Fleet, and whether they still continue at the *Tercera* Islands, not venturing to go from thence without a Convoy from *Spain*; To learn the time of their departure from thence, and what Port they mean to repair to; Learn whe-

ther they keep their Treasure aboard, or if it be landed, and how far their Ships ride from the Shore; Whether they have any Intelligence of Sir *Richard Lewson* and my being at Sea; What you can learn of the Carracks coming home, or any thing else in general touching these Points.

*Item*, When you are thus satisfied of all your Demands, That from thence you go to the Island of *Tercera*, and view the Road of *Angra*, to see in what State the Ships there ride, and the possibility to surprize them at an Anchor.

*Item*, That this being done, you repair to *Gratiosa*, where you shall find the *Primrose* aforesaid, who against your coming will be able to inform you of all Particulars contain'd in the Second Article.

*Item*, If you find the Fleet of Treasure to be gone for *Spain*, then to make no stay about the Islands, but return to the Coast of *Spain*, where you shall find the Admiral or me 10 or 12 Leagues West from the Rock.



Item, If you be inform'd that the Fleet of the *Indies* hover about the Island, expecting a Convoy from *Spain*, that you endeavour to speak with some *English* Man of War, and there to deliver them this Letter, the Contents whereof you are

already acquainted with, which will direct both you and the Man of War with whom you shall meet: And so wishing you prosperous Success, I rest.

From a-board the *Garland*, at *Plimouth*,  
March 27. 1602.

*A Copy of the said LETTER sent by Captain Whiskens.*

After my hearty Commendations;  
Whereas the Queen's most Excellent Majesty is advertis'd of the late arrival of the Plate Fleet in the Road of *Angra*, at the Island of *Tercera*, in their Course from the *West-Indies* towards *Spain*; and forasmuch as her Majesty hath sent divers other Ships to Sea, whereof Sir *Richard Lewson* is Admiral, and my self Vice-Admiral, to hinder and impeach the said Silver Fleet's Passage through the Seas, as a Service of the highest Importance to lessen the Greatness of a dangerous and mighty an Enemy as the King of *Spain*; so it is, that my Admiral, Sir *Richard Lewson*, is put to Sea some few days before me, and before her Majesty was advertis'd of the said Fleet's arrival at the *Tercera*; wherefore I have employ'd this Bearer, Captain *Whiskens*, with such Instructions for the Accomplishment of the Service, as is thought most convenient for the effecting of it; which Instructions I have given him order to acquaint you with upon your meeting, and the delivery of this Letter, which contains a Request, and as much as lieth in my power, to Command all you *English* Captains and Masters, with whom he shall meet in the Sea, to be helping, aiding, and assisting to him, in so great and weighty a Service, as well in Counsel and Advice, as in Willingness to execute the Directions given in my said Letter, viz. If you shall understand the Plate Fleet intends not to venture home without Ships to guard it, that you presently thereupon use the best Means to give notice to Sir *Richard*, or me, when you shall know by Captain *Whiskens* where to find us; or else that you keep about the Road of *Angra*, and send Captain *Whiskens* himself to look us, whichsoever of you comes, must observe these Directions following.

Upon the *Spanish* Fleet's putting to Sea, both of you to pursue them a-stern, till you bring them to the height they mean to hayl in; and that done, then one of you to lose company of them in the Night, and to ply with all possible speed to the Place aforesaid, to meet Sir *Richard* or me.

And that the other Bark do still attend the Fleet, that if they should alter their height, she may in like manner leave them in the Night, and follow the Directions aforesaid, as the other Bark is directed; but with this Caution, that you keep a strict Account of the shifting of the Winds, from the time you left them, until your meeting with us; for knowing their height, and observing the Winds shifting, there will be little doubt of our meeting. The Service you will do to the Queen and State by this, and the Good that will redound to your self, needs no repetition; and therefore not doubting of your willingness and care herein, I bid you farewell.

From on Board the *Garland*, the 26th of  
March, at *Plimouth*, 1602.

I have known our State use this Policy in time of War. When they desir'd to be inform'd of the State of the King of *Spain's* Ships, the Places of their abiding, furnishing and building, they have sent a Spy disguis'd like a Pilgrim, to Travel through all the Ports of *Biscay* and *Galicia*, in his way to *Saint Iago de Compostella*, pretending his going to be in Devotion, by which means he has seen and discover'd all those things he had in charge, and return'd with a true relation how things then stood.

The *Spaniards* in all their actions against *England* by Sea, could never set Foot on Shore, but in the year 1595, when with four Gallies they pass'd from *Bluet* in *Britany*, which they had taken from the *French* King, into *Pensance* in *Cornwall*. These four Gallies took, spoil'd and rifled that poor Town of *Pensance*, made no long stay there, but speedily return'd again for *Britany*.

The Plotter of this Stratagem was one Captain *Burleigh*, an *Englishman*, who was afterwards well requited for his Treachery: For to be even with him for so foul a Fact, Sir *Robert Cecil*, the Principal Secretary, writ a Letter to him residing in *Lisbon*, pretending that he was employ'd as a Spy, and gave him thanks for some particular Service he nam'd he had done, when indeed there

there was no such cause, for the Man was ever too honest to that side.

Sir Robert Cecil so order'd it, that this Letter fell into the hands of some Ministers of the King of Spain; whereupon Burleigh was Apprehended, close impri-

son'd, and cruelly Tortur'd, when he deserv'd no such severe Usage; I speak this, because I would have the World judge how justly he deserv'd it, and how prettily the Spaniards were impos'd upon by it.

Some Observations of my own.

Whether we shall impute it to the Work of God, who disposes of all things, or to the Queen's good Fortune, which attended throughout the greatest Part of her Reign, or to the wife Conduct of those she repos'd Trust in, or to the Care and Skill of the Captains, Masters and Mariners that took charge of her Ships, I know not which to judge of them; but it is very certain, we must acknowledge it for a great and admirable Work of God, that in her Majesty's Eighteen years War with Spain by Sea, her Fleets, which were continually employ'd on the Spanish Coast, in the Indies and other Places, continually abiding and enduring the fury of all Winds and Weather, never out of motion, and working in troublesome Water; never for the space of 3, 4, 5, or 6 Months so much as putting into Harbour, or Anchoring, or having any other Refreshment from Shore, but still tossing on the Waves of Mountainous Seas that never break, in compaign of ours that seem but little Hills to them, the difference in Times and Tides much altering the case; for upon our Coasts and Narrow Seas, where our greatest Wars have been, no Disaster to our Ships but might be easily remedy'd and amended, for commonly we were never further from home than we might repair to some of our Ports in Twenty four hours.

The Marvel I speak of is, that notwithstanding the apparent Dangers and Casualties of the Sea aforesaid, yet not one of her Majesty's Ships ever miscarry'd, but only the *Revenge*, which I said in her Voyage in 1591. was taken by the Spaniards by the unadvise'd Negligence and

wilful Obstinacy of the Captain, Sir Richard Grenvill.

And we may partly judge by that Ship the *Revenge's* precedent Misfortunes, that she was design'd, from the hour she was built, to receive some fatal blow; for to her, above all other her Majesty's Ships, there happen'd these unfortunate Accidents: In 1582. in her return out of Ireland, where she was Admiral, she struck upon a Sand, and escap'd by Miracle. Anno 1586. at Portsmouth, being bound upon a Southern Expedition, coming out of the Harbour she run a ground, and against the Expectation of all Men was sav'd, but was not able to proceed upon her Voyage. The third Disaster was in 1589. as she was safely Moor'd in Chatham, where all the Queen's Ships lay, and as safe one would think as the Queen's Chamber, and yet, by the extremity of a Storm, she was unluckily put ashore, and there over-set, a Danger never thought on before, or much less happen'd: And to make this Misfortune the more strange and remarkable, the same Night, being Twelfthnight, it was my chance to be at Cork in Ireland, and pass'd down from thence in a Boat to Cross-Haven, in the greatest Calm I have seen.

If we compare these Fortunes of the Queen's with those of her Father's, who next to her had the greatest Employment for his Ships at Sea, you will find great difference betwixt them, altho' we cannot properly call them Voyages of King Henry the Eighth's time, for his Ships were never so far from home, but they might return again with a good Wind in 24 Hours sail; as the others never expected to see the English Shore, under four, five, or six Months, and many times more.

The Disasters of some of King Henry the 8th his Ships and the Lord Admiral.

Upon the Coast of Britany, in a Fight, betwixt the English and the French, the *Regent*, otherwise call'd the *Sovereign of England*, encountered with a Carrack of Brest, and being grappled together, were both burnt; and the Captain, Sir Thomas

Never and 700 Men in her: And the Captain of the Carrack was Sir Pierce Morgan, with 900 Men that perish'd with him.

The *Mary Rose*, next to the *Regent* in Bigness and Goodness, after this was call'd away betwixt Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight,

*Wight*, the very same day King *Henry* boarded her and din'd in her. Part of the Ribs of this Ship I have seen with my own Eyes. There perish'd in her 400 Persons.

The next disaster that befel the King at Sea, was the Lord Admiral himself, Lord *Edward Howard*, who offering to Land in his Boat at *Bertaume-Bay* near *Brest* in *Britany*, was there slain and drown'd together.

When the Lady *Mary*, Sister to King *Henry*, was transported into *France* with fourteen Ships of his Majesty's, to marry *Lewis XII.* King of *France*, three of his Ships were cast away; and the Admiral, wherein the Lady went, being the best and the greatest of the rest, called the *Lubeck*, was one of them that perish'd; but by good hap, and industry and pains of Men, the Lady escap'd, but 400 and odd Persons were drown'd.

Within two days after the casting away the *Mary-Rose*, aforesaid, a Pinnace of the King's, call'd the *Hedge-Hog*, riding before *Westminster-Bridge*, by a misfortune of shooting off a Gun a Barrel of Powder took fire and blew her up.

As I have set down in this First Book the State of the War with *Spain* by Sea, from 1585. when it began, till 1602. when it ended; for the conclusion of the Affairs of that time, I will annex the Advice and Resolution of our State, and the Council of War, for making a Defensive War against *Spain*, when we fear'd an Invasion in 88.

If the following Discourse seem more tedious to the Reader than is fitting, let it not be imputed a Fault in me, for I neither add nor diminish one word from the Original Copy resolved on by the Council of War, whose Names here follow.

The Lord *Gray*,  
Sir *Francis Knowles*, Treasurer of  
the Houshold,  
Sir *Thomas Laken*,  
Sir *Walter Rawleigh*,  
Sir *Richard Greenville*,  
Sir *John Norris*,  
Sir *Richard Bingham*,  
Sir *Roger Williams*,  
Ralph Lane Esq;

The 27th of November, 1587.

#### PROPOSITIONS.

Such Means as are consider'd to be fittest to put the Forces of the Realm in order to withstand an Invasion, and the

Places most to be suspected, that the Spaniards intend to Land in.

*Milford*,  
*Heylford*,  
*Falmouth*,  
*Plimouth*,  
*Torbay*,  
*Portland*,  
*Portsmouth*,  
*The Isle of Wight*.

These are aptest for the Army of Spain to Land in.

*Nesse in Suffex*,  
*The Downes*,  
*Margate in Kent*,  
*The River of Thames*,  
*Harwich*,  
*Tarmouth*,  
*Hull and Scotland*.

These are aptest for the Army of *Flamanders*.

How many of these Places may be put in Defence to hinder their Landing.

*Milford for Wales*,  
*Plimouth for the West*.  
*Portland for the middle of the West Parts*.  
*The Isle of Wight*,  
*Portsmouth*, and the  
*River of Thames*.

#### MILFORD.

Although we do suppose the Barrenness of the Country to be such as it is not likely to be Invaded, yet touching *Milford-Haven*, in respect of the Goodness of the same, we think it convenient, that there should be Trained the number of 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, to be Levied and had in readiness: And for the increase of Horsemen, if any lack be, then the Gentlemen with their Serving-men may be commanded to supply the Default of the Number aforesaid.

#### PLIMOUTH.

The Reason why *Plimouth* is thought to be the most likely Place, is, for that it is unlikely that the King of *Spain* will engage his Fleet too far within the Chanel, before he has Master'd some good Harbour; and *Plimouth* is the nearest to *Spain*, easie to be won, speedily to be by them Fortify'd, and conveniently Situated to send Succour to, either out of *Spain* or *France*.

PORT.

## P O R T L A N D.

The reason why *Portland* is also an apt Place to land in, is, for that there is a great Harbour for all his Ships to ride in, and good landing for Men; the Isle being won, is a strong Place of Retreat, the Country adjoining *Champion*, where with great Convenience he may march with his whole Army.

The reason why the *Downes*, *Margate*, and the River of *Thames*, are thought fit Landing Places, is in respect of the Commodity of Landing, and nearness to the Prince of *Parma*, in whose Forces the King of *Spain* repos'd special Trust.

Now in these Places following, Order may be taken to hinder their Landing, whether by Fortification or Assembly of the People, or both.

For *Plimouth*, both by Fortification and Assembly of People.

In *Devon* and *Cornwall* there are of train'd Men in the Counties and Stanaries 5000 Men, which are to be assembled for the Defence of *Plimouth*, standing equal to both Counties; of which we are of Opinion, in place of Muster-days, which is very Chargeable, and in effect to no purpose, That Two thousand of those should be assembled together at *Plimouth*, under such a General as shall be ordain'd to govern that *Western* Army, to the intent that they may know their Leaders, be acquainted, be thoroughly instructed to all Purposes, that on sudden Occasions there may be no Amaze, nor any Confusion: This shall be done, the one half at the Charge of her Majesty, the other at the Charge of the Country, if the Country's Charge do not surmount the ordinary Trainings.

For *Portland*, by assembling of Men and fortifying.

In *Dorset* and *Wiltshire* there are of train'd Men 2700, which are to be assembled for the Defence of that Place; and that 2000 of the said number should be assembled and exercis'd, as before is said, at *Plimouth*, or in some Place of *Wiltshire*, appointed for the Isle of *Wight* to take *Somersetshire*, in which there are 2000 Foot.

At *Sandwich* and the *Downes*, by the assembling of Men.

In *Kent* and *Sussex* there are of train'd Men 4500, which are to be assembled in

those Places for Defence thereof; and 2000 of the same number to be assembled at *Sandwich*, to be govern'd and exercis'd as before is said for *Plimouth*.

So likewise for *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, like Order to be observ'd.

Our farther Meaning is, That these Garrisons shall remain but for 20 days, to be thoroughly Train'd and acquainted with Encamping, and then every such 2000 Men in Garrison being so acquainted with this Discipline, shall give Example to a great Army of raw Men, whereby there shall be no manner of Confusion on all sudden Emergencies.

Farther, we are of Opinion, That to these 2000 Men, there shall be 20 Captains appointed; which 20 Captains having each of them 100 Train'd Men, shall receive under their Charge, when the Army shall assemble, 100 more; so as in effect there shall be 4000 Men in Order, and under Martial Discipline: The Choice of which Captains, we think for the one half, to be left to the Choice of the General of the Army, and the other to be of the principal Gentlemen of the Country, under whom there may be Soldiers appointed for their Lieutenants.

The like Order is to be observ'd in every of the other Places of Garrison.

What Order must be taken to fight with the Enemy, if by force he be landed.

For the manner how to fight with the Enemy, it must be left to the Discretion of the General; only we give this Advice, That at his Landing, he may be Impeach'd, if conveniently it may be done; and if he march forward, that the Country be driven so as no Victuals remain, but such as they shall carry on their Backs, which will be small; That he be kept waking with continual Alarms; but in no case that any Battel be adventur'd, till such time as divers Lieutenants be assembled to make a gross Army, as we have before specified, except upon a special Advantage.

Farther, it is thought necessary, that in these two Provinces, and in all others where many Lieutenants be, there should one be appointed to be chief to lead the Army; for among many Lieutenants there may be some straining of Curtesie, left by such Delay and Confusion great Inconveniencies do grow to the Country, and Advantages to the Enemy: And therefore any Lieutenant coming out of any Country with his Force, his Authority only to extend to govern his Company

pany as Colonel of that Regiment, and so to be commanded by the General Lieutenant: As for example, in *Devon* and *Cornwall* there are 10 Lieutenants, whereby it may be known who shall command in either, as need shall require.

*What Proportion of Men must be prepared to serve to that end.*

Wheresoever the Enemy shall land; as if at *Plimouth* for example, then by the computation of 6000 Men arm'd, and furnish'd in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, we conceive that the Assistance of *Wiltshire*, *Dorset* and *Somerset*, adjoining to the 6000 of the *West*, will make a sufficient Army, being strengthen'd by the Gentlemen and Serving-men, and other of the Country that shall be adjoin'd, tho' not so thoroughly arm'd as the *West*: And if it happen, either by Design or contrary Weather, that the Enemy pass over *Plimouth*, and land at *Portland*, then the Arm'd Men and Train'd Soldiers of the *West* shall repair to them. And farther, if the Invasion be in *Kent*, or any otherwhere to the West of the River of *Thames*, then those middle Shires directed to assist the *West*, may turn to the *East* along the Coast.

If the Army of *Flanders* land in the River of *Thames*, then the same order is to be taken with the Shires adjoining, as is aforesaid; namely, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Essex*, and the City of *London*.

And because there is a special Regard to be had of Her Majesty's Person, we think it most necessary that an Army should be provided to that end, to be compos'd of such Counties as are appointed and reserv'd for that purpose, and to join with the Forces of the City of *London*, and such other as may be arm'd out of her Majesty's Store.

Furthermore, generally for the increase of Foot lacking Armour, we think it fit that there be of the able Men unarm'd, whereof Choice may be made of the train'd Men arm'd, one fourth part more; of the which fourth part of unarm'd Men 80 may be Pikes, and 20 Billmen; for the providing of which Pikes and Bills, there must be speedy Provision made, being Weapons that the Realm does furnish.

Also for the increase of arm'd Pikemen in this time of Scarcity of Armour, we do think it good, that all the arm'd Billmen may be converted to be made arm'd Pikemen, and that all able Billmen unarm'd should be levied, and chosen in

their Places; because the Ranks of Billmen in order of Battel are always environ'd and encompass'd about with Pikemen; for the Billmen serve especially for Execution, if the Enemy in Battel shall be overthrown: But here is to be noted, that there must be reserv'd a few arm'd Billmen and Halbardiers to guard the Ranks, wherein the Ensigns and Drums, &c. are placed in the order of Battel.

Also, since upon any sudden Invasion, it would be too late to provide these Things, which shall be necessary for Defence, it is thought necessary, that beforehand a Store of Ordnance and Ammunition be provided; as also Powder, Spades, and all other Furniture whatsoever, and to be left in these forenamed Places, in which these Garrisons shall remain.

It is also to be provided, That all those General Assemblies be held for Training as well the Horlemen as Footmen; and to that end, that at *Plimouth*, *Portland*, *Sandwich*, and any other Places that shall be fit to have the like Training, the Horlemen of the next adjoining Counties be brought together; as namely, at *Plimouth*, those of *Devon*, *Cornwall* and *Somerset*; at *Portland*, those of *Dorset* and *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*; at *Sandwich*, those of *Kent*, *Suffex*, *Surrey*, &c. But because it may fall out, that in those Places appointed for Training of the Infantry there may want Forage, or Place fit for Horlemen, it may be left to the Discretion of the Lieutenants to chuse the fittest for the Cavalry, as near the Foot as conveniently they may.

#### SCOTLAND.

Farther, as touching *Scotland*, where Landing we cannot resist, we think it meet that a stronger Proportion be consider'd of for that Part; namely, 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, whereof to be 1000 Lances, Arms of far more Defence, and may be furnish'd as good cheap as the Jack, and to be taken out of the Tower.

If therefore the Army of *Flanders* should happen to land in *Scotland*, whereby their Forces and Strength shall be so great, as the Army aforesaid shall not be able to encounter them, then we think fit that a good part of the Army prepar'd to guard her Majesty's Person shall march to support the Army of the *North* against that Enemy, and join with the train'd Men of that Country, and the Army of the *West* be brought to supply that Charge.



It is also most carefully to be consider'd, that the King of *Spain* is not hopeless of some Party of Papists and Malecontents.

All which, if these small Regiments before spoken of, be not in readines, it will be too late both to assemble for resistance of any Foreign Enemy, and to withstand them at Home both on one day: For every Man shall stand in fear of firing of his own House, and destruction of his Family; therefore, if any stir should happen, such severe Proceedings, or Execution towards such Offenders, would be us'd by Marshal Law.

And to conclude, when it shall be brutted in *Spain*, that there are at *Plimouth* and other Places, such a Number of Arm'd Soldiers under Ensigns and Leaders, the Number will be reported to be double or treble; so as the King of *Spain*, upon good probability, may conceive, that these Soldiers, and such as are in other Places upon the Coast in like readines, are determin'd to Land in *Portugal* or the *Indies*; the same Opinion being fortify'd by the Preparations of so many Ships as are given in charge to be made ready in those Parts by Sir Francis Drake.

We think it also very necessary, that throughout all the Countries of the Realm, this Proportion, as well amongst the Arm'd and Train'd, as the Unarm'd Pikes and Bills, may be observ'd, that is to say, that of every Hundred there be 80 Pikes and 20 Bills.

We think it necessary also, that some Order and Provision be taken by their Lordships, that her Majesty's Ships being at *Rockester*, be not entrapp'd.

Thus far is the Direction and Resolution of the Honourable Commissioners aforesaid, concluded on November 27. 1587.

Now follows an Exception to some Points of the Resolution aforesaid.

If I had been of that Age and Experience as now I am, and worthy to have been call'd upon for my Opinion, by so many Noble and Able Personages, to the Propositions aforesaid, I should have dissent'd in some things from them, under Correction be it spoken, as shall appear by these ensuing Reasons.

Our Safety upon an Invasion depends on three Defences; the one on the good Success of our Ships at Sea; the second on our Repulsing an Enemy in offering to Land; and the third on our Forces within the Kingdom if they chance to Land: All which are at large handled in the precedent Discourse, by the Prime and most Experienc'd Soldiers of our time.

#### MILFORD HAVEN.

The first Direction of Propositions by them is *Milford-Haven*, as a Place of Danger, and wish it may be guarded with 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, with some supplies of Gentlemen and their Servants, which they think sufficient, in respect of the Barrenness of the Country of *Wales*.

#### The Answer to Milford-Haven.

I conceive, as *Milford-Haven* has the Advantage of all Havens in *England*, or almost in *Europe*, for the Largeness and Goodness of the Port, so there are multitude of Landing Places; for it is said of *Milford Haven* that 1000 Ships may ride in it, and not one see another, whereby an Enemy may Land to his Advantage when he list, without Resistance; and in that case, where 2500 Soldiers are design'd to withstand the Enemy's Landing, there is no possibility for them to do Service, unless the Shore should be as well Fortify'd, which would be a thing impossible.

I would therefore advise, if it were not too great a Presumption in me, not to hazard any part of the 2500 Men in seeking to defend their Landing, but to draw them to a Head, and seek to take advantage of them after their Landing, as namely, in cutting off the Rear, and Stragglers in their Marches, wearying them with often Alarms, to prevent the Foraging of the Country of Victuals; and in the mean time to draw and convey their Cattle of all kinds into the Mountains, that an Enemy can neither possess, nor know where to find them: And for other kind of Victuals, as Corn, &c. that cannot be conveniently transported, to set them on fire, that the Enemy may meet with Hunger and Famine, instead of Food.

And if the Invaders intend to march from *Milford-Haven* to the inward Part of the Land, (for that is the end of all Conquerors) it will easily appear what imminent dangers they will run themselves into.

Their Victuals in that Part of *Wales* will not sustain them, and it will be the less, being before destroy'd. Secondly, Their march will wearisome and tedious, where they must pass mighty Mountains, and find themselves destitute of all Succour; in which Passages the 2000 Foot and 500 Horse aforesaid, knowing the Country so perfectly well, as the others do not, they may take great Advantage of them.

Thirdly,



Thirdly, The further they march they will be the greater distance from their Ships, and consequently from Succour and Assistance: And in the mean time, whilst they are upon their troublesome and dangerous March, the Queen will have time enough to draw her Forces from the furthest Part of England.

#### PLIMOUTH.

The next that is alledg'd is *Plimouth*, as the likeliest Place, in respect it is the nearest Port to *Spain*, to give Succour; and that they will not in reason adventure their Fleet further into the Chanel before they are Masters of some good Harbour.

#### ANSWER.

I approve these Reasons, as a chief Ground for an Enemy to settle upon; for whosoever Invades by Sea, above all things must seek to obtain a Port for his Fleet: Only I disapprove the Election of *Plimouth* before *Falmouth*, for *Falmouth* lies more convenient for *Spain*, 14 or 15 Leagues nearer to it, a better Harbour and Outer, and at that time of less defence than *Plimouth*; and being possess'd by the *Spaniards*, it will be made stronger by the Situation. Moreover, *Falmouth* is in *Cornwall*, a small Shire, and narrow betwixt Sea and Sea, and has no Country Neighbour to it Westward to give us Assistance, as *Devonshire* hath *Cornwall* to the West, and *Somersetshire* to the East; but the one and the other I hold as fit to be fortify'd, as any two Harbours of England.

#### PORTLAND.

*Portland* is alledg'd to be an apt Place for the *Spaniards* to arrive in, for that it is a great Harbour for all their Ships to ride in, and a good Landing for their Men; that the Island being won, it is a strong Place for Retreat, the Country adjoining to it Champion, where with great conveniency they may march with their whole Army.

In *Dorset* and *Wiltshire* there are of Train'd Men 2500, which are to be assembled for Defence of that Place; and the Honourable Commissioners do advise, that 2000 of the same Number should be Assembled and Exercised, as before is said of *Plimouth*; and that some Place be appointed in *Wiltshire* for the Succour of the *Ile of Wight*, and to take the help of *Somersetshire*, which are 2000 Foot.

#### ANSWER.

The Honourable Commissioners are misinform'd in the State of *Portland*; for it is neither an Island, nor has, as they conceive, a Harbour for Ships to lie in safely from all Weather; it hath only an open Bay, where with an Easterly Wind Ships ride in danger. And if the Fleet of *Spain* should arrive there, I should sooner look to have them wrack'd upon the Shore, then to return safe again to Sea.

*Portland* is a Road some Leagues over from Shore to Shore, and within it lieth a small Bar and dry Haven, call'd *Weymouth*, of no defence against an Enemy's landing, nor fit for great Ships, as is all that Shore, except only a small Port of no importance upon the Road.

This Place is in the State of *Milford Haven*, that hath an infinite number of places to land in, and no possibility to impeach an Enemy's landing; And this will serve as well for an Answer to the *Ile of Wight*, and other Places of that sort, where there are several Landings.

The Road of *Portland* gives us an advantage over the *Spaniards*, if they should Anchor there, by reason of the breadth of the Road, which is such, that no Fortifications from the Shore can impeach our Attempts upon them. For suppose we should not be able to cope with them in Ships, yet keeping our selves to Windward of them during the time of the whole Flood, we shall be able to put in execution Stratagems, in firing them with Vessels we may drive among them; or, if we fail one Flood, we shall be able to attempt them as often as we list, and the Flood shall run without danger to our selves, for during the Flood they cannot come to us; and with the first of the Ebb, we shall be able to ply out, without endangering our selves any manner of way.

I confess it is necessary that the Men be Mustred and Train'd in every Shire, to make them able Soldiers; but, in my Opinion, it is not safe to design so many Men to so many several Places, without there be Works and Trenches made to defend them, and to enable them to repulse an Enemy's Landing; for if those Men should be defeated, the loss of their Arms would equal the loss of so many Men, and dishearten others that have not been acquainted and accusom'd to the Accidents and Chances of War.

Something I have said to this part of keeping an Enemy from landing in my Fifth Book, where I Treat of Stratagems, by example of the *Danvers* and other Places where the Shore-side is full of small Stones and Shingles cast up by Sea.

#### How to Fight.

The next that follows is the Order to be taken to Fight the Enemy if he be Landed, which must be left to the Discretion of a General: What ensues more, by the Advice of the Honourable Commissioners, I refer to their former Directions which you have read; and for brevity sake will deliver my Opinion for the World to consider.

#### A N S W E R.

There must be great Consideration, not only how to Fight, but a Place must be chosen within the Land to make their Rendezvous for all their Forces to meet together with most conveniency; for the Enemy being Landed, we must lay aside all other Propositions or Stratagems, more than to think how to force them in a main Battel, as we shall hear they direct their Course, either by dividing their Army, or marching in a whole Body.

And for the effecting hereof, we must resolve to gather and draw so many Men into a Body as will make Two main Battles, the one to attend the South and West Coast, the other to be ready to attend the Prince of *Parma* and his Army in the East.

If our Ships fail of intercepting the *Spaniards* landing, they will become Masters of all our Ports; and there is no Coast where they shall arrive in *England*, but will yield them store of Landing Places without resistance, as before I have expressed: And therefore our chief Defence must consist in our Land Army, if we must not employ so many Men as is designed to withstand their Landing as aforesaid.

For the Place of Rendezvous for our Western Army, I hold *Salisbury* the most convenient Seat; it lieth half way betwixt *London* and *Plsmouth*, which will make the easier March for them both; not 40 miles from *Portland*, and that Southern Coast; not above 18 from *Southampton*, nor 30 to the Isle of *Wight* and *Portsmouth*; so that we shall in a manner be upon the Enemy before they can be provided or prepar'd for their March.

All the Soldiers that are design'd to oppose their Landing in *Cornwall*, *Devon*,  
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*Somerset*, *Dorset* and *Hampshire*, being join'd with the rest that shall be drawn out of the Inland Shires, will make an Army able to encounter more Men then Three such Fleets can either contain or bring.

When it comes to this extremity, the Counties must have care to drive away their Cattel and Live Things of all sorts, and to convey their Corn and other Victuals in Carts, and one Cart to take it of another, that the first may return back for another Load; and if they have not time enough, then to burn the rest and Carts also, that the Enemy may be disappointed of Carriages as well as Victuals; and for Forrage for their Horses, they coming by Sea, their number cannot be great.

The Place to drive their Cattel to be near the Army, which will surely guard them. This being done, the General is to advise whether to march and meet the Enemy before their further entrance into the Land, or to suffer him to march into the inward Country, to have the greater advantage of them, being far from their Ships, and by consequence from all Relief and Help that they can afford them: But I am utterly against the adventuring of our People by Handfulls before they come to a main Battel.

The Place of our Rendezvous for our Eastern Army was well and advicedly chosen in 88. when her Majesty repair'd to her Army; First, in respect of the small distance from *London*, from whence they were to receive Supplies; Secondly, by the Provision made of Building a Bridge of Boats to pass over the River to the Succour of *Kent*, or *Kent* of them; and Thirdly, for appointing their Rendezvous on the *Essex* Shore, rather than in *Kent*: For if an Enemy land in *Kent*, he is kept by the River of *Thames* from coming to *London*, unless it be by the Bridge of *London* or *Kingston*, which may be prevented by breaking them down; whereas if an Enemy land on *Essex* side, he may march directly to *London* without let, impeachment, or other impediment, but by the Encounter of an Army, that may be drawn out of *Essex*, *Kent*, *Hartfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Huntingdon*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Middlesex*, and *London*. And for *Berkshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Gloucestershire*, *Worcestershire*, and the Shires thereabout, they lie indifferently to give Assistance as well to the Western as Eastern Armies.

The Honourable Commissioners did conceive, that this great Preparation of ours, would so much terrifie the *Spaniards*, that it would divert them from their in-  
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tended Invasion upon *England*; but I believe it proceeded rather out of a Hope, or an Imagination, than out of any Ground or Reason; for so great an Expedition as this of the *Spaniards*, is not to be fear'd away like Birds with wisps from a Cherry Tree. But if you do it as a Policy to amaze them, I fear they are not so unprovided of Intelligence from *England*, but to know, that the Preparation of Ships, the Quantity of Victuals, and the Raising of Soldiers, does intend no great Matter from home.

Besides, if we should fright them with a Voyage to the *Indies*, there are many Things requir'd in such a Voyage, that cannot be suddenly provided; as namely, the Sheathing our Ships, Provisions of all kinds, Iron Hoops for Cask, and many other Things, needful to express.

But suppose we should actually undertake such a Voyage from home, I know not how we can give a greater Advantage to the *Spaniards*, they having to great an Army and Navy in readiness to assault us wheresoever we arrive, and in such a Place where they shall be continually supplied from home; whereas we shall find nothing but what we carry with us.

#### PROPOSITION.

Whereas the Council of War do advise, that in the Army that shall be raised, there be an increase made of Pikes and Bills, as Weapons that the Country affords, and shews the necessity of their being put into such Mens hands as have not been taught other Arms.

I will be bold, without derogating from those Noble Persons, to deliver my Conceit to this Point, and to commend to them a Weapon, that tho' it be known to us, yet has never been used in War, or against publick Enemies; and yet in my Opinion it may be made useful in the Field, where there is neither Castle, Fort, nor Town of Strength.

The Weapon is a Pike-Staff, such as Keepers and Warreners use for the guard of the Game; and that every Wood affords us without Cost.

This Staff to have an extraordinary long Pike, and three small ones to be scrued in at the sides of the Staff, and so light, that a Man may easily command him, every Man in a Town to be enjoyn'd to have one: And to give the more Credit and Reputation to this Weapon, and to encourage Men to the use of it, as an Exercise of Value, Credit and Pleasure; as Football, Hurling and Wrestling, have

been anciently used, when there was more Society and Friendliness among Men than now a-days, I would advise, that all People thus arm'd with Staves, may every Holiday have a Place and time appointed for Meeting and Conversation, to use these commendable Exercises and Sports, and amongst them to have Men of Skill appointed to instruct them, as Masters of Defence do their Schollars, till they be made perfect.

At this Meeting they may a' Wrestling, and other laudable, which would put Life and Agility of Body into them; it will make them Courageous to encounter an Enemy, and Skillful to take an Advantage upon him: They need take no care but to wield their Staffs with such Advantage as shall be taught them; as a Muskietier, with whom they are to encounter, has his Musket, his Rest, Shot, Powder and Match, to look to, one whereof failing, he may cast away his Piece for any other Service he can do.

Let the Muskietier in this case be sure to kill him he levels at, or else the Pike will be within him before he can load again, and have the Advantage of his Weapon upon him; and the Pike-man being taught to wrestle, will easily kick up the other's Heels; and if he try ever a Dagger or Knife in his Pocket, he will be the Death of his opposite, if his Staff fails him.

The Bill in this case is improper, under Correction to the Commissioners, whose use is, if an Army be routed, to fall upon them pell-mell with Blows only: A Bill is short, and not so nimble in a Man's hand as a Staff; it will be commanded by the Horse, and a great trouble to him that carries it, after the Pursuit of an Enemy: A Staff has no Impediment, but may easily overtake a Muskietier that is laden with his Piece and Furniture, that he shall be either forced to yield, or cast away his Arms, to escape by Flight: It will also be an advantage to a Man if he be put to leap a Ford or Ditch, and many other uses may be made of it.

This Meeting for Recreation will make good Conversation and Love amongst Men; it will make them abandon Alehouses, and think on nothing but on Holidays to spend their time in Sports, which for many years they have been debarr'd of. And for the better governing it, and to avoid any hurt that may arise by it, it is wish'd, that at the time of Practice the Pikes be taken out of their Screws;

Screws; and at every such Meeting the Constable and his Deputy be appointed to govern them, and punish Abuses.

Thus shall all Men in the Kingdom be made to serve their Prince and Country without Murmuring, Exception, or Offence offer'd by one or other: They are drawn to no Expence or Charge by

it, or time lost or spent in vain, to hinder their other Affairs or Labours; the Holiday yields them free Liberty for their Delights and Sports, which have been of later times worse spent.

And thus much of a gentle private Opinion, to be compar'd with that of the Honourable Commissioners.

*The Queen's Death, and the Advantages of the Peace that ensu'd, above the War in her time.*

HAVING run over as briefly as I could such Accidents as the 18 years War did produce betwixt *Spain* and us; now happen'd, as you have heard, the Queen's Death, which, as was to be expected, produc'd Alterations in *Europe*, tho' not much in *England*; for commonly every State changes with time, and sometimes to its Advantage; for Subjects Fondness of Princes is uncertain, and they are often Friends to day and Enemies to morrow.

When God call'd Her Her Majesty to his Mercy, it had been long look'd for, and desir'd by her Foes, and fear'd by her Friends; some laugh'd, some lamented; *Spain* and its Adherents rejoyc'd, having tasted the bitterness of 18 years of War with her: *Holland* fear'd, and suspected their good days began to wain; because his Majesty needed not to support Factions abroad to defend his just and lawful Title.

These Two Nations that were opposite one to another had their particular Ends; but the People that heartily and inwardly mourn'd, were the *English*, to see themselves depriv'd of a Sovereign so Good and Gracious, so Virtuous and Victorious, whose Reign had continu'd so long, as few had before in *England*, which made them the more uneasy.

But this Trouble was soon turn'd into Joy; for when his Majesty appear'd, they recover'd a new Life and Spirit, and receiv'd him with that Alacrity, that they had soon forgot their Grief, and fix'd their Hearts as faithful to serve the King, as they had willingly obey'd the Queen.

But before I end with the Queen's Death, I will show you and the World, by comparison, the difference betwixt Peace and War in the Queen's time, if she had been so happy as to enjoy it; for tho' her Actions were of great Reputation to her and her Subjects, through the Success she had against so Mighty and Potent an Enemy as the King of *Spain*,

yet I must confess, the Actions of our Two succeeding Kings (King *James* and King *Charles*) settled a firm and quiet League and Peace in this Kingdom, that has produc'd greater Happiness and Benefit, if we will lay aside Passion and Partiality.

Peace has eas'd us of needless Taxes, which in War Princes are forc'd to lay upon their Subjects; Peace takes away all Fear of Enemies, so that every Man may live quietly under his Olive Tree. Our Peace has trebled our number of Ships to that of former times; Mariners are abundantly encreas'd, and Wealth plentifully augmented; so that we are better enabled and provided to resist the Fury of War, either by Land or Sea, if there should be occasion.

And if 18 years of Peace have produc'd so great an Alteration and Change to this Kingdom, in comparison of the 18 years of War past, how happy had we been if the 18 years aforesaid had been converted into the same number of Peace: All Blessings had been poured upon this Land, which by War was hinder'd; for who sees not that 18 years of Trade doubly encreas'd those Riches that Time consum'd. These Errors of ours will serve for a Warning to us in future times; for it is an old Saying, *That Example is of greater force than Precept*, and, *That Custom teacheth Nations, Reason Men, and Nature Beasts*.

*Spain* is more punish'd by the King's Peace than by the Queen's War; for by our Peace *England* is enlarg'd by several Plantations in *America*, all Neighbours to *Spain* in their Habitations of the *West-Indies*, in case they become insolent, or offer Injuries: Which Plantations in 18 years are brought to afford Plenty of Food without the help of *England*, which is no small Benefit to us, considering the increase of *Scots* and *French* that are ready to devour us. And besides this Abundance

dance of Victuals, the Soil of that Countrey will produce, whatever we shall Plant or Graft there; so that *England* need spare nothing out of it, that will bring a Want to it; for their chiefest want is of Tools, Materials, and other Instruments.

The Air is delightful and the Climate wholesome, and lies most convenient for other Nations to take off their Commodities: Then judge, if Queen *Elizabeth* had not been diverted by War, what Honour, what Wealth, and all other Blessings, had she left as a Legacy to her Subjects, which was afterwards encreas'd by our two Kings aforesaid.

And besides these seven Western Plantations, begun and continu'd by Subjects, without Expende to the Kings, and not molested by the Terror of the Enemies; I will sail to the *East-Indies*, three times further distant than the other from *England*, and where the Equinoctial Line must be twice cut; there we found a Trade to the Island of *Socotora*, at the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, and the nearest Part of that Continent to us; and keeping the Shore of that *African* Coast, we Landed at the Island of *Ormuz*, and other Places within the Gulph of *Persia*, where we assisted the King of *Persia* to take that Island from the King of *Portugal*.

But I confess, this was not so commendable as many other Noble Acts of ours; for here we desil'd our hands with Stealth, and what is worse, we did it to Aid and Benefit a Mahometan: But mark what the End of that Voyage prov'd to the *English*, which brought God's Angel and Revenge upon them; for the *Persian's* treacherously broke their Word with our Men, and upon a slight occasion seiz'd all the Goods they had taken. And besides, an *English* Ship lighting upon greater Wealth than the rest, was there cast away and perish'd. Not to speak of many other Disasters that besell them.

We stopp'd not here, but in the same Easterly Course repai'd to *Surat* in the Kingdom of *Gambaya*, under the Government of the Great Mogul, to try what Trade and Riches that King and Countrey would yield us. The long distance bewixt the Seacoast and the Court of the Mogul, did not obstruct our visiting him, but thither we sent at times several Ambassadors, who found civil Entertainment, which has afforded us a Peaceable Trade, with divers Immunities.

But before we Leagu'd or had Correspondence with this King, we had settled and continu'd, and to this day do enjoy a greater Trade, and further from home

than *Surat*, as namely, at *Fava*, *Sumatra*, *Jacatras*, the *Molucco* Islands, and others. We have seen and try'd what *China* and the Island of *Japan* afford, tho' we are not much encourag'd to persevere in those Trades; for they do not answer the great Expectation we had conceiv'd of them. I dare boldly aver, if the Custom-Books of that Trade to the *Indies* were view'd, it has yielded the Crown of *England* many an hundred thousand Pounds, all which we must attribute to our Peace: For tho' in the Queen's days, and in the year 1591. Captain *Raymond* gave a warlike Attempt, if he and his Ships had not miscarri'd in his going to the *East-Indies*, yet that Voyage produc'd nothing but Misery, as you will understand hereafter.

But I know the Well-wishers to War, and Favourers of the Queen's time, will except against me, and all I can alledge in commendation of Peace, as placing it before War: But in answer to them, I say, I was as great an Actor in those days of War, as any other that shall question what I say, and have as good Reason to judge of the difference of times, as they, if Partiality and Faction does not transport them.

And because I insist so much upon Peace, and go about to prove the Good it produced above the Queen's War, I expect to be hit in the Teeth with his Majesty's late War with *Spain* in 1625, and with *France* in 1628. But before I come to that time, I must tell them, That King *James*, who reigned twice as long as his Son, reckoning to the year 1635, could not be said to have been molested, or his Countries infested by Enemies. And the Accident that fell out in the days of King *Charles*, might rather be term'd an Act of Unkindness with the King of *Spain*, than of Malice, and therefore deserv'd not the Name of War, for it was begun and ended before either side could think to frame themselves to Hostility: And who knows not that some Evil and Passionate Councillors, drew our King to a sudden and sharp Revenge upon *France*, which was as quickly ended, as words could give Satisfaction.

But I would ask these captious Persons, whether either of these two Unkindnesses or Occasions were so violent, or of so long continuance, as to hinder his Majesty's Designs to enrich his Kingdoms, or whether the Plantations sail'd by any Misfortunes we found by War.

Another Objection will be made against what I say of our Plantations, which is, that they were known to us long before, and



and that *English Ships* visited the *East-Indies* in the *Queen's* time; and perhaps they will press me with the first Discovery of *Sebastian Cabot*, Anno 1496. from 58 to 36 Degrees of Latitude, which I thus Answer.

No relation of *Cabot's* ever mention'd his Possession, or setting his Foot ashore to inhabit any of the Lands betwixt the Degrees aforesaid, and therefore we can challenge no right of Inheritance, wanting proof of Possession, which is the Law acknowledg'd for right of Discovery: And by this Argument, the *Spaniards* may as well inroach on us upon as colourable Title, because they were the first that sail'd into *America*.

The second Objection is, the Proof of our Inhabiting *Norrambea*, a part of the main Continent of *America*, and betwixt the Degrees aforesaid, in 1584: And so we say Captain *Raymond*, before spoken of, was in the *East-Indies* in 1591.

I confess here was a Possession in 84. and a Patent granted Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who plac'd there a Colony; but so ill seconded, that all the Planters were there consumed, and no memory left of them, tho' our late Planters endeavour'd to find what became of them; whereby we may say our Possession was lost, as in the case of Inheritance, that for want of Heirs a Man forfeits his Estate.

And to answer the Objection of the *East-Indies*, there is no mention of Possession by *Drake*, who was there the first of any *Englishman*, when he sail'd round the World, and before the Reign of King *James*. And moreover, in the 43 year of the Queen, and the year before she dy'd, she granted a Patent to certain Merchants for 15 years Trade to the *East-Indies*, which was prolong'd in the 9th year of King *James* to continue for ever; but the Queen liv'd not to see the return of that first Voyage which Captain *Lancaster* went. And moreover, his Employment was as well to Take by Violence, as to Trade by Suf-

ference, and unworthy the Name of an honest Design, for the Hands of Merchants should not be stain'd or polluted with Theft, for in such case all People would have Liberty to do the like upon them.

But indeed, the most memorable thing we can challenge by that Trade, is, that we have lately agreed with the *Portugueses*, who were the first Discoverers, and to this day enjoy the Benefit of it; have settled their Government and Language; built rich and curious Cities, Churches and Monasteries; and all things else that belongs to a Civil Nation, in as large and ample a manner, as in their own Countrey of *Portugal*: And more than this, they have the Command of many civiliz'd Countries adjacent to them. They have Ships sufficient to uphold the Trade betwixt *Portugal* and the *Indies*, and yet they are willing to make us Sharers in their Commerce, and to Incorporate us as freely as themselves, with promise to Employ and Freight our Ships for our better Satisfaction.

But give me leave, freely to deliver my Opinion concerning this voluntary Offer made by the *Portugueses*, who hitherto could be brought upon no account to grant us Trade. We must conclude they are drawn to it, rather through Necessity than Love, or other Respects; for they find the Intrusion and good Success of the *Hollanders* to be such as in time may hazard the Ruine and Subversion in the *Indies*, without the help of *England*, who is best able to right them: Therefore let us consider the Time and the Occasion of this Overture, and imbrace it, as a Friendship grounded upon Interest, for though Leagues betwixt States be to Support one another, yet every one has his particular Advantage. I will say no more to this Point, but advise you to Safety and Security, and to beware you be not deluded with Golden Pills, wherein is hidden most Deadly Poison.

### A Farewell to the Gentlemen to whom I Dedicated this Book.

Gentlemen,  
I Make you the *Alpha* and *Omega* of my Discourse; for at the beginning of this Book, I commended it to your View, and now at the end, I take my Leave with a Loving Farewel, adding this Admonition by way of Caution, That you beware of Adventuring your selves and

Estates upon Sea Expeditions; you may perceive by my Observations, what Peril they bring without Profit, and what Pains without Preferment, for there are few whose Employment has gain'd them Advantage or Honour; as to the contrary, many are brought to Want and Misery by them.

Our



' Our private Actions of Reprisal have  
' been as fatal to the Adventurers, as *Sejanus*'s  
' Horse to the Riders, or the Gold of  
' *Toulouse* to *Scipio*'s Soldiers; for to this  
' day there remains a Proverb in *France*,  
' *That he who is Unfortunate, has some of*  
' *the Gold of Toulouse in his House*: And  
' so fares it with our Undertakers of Re-  
' prisals, for Wealth so gain'd brings a  
' Curse with it, and not only waxes it  
' self, but consumes Goods well gotten,  
' if mixed with it.

' Take notice of these few Persons fol-  
' lowing, instead of a Multitude I could  
' recite, that have been brought into the  
' Estate of *Sejanus*'s Riders, or the De-  
' stroyers of *Toulouse*, and it will appear  
' God was displeas'd with their Actions,  
' and punish'd their Designs.

' I will begin with the Earl of *Cumber-*  
' *land*, whose voluntary Undertakings were  
' well punish'd in his first two Voyages,  
' bereaving him of two hopeful Sons, whom  
' this Kingdom could not match; and in  
' the Prosecution of such Actions, he so  
' impair'd his Estate, that his Heir, and  
' their Posterity have just cause to bewail  
' his Proceedings.

' The three eminent Men of that time  
' by Sea, were *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *For-*  
' *bushier*, none of which left any Legiti-  
' mate Issue to Enjoy their Adventurous  
' Labours: And if two of them were now  
' alive, they knew not where to find the  
' Estates they left behind them.

' The miserable Gentlemen that under-

' took such Enterprizes for Gain, to reco-  
' ver their spent and consum'd Estates, were  
' *Casdisb*, *Chidley*, *Manby*, *Cock*, with  
' many others I could name, whose Fune-  
' rals were all made in the Bottomless Sea,  
' and their Lands consum'd and turn'd  
' into the Element of Water.

' And if we descend to the Towns  
' which for that time flourish'd with the  
' Goods so gotten, and examine the Con-  
' ditions of them and their Inhabitants,  
' we shall find not only the People but the  
' Places impoverish'd after the same man-  
' ner they were enrich'd; (that is to say)  
' by Rapine, Spoil and Piracy: And I  
' may further say, that there are not three  
' Men in this Kingdom who can boast  
' they have succeeded their Fathers in any  
' quantity of Good, so gotten.

' What I warn you of, is not so much  
' out of Persuasion, as Precedents and Ex-  
' ample, which is a Compass to Sail by;  
' but if your wilfulness will not admit of  
' Advice, and hereafter you feel the Smart  
' of it, remember, that Counsel is always  
' full of perturbation to such as embrace  
' their own Wills.

' And remember the saying of a Grave  
' and Wise Counsellor, *That as Youth is*  
' *warned to prevent the Worst, so Age bids*  
' *us provide for the Best*; for it is a Sick-  
' ness of most Men to be guided by Opi-  
' nion and not by Judgment: But wise  
' Men do otherwise, for if they run into  
' an Error, they seek quickly to amend  
' it.

# The Second Book.

*Containing some Actions of the English, after King James his Accession to the Crown ; and several Discourses upon that Subject.*

*Sir William Monfon to his Second Son.*

*Good Son,*

**B**Y Computation of Years, it is now Nine since I address'd my self to you in writing ; which number of Nine changes one's Complexion, and many times one's Conditions : Nine times Seven, or Seven times Nine make Sixty Three, which is the Climacterical, or Dangerous Year.

This Ninth year has bred greater Alterations in you, than either in Complexion or Condition ; her Malice and Perils towards others, have begotten a contrary Effect in you, and in so high a measure, by your Marriage, that the Climacterical year has lost its Reputation with the Observers of it ; for in despite of it Fortune has given you a Lady of Birth, Parts and Means, far above your Merit, or Thought ; and since Fortune has been so Liberal, do not give her cause of Scandal, or to find Ingratitude in your Face, by your Carriage to your Lady ; for an Unthankful Man incites God to punish, and People to abhor him.

No Man can treat with an Ungrateful Person, without suspicion of him ; and next to the Name of an Evil Christian, the word Ingratitude is the worst : God, for all his Blessings on Man, requires nothing at his hands but Thankfulness.

Next the respect to your Lady, let your Carriage to all others be with that Moderation and Affability, that they may perceive you are no more elevated with good Fortune, than you will be dejected with bad, but stand like a Tree well rooted, which no Wind can stir or move.

The Reputation you may seek to get in this World, depends not so much upon

Prudence as Goodness, for a Man ought to get Credit and Esteem of all, and to be suspicious of his own Advice and Carriage : Time will inform you, that the greatest Gift Nature can bestow on a Young Man, is Comeliness of Body, Discretion in his Carriage, and Eloquence of Tongue ; and yet all this is nothing if it be not attended with a good Reputation. The true Property of a Gentleman, which I would have you to observe, is, to be Temperate in Speech. Liberal and Frank in Giving, Moderate in Diet, Honest in Life, and Courteous in Carriage : For it is not Titles or Riches that makes Men esteemed, but the Favour they do, and the Gifts they bestow.

The Mischiefs, that breed contrary effects to these, as Hate, Spleen and Contempt, are Covetousness, Pride and Disdain : The cure to false this, is not to presume too much upon your self, without the Counsel of others ; for many times People (and especially Young Men) attribute more to themselves, than others can discern in them. Solomon says, *That wise men take Counsel, and he that does things with advice governs prudently, and he that does otherwise perishes and faileth in his own designs.*

This Counsel is not to be expected from one of 20 or 30 years of Age, but from hoary Hairs. Licurgus order'd that Old Men should be more respected, because their Advice was more to be regarded.

The greatest Combat in this World, is to Conquer one's self, and to tame his Heart, as Plato says : But the way for Young Men to be Virtuous in this Battel,

is to take Advice, to hear and with Humility submit to Reason; for naturally Youth is inclin'd to have an Opinion of themselves, and to abandon the Counsel of others, which commonly ingenders Pride, Vain-Glory, and Ambition; then followeth Reproach, Contempt and Scorn, which makes their paths as dangerous to walk in, as the slipperiest of Ice or Glafs to tread on.

Be careful in the choice of your Friends, and esteem them more for Vertue than Honour; the one is but a Tide of Power, the other of Defect. Know their's no end of Friendship which is founded upon Love, and required with the same. To such a Friend one ought to be scarce in Words, but prodigal in Works; for the true perfection of Friendship, is to supply a Man's wants, and advise him in his Errors. But *Seneca* saith, that such are rare, and a Man ought to seek but one of them, and to have never an Enemy: For as it is dangerous to have Enemies, so it is troublesome to have many Friends: If he be Poor you must Give, if Rich you must Observe, if Favoured you must Adore, if Disfavoured you must Support, if Cross and Perverse you must Flatter, if Cholerick you must forbear, if Proud he is not long to be Endur'd.

Above all other Vices beware of that of Pride, for young Men are subject to it; it is call'd Vanity in Women, and Ambition in Old Age; Youth are prone to be proud of their Persons and external Patts; Women are as vain therein, and what they want by Nature they help by Art. Young Men affect Ostentation, and to be prais'd; Women Vain-glory and to be Ador'd. A Man endures no Competitors, nor Woman Equal.

Many Women by reason of their Lightness, and young Men for want of Knowledge, are inconsiderate; they apprehend and execute all with one breath, which many times brings them to Repentance: And yet do I rather approve the Vanity of Women, which are governed by the unconstant motion of the Moon, than Mens Pride that can give no reason for their being so, if they seriously consider how indifferently God distributes his Gifts to all Creatures, so that no Man can persuade himself, but that Thousands equal him.

If he is proud of the Favour of a Prince, he may as well be proud of his Fortunes; for comparing his Merits with others, he will find many Competitors exceed him. If of his Progenitors, or other parts of his Ancestors, Kings reward Mens proper

Vertues, not what they can challenge to descend from others; if of Learning, his waste Hours permit him not to attain to that Perfection ordinary Scholars do by continual Study: If he affect popular Applause, it is like an Echo, to be heard but no Man knows where; and let him not be deceiv'd, for no proud Man is either valu'd or belov'd, as himself can witness; for the nature of Pride is to abhor it in another; if he be frank and liberal, for Pride without Bounty is like a Spot in a fair Face that defiles it, his Esteem will be according to his Expence, but that ceasing, Men turn their Hearts against their Pride.

Ambition is more sufferable and allowable in an old Man, than Pride in a young one; for there are two distinctions in Ambition, the one is allowable and commendable, when a Man hath an opportunity to compass his allow'd Desires, by his lawful Endeavours.

Most Divines hold Free-Will in Man to do well, and where Ambition tends to Well-doing, Pride has no power or part in him. The Pride of *Tarquin* was so detestable, that it overthrew the Title of Kings in the *Roman* Common-wealth: *Cæsar* settled the highest degree of Monarchy by the name of Emperor; his Ambition was carry'd with that temper, that he attain'd his end by Love, whereas *Tarquin* lost himself by Pride, and was worthily loathed.

No Man that desires to be singular, but has some part of Ambition, and yet free from any part of Pride. If the Common Soldier did not aspire by Ambition, to the degree of a Captain, his Valour against the Enemy would little appear: If a Courtier had not a thought of advancement, he might better employ his Time than in the service of a Prince. A thankful Man ambitiously strives to requite the courtesie of another; then it is not the word Ambition that makes it unlawful, but the manner of compassing it, and the means of employing it.

The second degree of Ambition is accompanied with Pride, Envy and Hate, and obtain'd by Corruption, Flattery, and unlawfully, as appears in some *English* Kings, who have not spar'd the destruction of their own Blood to attain their devilish Ambitious ends.

Ambition is like the unsatiable Sea, that receives all other Brooks, and Rivers, and yet is never fill'd; it may be compar'd to the Monster *Hydra*, which tho' she loath her Head, yet it increaseth again, for the nature of Ambition is never to have

an end; and as Man compasseth his Desire in one thing, he is not long satisfy'd with it, but covets another, still working his own Misery and Woe. But he should remember the words of *Plutarch*, *That none climbs so high, but he has God above him, and his Actions are beheld by Man.* Ambition is a thing conceiv'd in the Heart, and contented in the Mind.

The last and basest property of Ambition, is to compass their end by Corruption: This Age, and this our Nation is best able to testify it; for no Man's Virtue can Advance him, nor no Man's Vice hinder his Ambition, if he have Money and Means to buy his Preferment; as on the contrary amongst the *Romans*, no Man was advanc'd to Honour but such as refus'd it; and none with us, but those that buy it; nor no Man was preferred but by his worth, but none with us but for their Wealth: I confess that as it is Reputation to have it, so it is Infamy to purchase it; for a good Man careth not for Titles, and his good Name cannot be taken from him; he may be ill us'd but not dishonour'd.

The next thing I commend to you is Patience and Temperance, as a singular Virtue in it self, and the cause of much Happiness to Man; it breeds Content to the Mind, Ease to the Body, and Quietness to the Soul; it abandons Ambition, and makes one submit to Reason. *Plutarch* advises *Trajan* to Patience in Troubles, to be Gentle in Business, and to bear with ill Tongues, and suffer Calumnies, which Time cures when Reason cannot; and it is a great wildom to do no evil Office when a Man may do good; for if he may have his ends by fair means, not to obtain them by foul; for the true property of a Wise Man is to think of times past, to order things present, and to be careful of the future. *Cicero* says, That Prudence and Patience is the Art of Life, as Physick is of Health; it neither deceives nor is deceiv'd: As for worldly Fortunes they are uncertain and mutable, for no Man can account himself Happy till his death.

One thing I heartily and earnestly recommend to you at your idle Hours (I know my Request is no sooner propounded than granted) which is the continuance and delight in your Book, but with this Caution, That it breeds not a vain and arrogant Conceit, which may cause Contentts and quarrels in arguing: Matters of story, depend on the Author's Authority that Writes, and their Judgments that Read: Many times Writers differ, and Readers are apt and prone to rely on him

who suits best with their particular Opinion. This over-wayning Conceit lives in the House of Will, where Reason has no power, and it is the original breeding of all Heresie. And if Men would read with Patience, with Judgment consider, with Humility to submit, and with Reason to receive satisfaction; neither would Sects so much abound, nor Scholars so greatly disagree among themselves.

All Men are affectionate or partial in their Opinions and Sports; some delight in Hunting, some in Hawking and other exercises; and as there are many Faces that do not agree in one Feature, so there are as few that agree in all Points and Delights. But, esteem no less of him that sorts not with your Humour, than of a Christian that jumps not with you in points of Religion.

If Reason guideth Actions, Learning should have the preheminance above all other Satisfaction; for he that is a lover of his Book, shall learn of Wise Men, Courage to Imitate, Prudence to Counsel, Grief to Lament, Mirth to Laugh at, Fools to Jest with. Yea, he shall find the Good he desires, and may eschew what Evil he pleases.

*Basilius* the Emperor advis'd his Son not to be weary of Reading of Books, because he would find that without Sorrow, which others do with great Trouble; he would see the mutability of Humane Life, the Raising of some and the Falling of others, the Punishment of the Evil, and the Reward of the Good, that he might fly the one and embrace the other.

Good Son, for an end of all, be considerate before you enterprize a thing; be constant in pursuing it, and patient to effect it; for nothing is compass'd with that facility but finds opposition, nor nothing spoils a good Cause, sooner than Haste and Choler. It is like an evil Weed put into a savory Broth, or Poison into a Potion.

Three things there are I would advise you to remember, the Commandments of God, Benefits received, and the Uncertainty of your Life; in the one you will perform your Duty to your Creator, in the other thew Thankfulness to the World, and in the last abandon many Vices and Vanities this Age produces.

For your Duty to me, let it be as God hath commanded, not that I expect more than by nature is due, and for less let *Noah* be your example, who being despised by his Son *Cham*, and being pittied by his two other Sons, God sent his Curse upon the Seed of *Cham*, and Blessed his other

Children Remember that the clear and unpotted Title of the living Son, begets Fame and Glory to the dead Father And carry in mind these Precepts of mine, and

you need not esteem the affronts of malicious Tongues, for they may throw Stones but do no other hurt.

### To such Gentlemen and Commanders as were Actors in the Wars with Spain in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Noble Gentlemen,

**I**N my former Book I have presented to the view of the World, the Accidents and Occurrences of the late War with Spain, in which you may worthily challenge an Interest by having hazardid your Persons in such desperate Expeditions; and wherein your Rewards did not equal your Deserts: For Time and Ingratitude are the destroyers of all Noble and Memorable Acts, and have caus'd you to be forgot.

The Romans had never been Nobly esteem'd, nor their Victories Gloriously achiev'd, had they not respectid the Actors, as the Authors of their Conquests. They valu'd Men not for their Birth, but for their Worth, accounting Virtue the Cause of Preferment, and Honour but the Effect. They accountd them not Gentlemen, that got Riches, but those that attain'd to Reputation in War; saying, he was unworthy the Praise of his Ancestors, that did not imitate them in Virtue and Valour.

In 640 Years the Romans were victorious, they never gave Office to Men that sued for it, but to such as out of mature Discretion they chose, whom they knew to be fit to execute it. Soldiers may plead their Honours to be more Ancient; for it is written in the Province of Caria in the lesser Asia, they gave Spurs to the valiantest Men at Arms by which they were Privileg'd and Dignify'd. Feathers were likewise invented to distinguish Soldiers from others, and Punishments inflictid on those that wore them, and could give no account of some Exploit in Chivalry.

Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments were allow'd only to those that gave testimony of their Valour in Warlike Feats.

A young Man whose Valour was suspected, and Son to a famous Captain, besought King Antiochus to give him the Reward his Father had given him by King Demetrius; Antiochus answer'd, I Reward not the Virtue of Fathers, but the Deserts of the Son.

Lycurgus, among his many Lawes for the Encouragement of Men, to imitate the Virtue of their Ancestors, Ordin'd, That at the solemn and publick Feasts, there should be three Choirs of Singers according to their Ages: The first were Old Men, who sung their own Praise of times past. The Second Young Men in their Prime, who sung, We are young and able, and be that will not believe us may try us. The last were Boys, who sung, we shall be better than those that went before us.

If these three Degrees were now to Sing, the Old Men with hoarse Voices, might rather exclaim against the Iniquity of the times. The Young Men with untunable Notes, might renounce following the example and steps of those that went before them. The Boys might complain that all hope of Preferment and Reward is taken from them.

Virtue was ever Esteem'd, and Arms Rewarded before all other Professions; and as a Man is bound to serve a Prince, so has he leave to sue to him. The powerful King Ahaluerus was wont to say, there was no Man that did service to his Prince or Country, but they were bound to reward him; and because his Deeds might be answerable to his Wounds; they wrote of him, that one night in his Bed being dispos'd to sleep, he caus'd the Annals of his Country to be read to him, and finding that one Mordecai had done great service to himself and Country, he asked what Reward the said Mordecai had receiv'd, and finding he was neglected, he advanced and prefer'd him above the rest of his Subjects, saying, That Prince was unworthy who did not reward according to the Service he had done.

Numa Pompilius commanded those to be reverenc'd that overcame in Battle. Solon ordin'd a Reward for such Men as deserv'd well of their Country.

But now you see, and with grief must confess, we make more account of the word Honour, than of deserving it. In ancient times none had Titles of Dignity but those that sought to avoid it, and few with us but such as will buy it; we value Honour by Riches, not by Deserts, as it was first institutd.



But what shall we say of unconstant Time, which alters and changes all Things? For the Romans flourishing Estate, which continu'd longer and more prosperous than any other Nation, was at last overthrow by Luxury and Delights they brought out of Asia: For after Paulus Emilius overcame them, he brought such Effeminacy into Rome, that other Nations took Advantage of it, and became Conquerors over them by whom they had before been Conquer'd. And those that had been Honoured for their Valour, now became Infamous to succeeding Ages for their Cowardice.

Mario Antonio observes another Bane to Commonwealths; as namely, Private and Particular Favourites: For says he, The Importunity of Favourites makes the Prince give to him from whom he should take, and take from him to whom he should give; They distort the Worthy, and honour others of less Merit; They despise the Experienc'd, and rely upon the Weak and Ignorant; They prefer not Men to Offices for their Persons, but Persons to Offices; They give Justice to the Unjust, and refuse Justice to the Just; and value Justice by their own Profit.

When they are brought to Preferment thus unworthily, they make their Authority greater than their Place; They supply that with Malice which they want in Discretion; They praise their own ill no less than if it were Goodness in another; But in the end they lose themselves, by adventuring into a Sea they know not; They make Infamous the Prince they misgovern, and commonly their end is Death and Destruction; for their beginning was Pride and Ambition, and their end Envy and Malice.

Though it be a Scandal to a Commonwealth, where Princes make more of Favourites than of Well-deservers, it behooves you not to approve or repine at it, but to hope that All of his will not stand as a Precedent.

Evil Kings rely more upon Custom than Goodness, and desire rather to be Obey'd than Counsell'd; The Devil, under colour of Advice, deceives them; But such Princes are like Covetous Persons, that live poor to die rich; They please their Humours whilst they live, and leave Infamy behind them when they die.

Seneca says, That Cato deserv'd more Glory for banishing the Vices of Rome, than Scipio did for Conquering of Carthage; by which you may see it is not your Profession, I mean Arms, that reforms Commonwealths, but Wisdom in grave and sage Senators; for Democritus the Philosopher truly says, That Two Things govern the World; Reward and Punishment. My last and best Advice is, That you refer your Selves and Causes to Time; for that must cure when Reasons cannot.

### The Peace with Spain after the Queen's Death, and some Accidents that happen'd.

AS commonly ill News flies apace, so the Queen's Death was soon divulg'd in all Parts of Europe, every Prince striving to be the first to Congratulate his Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown.

And tho' Spain be generally observ'd, and by its Friends much condemn'd for its long and tedious Dispatches, yet this Action being so rare, and importing them so much, the News was no sooner brought them, but an Ambassador was immediately nominated to perform such Rites and Ceremonies as Princes afford one another in such Cases.

What succeeded in their Treaty, or what labouring by other States to keep these Two great Kingdoms in Division, concerns me not to enquire; only I will prosecute such Accidents as fell out at Sea in the 12 years I serv'd as Admiral in the Narrow Seas.

Tho' his Majesty might say, (as few Princes ever did) That he could not esteem any State in Europe his Enemy; and that his Christian-like Motto, *Beati pacifici*, declar'd how far his Heart was from War, or to support the Divisions of Christians; yet he was willing to follow the Example of his Predecessors in keeping some Ships in the Narrow Seas, to defend his Right and Jurisdictions there, which the *Hollanders* thought to invade, as will appear by the following Discourse.

This Treatise was writ by Sir William Monson, who serv'd as Admiral of those Seas 12 years, and Dedicated it to the Two late Lord Chancellors, at his Deliverance out of the Tower.

The Narration shall speak for it self; and the Reader may judge, if he be not too much transported in Affection to the Nation of *Holland*, to what their Insolencies then tended, or may tend hereafter.



But before that Discourse shall take place, I will entertain you with two or three Accidents worth your Knowledge, and which may challenge a Place among the rest.

The Peace between *England* and *Spain* being concluded, and publish'd in the year 1604. the War between *Holland* and *Spain* still continu'd, as hot and fierce as before: The Admiral of the Narrow Seas was now to think to walk indifferently, and without Partiality betwixt the Two Nations, like a careful Shepherd, to keep his Neighbours Flocks from intruding upon one another.

The next thing that gave occasion of Debate was in the year 1605. when the King of *Spain* sent 8 Ships with 1000 Soldiers through the Narrow Seas for *Flanders*. He would not exceed the number of 8 Vessels, because the Articles of Peace did warrant the entertainment of so many in his Majesty's Harbour.

But as I have shew'd the Bane of Actions has been in the Discovery of them, so this of the *Spaniards* being understood by the *Hollanders*, they provided to intercept them at Sea; where they met, and there pass'd a cruel and bloody Fight betwixt them; many of the *Spaniards* were slain, and some taken; but the greatest part recover'd *Dover*, where they were defended with Shot from the Castle and Platform.

Being now arriv'd in his Majesty's Dominions. they counted themselves under his Protection, and waited an Opportunity to pass over secretly and by stealth into *Flanders*; or by his Majesty's Mediation, who labour'd with the States of *Holland* to that effect.

But the *Hollanders* having the *Spaniard* at a Bay, and knowing they durst not venture to put out, being beleaguerr'd by their Ships; for the space of 7 or 8 Months his Majesty solicited their Passage, and Sir *Nevil Charron* was sent over to that purpose, but could not prevail; for the *Hollanders* stood more upon point of Honour than any hurt they could receive from the 1000 *Spaniards*.

Upon this Answer, my Lord of *Salisbury* sent for Sir *William Monfon*, and imparted to him the State of the whole Business, demanding of him, if it were possible, to put over the *Spaniards*, without using his Majesty's Authority or Force, or hazarding to be intercepted by the *Hollanders*; Sir *William* told him it was a Service of great Importance, and the greater, because the Honour of Two Kings was engag'd in it; but if it pleas'd

his Majesty to have it done, and that his Lordship would undertake his Directions should be follow'd, he doubted not but to effect it, as his Lordship had propos'd.

Hereupon my Lord of *Salisbury* imparted it to the King, and his Majesty to the *Spanish* Ambassador; for then was Don *Pedro de Sinsia* come to succeed the Conde de *Villa Mediana*: The King desiring the two Ambassadors to deliberate and consider of it, shewing a willingness in him to farther it; The Ambassadors took Respite to give their Resolutions, till they had acquainted and receiv'd an Answer from the King their Master; for those being his Subjects whom it concern'd, they could not dispose of them without his Knowledge or Approbation.

And thus it continu'd for the space of 8 or 9 weeks, when the Ambassador Don *Pedro*'s Messenger return'd from *Spain*; and then he repair'd to my Lord of *Salisbury*, and acquainted him, That his Master's Friendly Proposition was approv'd of, and thankfully accepted by the King his Master.

Upon this my Lord of *Salisbury* sent for Sir *William Monfon* once again, requiring him to perform with Care what he had formerly promis'd; for it was a Service of extraordinary Consequence.

The Secrecy and Policy that was us'd, to contrive this Stratagem, with the several Passages that happened, is too tedious to set down; only I will say, that in spite of the Fleet of *Holland*, that usually rid in the Mouth of *Dover* Peer, in the Road of *Graveling* and *Dunkirk*, to impeach the *Spaniards* Passage, yet they arriv'd safe in *Dunkirk* the same night design'd for them by Sir *William Monfon* to be expected, without the help of his Majesty's Ships, or other Assistance by his Authority; which the *Hollanders* look'd upon as so great an Affront, and to be thus prevented and decided, that it made them suspect, tho' they had no just Ground to accuse him, that Sir *William Monfon* was the Director and Contriver of this Stratagem; and therefore now they began to settle their Hate upon him, and to urge and labour his removal out of the Narrow Seas, as in the following Account will appear. This Act of Sir *William's*, which he did by Direction of the State, ever after procur'd him much Hate and Envy, not only from the *Hollanders*, but from their Friends and Factions in *England*.

The next Service, Sir *William* was employ'd in concerned the Towns of *Rye* and *Hastings*, which found themselves im-

po-

povertiſh'd, and almoſt ruined, by the French encroaching upon their Fiſhing on the English Coaſt, contrary to the Articles and Agreement betwixt the Two Kings.

Theſe Towns, upon juſt Cauſe, complain'd of it, and Sir William was ſent down to redreſs it, which he carefully perform'd, tho' it coſt the Lives of ſome Frenchmen; for two years he was fain to uſe Force, and brought the French to that Submiſſion, that the English enjoy'd their uſual Privileges.

Many other Accidents happen'd in the Narrow Seas, that need no Remembrance; and yet I will conclude with the Eſcape of the Lady *Arabella*, 24 hours before Sir William Monfon had Order to purſue her; which he did with that Celerity, that ſhe was taken within 4 miles of *Calu*, Ship'd in a French Bark of that Town, whither ſhe was bound.

The manner is ſo commonly known, that no more needs be ſaid, but that it was done; tho' the Accident was ſo

ſtrange and unlook'd for, that few could be perſwaded but that her Eſcape was Plotted, with an intent to take her again; and it was the rather believed, becauſe Sir William was not rewarded according to the Importance of that Service: But it may be answered and imputed to his Miſfortune; for ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was both Gracious and Bountiful to him, he never taſted or received either Recompence or Preferment, more than his ordinary Entertainment, according to the Services he was employ'd in; for he began the Wars with 10 s. per Month Pay; then with 2 s. 6 d. per Day; after with 5 s. with 10 s. with 15 s. with 20 s. and 16 Pages allow'd him for his Retinue; after with 30 s. per Day; and laſtly with 40 s. per Day. He had ſerv'd as a Soldier, a private Captain, a Rear-Admiral, a Vice-Admiral, a Captain under the General, and laſtly, an abſolute General.

*To the Right Honourable the Lord Eliſmore, Lord Chancellor of England, and Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney and Councellor: Sir William Monfon after his Imprisonment in the Tower, Anno Domini 1616. Concerning the Inſolencies of the Dutch, and a Juſtification of Sir William Monfon.*

I Did greatly and in a manner half promiſe my ſelf, after I was examin'd by your Honours, if ever God gave me Liberty, to preſent you with ſome Collections of the *Hollanders* Inſolencies on the Narrow Seas, from the time his Maſteſty made Peace with *Spain*, till the Truce betwixt *Holland* and *Spain*; in which Interim there aroſe many Doubts and Questions, which purchas'd me no ſmall Hate from that State of *Holland*.

The firſt of *July*, 1604. the then Lord *Cecil* ſignify'd to me his Maſteſty's Pleaſure, That I ſhould take Charge of his Highneſs's Ships ſerving on the Narrow Seas; and wiſh'd me to make ſuch Proviſion for tranſporting the Countable of *Caſtile*, who was then expected to conclude a Peace, as ſhould ſtand with the Honour and Reputation of his Maſteſty.

After humble Thanks to his Maſteſty, and no leſs to his Lordſhip, for doing me ſo high a Favour without either ſuit or ſeeking of mine, I was bold to tell him, That by my Employment I was to enter into a Labarinth; for tho' the Navigation

was but ſhort and eaſie, yet it was both difficult and dangerous; for I was to ſail betwixt *Scilla* and *Caribdis*, the one I might call *Holland*, the other *Spain*; and ſeeking to avoid the Diſpleaſure of the one, I might as well fall into Enmity of the other.

As for *Holland*, I conſider'd, by the Permiſſion of our State heretofore, they might challenge a Prerogative, where nothing was granted by us but of Courteſie, their Inſolency was ſuch: And therefore to curb them ſuddenly, that had their Rein ſo long given them, could not be done without great Envy, if not Danger; for that their Forces at Sea did much exceed his Maſteſty's, who had but one Ship and Pinnace to guard his Coaſt.

On the other ſide, I weigh'd with my ſelf, if I ſhould give Diſtaſt to the *Spaniards* or Archduke, I ſhould incur the Diſpleaſure of two Princes, who had their Ambaſſadors Reſident near the King, and whole Power, in reſpect of their Maſters, was able to cruſh me, if I ſhould either willingly or ignorantly commit the leaſt Error.

ERROUR. What his Lordship's Answer was to this, I omit, lest I should be charg'd with Vain-glory, (a Vice I ever detested.)

I departed from my Lord with this Resolution in my self, above all things to stand upon his Majesty's Honour and Right; to carry my self like a Neuter; to do Justice indifferently; and if there happen'd any Question of Ambiguity, to acquaint my Lord Admiral, and the Lord Cecil, from whom I would be directed in all doubtful and difficult Cases.

The first of August, I receiv'd a Warrant for my repair to *Graveling*, where the Constable remain'd, expecting my coming. My Care was to perform so much as my Lord Cecil gave me in Charge. And to add the more grace to this Service, considering the Greatness of the Person that was to come, and the Honourable Occasion of his coming, I was accompany'd with 50 Knights and Gentlemen of good Account and Quality. If my Expence in that Journey were valu'd, with the rest of my Disbursements for the Transportation of Princes and Ambassadors, for which as yet I have receiv'd no Satisfaction, is not the Rewards or Presents of Ambassadors that would counter-vail the Expence of their Diet.

The day after my arrival at *Graveling*, I was desir'd by the Constable to go to *Dunkirk*, to see his Barks with Provisions secur'd from the *Hollanders*, who did usually ride with a Squadron of Ships before the Town of *Dunkirk* to beleaguer it.

At my coming thither, I went on board the Admiral of *Holland*, who had been my old and familiar Acquaintance, by reason of many Actions and Services we had been in together; I told him, That after 20 years spent in the Wars, I was now become a Watchman, with a Bill in my hand, to see Peace kept, and no Disorders committed in the Narrow Seas. And whereas many Misdemeanors and Outrages had been offered by Ships that serv'd under him against his Majesty's Subjects since the Death of the Queen, I intreated him, That from thence-forward, Things might be carry'd with more Discretion and Mildness, otherwise it would exasperate his Majesty, and alienate the *English* Hearts from them, whose Love they had sufficiently made Proof of. The Admiral told me, That if the *English* did offer to Trade into the Archduke's Ports of *Flanders*, his Commission was to impeach them: I advis'd him, if it were so, to do it in a Friendlier manner than had been, which he promis'd, but meant nothing less.

For the *Hollanders* continu'd rather more than less cruel, in taking and burning our *English* Ships, and sometimes murdering our Men; when at the same instant, and in view of our *English* Barks taken, they would permit and suffer their own Countrymen to have free Access to the Harbours of *Flanders* without Impeachment. I made many and sundry Complaints of it to the Lord Cecil, who, it seems out of Policy, was willing to connive at it. I endeavour'd by all gentle and courteous Means I could to draw the Admiral to a more loving Proceeding, the Particulars whereof I hold it not fit to relate; and yet one I will not omit.

A Bark of *Yarmouth* was met and surpriz'd by a *Hollander* in the Road of *Calis*, under Pretence that she was to go for *Dunkirk*: It was my hap to meet and rescue the said Bark, and found 15 *Hollanders* Mariners in her, whom I might have justly executed as Pirates; but because I would oblige the Admiral, after two or three days Imprisonment, I dismiss'd them, with a Letter to their Admiral expressing my mild Proceedings, desiring him to follow my Example to his Majesty's Subjects; but all in vain; for he desisted not from his former Courses.

Their stubborn Carriage at my first entrance into my Place, in not striking their Top-sails, and other Rights I requir'd as due to his Majesty's Prerogative, I forbear to express, tho' your Lordships may well think it could not be redress'd without much Hazard and Hatred to me.

The 4th of October, 1604. there arriv'd in the *Downes* a Ship of War of *Dunkirk*, where she found 3 or 4 Merchants Ships of *Holland* bound for *France*: I sent for the Captain of *Dunkirk*, and forbid him offering Violence to those of *Holland*, they being under my Protection in his Majesty's Road; The Captain obey'd me, and the Merchants proceeded in their Voyage.

Within three days after there arriv'd three Ships of War of *Holland*, whom I forbid meddling with the *Dunkirker*, as I had done to the *Dunkirker* before. I advertis'd my Lord Admiral of this Accident, and desir'd his Lordship's Directions for my Proceeding in a case that was like to begin a Precedent. I was bound to add my Opinion, which was, to refer it to the Captain of the *Dunkirker*, whether he would retire into the Harbour of *Dover* or *Sandwich*, or abide in the *Downes* to take his Fortune, if I should be command-

ded thence upon any Service with his Majesty's Ship; for I fear'd if I quitted the Road, they would little respect his Majesty's Authority; for I found they rather obey'd for Fear and Force, than out of Duty of the Place. My Lord Admiral lik'd well of my Propoſal, and committed the Management of it to me. And to conclude, the *Dunkirker* retired to *Sandwich*. I conſider'd, that many Queſtions were like to ariſe betwixt the *Hollanders* and the others by Example of this one, if his Majesty did not declare himſelf how far he would protect Ships on either ſide that ſhould repair to his Harbours for Succour.

Therefore I dealt with my Lord of *Cramborn*, that his Majesty would expreſs by Proclamation ſuch difficulties as were likely to ariſe, that all States might take notice thereof. Whereupon there was a Proclamation, prohibiting all Nations from offering Violence one to another, within the Compaſs of a Line drawn from Headland to Headland, as it is to be ſeen by the ſame Proclamation and Map extant.

And in the ſame Proclamation was ſignified his Majesty's Pleaſure, That what Ship, Merchant or other of the *Spaniards* or *Hollanders*, ſhould firſt arrive in his Majesty's Harbour, the ſaid Ship firſt arriving, ſhould have Two Tides to depart before ſhe ſhould be purſu'd by the other.

This Proclamation directed me from committing any Error, now my Charge was to ſee it executed accordingly.

I deſir'd the Lords, that beſides the Proclamation, which I held a ſufficient Authority for my ſelf; yet becauſe I was to deal with a People that would do no Right, nor take no Wrong, I deſir'd it might be ratified by a Warrant from their Lordſhips; which they granted, and I have it yet to ſhew.

The 10th of May 1605. I came to the *Down*, where I found Six *Holland* Ships of War newly arriv'd to impeach the *Dunkirkers* going out, whereupon I ſent for the *Holland* Captains, and acquainted them with my Commiſſion, requiring them to obey the Tenure of his Majesty's Proclamation; which I cauſ'd to be Tranſlated into *Dutch* for them to peruſe.

After many Expoſtulations and Diſputes, they were contend'd to abide Two Tides after the *Dunkirkers*, ſo that I would ſignifie under my Hand to the States, that I compell'd them to it by virtue of his Majesty's Proclamation; and ſo for that time they departed.

The next morning the *Hollanders* wey'd, and went to an Anchor in the Mouth of the Harbour of *Sandwich*, one excepted, which lay cloſe to the *Dunkirkers*. The Carriage of the *Hollanders* ſeem'd ſtrange to me, conſidering their Promiſe the day before. Whereupon I immediately ſet Sail, and Anchor'd betwixt the Admiral and the Vice-Admiral, that both my Broad-ſides might command them, expecting what they would do.

The Tide drawing on for the *Dunkirker* to come out, ſhe found that if ſhe offer'd to move, the *Hollander* that lay by her was ready to board her, which the reſt ſeeing went to have done the like.

The Captain of the *Dunkirker* ſent me Word of it, for that he had underſtood the Intention of the *Hollanders*, and therefore reſuſ'd to go out. Whereupon I ſent for the *Holland* Captains, and charg'd them with Breach of their Words, and their Contempt to his Majesty's Authority. They would no longer diſſemble, but told me plainly, that they had better conſider'd of it, and concluded they could not appear before their Maſters the States with ſafety, if they conſented to the eſcape of the *Dunkirker*.

Upon their Answer I was inrag'd, and told them, That hitherto I had Treated with them in a Friendly and Courteous Manner, and in any Reaſonable Man's Conſeipt, had given them good Satisfaction with my Letter to the States. But ſeeing they dealt ſo indirectly, I put them on board their Ships again, and will'd them to ſtand upon their ſelves, and Vow'd if one Shot was made at the *Dunkirker*, I would ſink them or they me. When they thus ſaw I would believe no longer in Words, they permitted the *Dunkirker* quietly to eſcape, and remain'd themſelves Two Tides according to the Proclamation.

If your Lordſhips had ſeen the Diſpoſitions and Carriage of the People of *Sandwich*, you would have thought it ſtrange, that Subjects durſt oppoſe themſelves ſo openly againſt the State, Thouſands of People beholding me from the Shore, look'd when the Sword ſhould make an end of the Difference, and publicly wiſh'd the Succeſs to the *Hollanders*, curſing both me and his Majesty's Ship.

But it was no marvel, for moſt of the Inhabitants are either born, bred, or deſcended from *Holland*, their Religion truly *Dutch*, as Two of the Grave Miniſters of *Sandwich* have complain'd to me, proteſting they think that Town, and the Coun-  
treys

they thereabouts, swarms as much with  
Sects as *Amsterdam*.

Your Lordships must give me leave a  
little to digress, and express the State of  
*Sandwich*, and the Use *Holland* may make  
of it, if ever they become Enemies to  
*England*; therefore it behoves us to pre-  
vent all dangerous Advantages, which is  
the more, in them, because they neglect  
no Occasion, wherein they may benefit  
themselves with the loss of others.

The first and Principallest Advantage all  
Enemies have that invade a Country by  
Sea, is the safe Harbour or Road for the  
arriving of Shipping, and though *Sand-  
wich* be but a barr'd Haven, and that  
Ships cannot enter but upon a Flood, and  
at no time any great Vessels of burthen,  
yet is our *Doune* within two miles from  
thence, where Thousands of Ships may  
ride as safely as in any Harbour of *Eu-  
rope*; and if ever the *Hollanders* be disposed  
to give an Attempt, now that *Flothing* is  
in their possession, it is but one night's  
sailing from thence to *Sandwich*.

The Town is more naturally seated for  
Strength than any I know in this King-  
dom, and a place of little defence as it is  
us'd: An Enemy having the Command  
of an Harbour, as I have shew'd, ap-  
proaching a Town of no defence, which  
may be made impregnable, being sure of  
the Hearts of the Men within it, and to  
be reliev'd within 12 hours by Sea, I re-  
fer the Consideration thereof to your  
Lordships, and return where I left off.

The 20th of April 1605. I landed the  
Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*,  
in their Ambassy to the Arch-Duke;  
The one of them pass'd with me in  
the *Vanguard*, the other in the *Lyons  
Whelp*, a Pinnace of his Majesty: The  
Pinnace sailing a League a-stern, was  
saluted by Two *Holland* Ships of War,  
in which Salutation they put a disgrace  
upon her, by the Trumpeter's blurring  
with his Trumpet, which is held a scorn  
at Sea.

Sir *Thomas Edmonds* being much mov'd  
at this usage, caus'd a Piece of Ordnance  
to be shot off for my stay; at whose  
coming up he acquainted me with the  
Wrong offered; I immediately command-  
ed the *Holland* Captains on board me,  
which if they refused, I threatned to com-  
pel them; but they seeing themselves over-  
master'd, made no question to obey me.

I besought my Lord of *Hartford*, with  
the rest of the Gentlemen of his Train,  
to be Witnesses of my Proceedings with  
the Captains; and told my Lord, if I  
carry'd my self otherwise than became

me, he should have power to over-rule  
me.

Before I entered into Capitulation, I  
requir'd their Answer to one Question,  
(which was) whether they had Command  
from their Masters the States to impeach  
his Majesty's Ambassadors passage, or no;  
if they had, I requir'd to see their Com-  
mission, the Copy whereof I would take  
and send to his Majesty, and let them de-  
part without violence.

They answer'd they had no such Di-  
rections, neither was their Intention so to  
do; Then I told them, that seeing the  
Affront was offered as proceeding from  
themselves, and not from the States, I  
would right my self upon them, and after  
acquaint their State upon what Reason I  
did it: But upon their Vows and Protesta-  
tions to clear themselves, imputing it to  
the Lewdness of their Trumpeter, and  
submitting themselves to my Censure, at  
the Intreaty of my Lord of *Hartford*, I  
dismiss'd them, they promising to punish  
the Offenders severely. One of these  
Captains was he who since that time com-  
mitted a foul Murder upon his Majesty's  
Subjects in *Ireland* that were under Pro-  
tection.

The next thing that comes to my mind  
is a Repetition of that I deliver'd to your  
Lordships in the *Tower*, concerning the  
Admiral of *Holland*'s refusing to take in  
his Flag; I deliver'd it not with those  
Circumstances that were convenient for  
your Lordship's understanding; and be-  
cause I know your weightier Occasions  
may very well make you forget what was  
said, I will presume to reiterate the same  
again.

In my return from *Calis* the first of  
July 1605. with the Emperor's Ambassa-  
dor, as I approach'd near *Dover* Road, I  
perceiv'd an increase of Six Ships to those  
I left there three days before, one of them  
being the Admiral; Their coming in shew  
was to beleaguer the *Spaniards*, who were  
then at *Dover*, as you have heard.

As I drew near them the Admiral strook  
his Flag thrice, and advanc'd again:  
His coming from the *Spanish* coast at such  
a time, caus'd me to make another con-  
struction than he pretenc'd; and indeed  
it so fell out, for I conceiv'd his arrival at  
that time was no other end, than to shew  
the Ambassador, who he knew, would  
spread it abroad throughout all *Europe*,  
as also the *Spaniards*, that they might have  
the less Esteem of his Majesty's Prero-  
gative in the Narrow Seas, that by their  
wearing their Flag they might be imputed  
Kings of the Sea as well as his Majesty;



I hastned the Ambassador ashore, and dispatch'd a Gentleman to the Admiral to intreat his Company the next day to Dinner; which he willingly promis'd.

The Gentleman told him I requir'd him to take in his Flag, as a Duty due to his Majesty's Ships: He answer'd, that he had struck it thrice, which he thought to be a sufficient Acknowledgment, and it was no more than former Admirals of the Narrow Seas had requir'd at his hands.

The Gentleman reply'd, That he expected such an Answer from him, and therefore he was prepar'd what to say to that Point. He told him the times were altered; for when no more but striking the Flag was requir'd, *England* and *Holland* were both of them in Hostility with *Spain*, which caus'd her late Majesty to tolerate divers things in them; as for instance, the Admiral's wearing his Flag in the Expedition to *Cadix* and the Islands, where the Lord Admiral of *England* and Lord of *Essex* went as Generals and that Courtesy they could not challenge by Right, but by Permission; and the Wars being now ceas'd, his Majesty did require by me his Minister, such Rights and Duties as have formerly belong'd to his Predecessors.

The Admiral refus'd to obey my Command; saying, he expected more favour from me then from other Admirals, in respect of our long and loving Acquaintance: But he was answer'd, that all Obligation of private Friendship must be laid aside, when the Honour of ones King and Country is at stake. The Gentleman advis'd him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand; if not, he had Commission to tell him, That I meant to weigh Anchor, and come near him, and that the Force of our Ships should determine the Question: For rather then I would suffer his Flag to be worn in view of so many Nations as were to behold it, I resolv'd to bury my self in the Sea.

The Admiral it seems upon better Advice took in his Flag, and stood immediately off to Sea, firing a Gun for the rest of the Fleet to follow him. And thus I lost my Guest the next day at Dinner, as he had promis'd.

This Passage betwixt the Admiral and me was observ'd from the Shore, People beholding us to see the Event. Upon my Landing I met with *Scirago*, the General of the *Spaniards*, who in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was employ'd under *Mendoza* the Ambassador of *Spain*: He told me, that if the *Hollanders* had worn

their Flag, times had been strangely alter'd in *England* since his old Master King *Philip* the Second was shot at by the Lord Admiral of *England* for wearing his Flag in the *Narrow Seas*, when he came to marry Queen *Mary*.

I told him that he was mistaken; for neither the *Hollanders* nor any other Nation durst contend with his Majesty in his Prerogative of the *Narrow Seas*: And the accident that then fell out was by a Boy's Error, who thought he had been commanded to take in the Flag and to put it out again, when he was order'd to take it in for altogether; which when the Admiral understood, he caus'd it to be taken in, and desir'd I would not impute it to him as an Affront offer'd. Thus I excus'd their Insolency, lest it should be divulg'd his Majesty's Prerogative had been question'd by the *Hollanders*: Had I yielded to a bare striking their Flag, as other Admirals had done, his Majesty had not reconcil'd his Right again without Bloodshed.

Within few years after, an Earl, who then came in Company of the Emperor's Ambassador, pass'd the Seas with me again, when I Transported Prince *Vaudemont*; to whom he receiv'd at large this Passage of mine and the *Hollanders*, and ascrib'd great Honour to his Majesty in maintaining his Right and Privileges on the Seas, which he said the *Hollanders* went about to infringe.

The first of September 1605. I receiv'd a Warrant for Transporting the *Spanish* Ambassador Don *Johā de Taxis*, and all his Train for *Flanders*, excepting the Lord *Arundell*, who was to pass with him into the Service of the Arch Duke.

Though the Lord *Arundell* was prohibited to go over in the Company of the Ambassador, because the *Hollanders* pretended the World would take notice his Majesty maintain'd their Enemies against them, which would much prejudice the Reputation of their State; yet, notwithstanding, the Ambassador was promis'd, that within ten days after his arrival, the Lord *Arundell* should have a free and safe Passage, which did as much satisfy the Ambassador as if he had gone with him.

Lest the Lord *Arundell* should attempt to go, notwithstanding his Prohibition, which I much fear'd, because he absented himself, that he might not receive this Command; I forbid all Ships and Barks, as they would answer it at their Peril, to receive him a-board them; which he hearing, corrupted a Captain of the King's, and in a disguise convey'd himself

K. K.



himself over in his Ship: He did it more to gain Reputation with the *Spaniards*, than out of any doubt he had not to pass; for he knew, though he desir'd not to take notice of it, that his going was secur'd within few days after.

When I saw him upon my Arrival at *Gravelin*, and understood his Practice with one of my Captains, I spake of it with some bitterness, and expostulated the Matter with the Ambassador, supposing he had known of his indirect Proceeding: But the Ambassador with many Protestations disavow'd it, and blam'd my Lord's Indiscretion as much as my self, saying, he was as much wrong'd as the State; for he confest'd by his humble Suit he had obtain'd his safe Passage within a few days after, which he accepted as a great Favour from his Majesty, and my Lord behaving himself so unadvisedly, he fear'd might breed a Jealousie against him.

My Lord *Arundell* knowing I had spoken somewhat liberally of him, devised how to requite me, and took an Opportunity upon the following Occasion.

The same night, a little before Supper, News was brought the Ambassador, that the Barques which carried his Provisions were stay'd by the *Hollanders* as they were entering *Dunkirk*, and as it was to be fear'd they would not dismiss them.

My Lord *Arundell* took advantage of this, and privately perswaded the Ambassador I had betray'd them to the *Hollanders*. He could not carry his Complaint so secretly, but I came to the knowledge of it: I might perceive a strangeness in the Ambassador, as though he retain'd a kind of Jealousie; and therefore the Supper ended, and my Leave taken of him for that night, I besought the Governor of *Gravelin*, that the Port might be opened, and I provided of Horses, for that I had occasion to go with some speed to *Dunkirk*, both which he courteously granted, and I immediately pass'd thither, where I arriv'd at the opening of the Gates in the mornings.

I found, as it was reported, the Barques detain'd by the *Hollanders*, but upon what occasion, and how I caus'd their Release, your Honours shall understand hereafter: But I must return once more to *Sandwich*.

Whilst the Ambassador stay'd at *Sandwich* to see his Horses and Baggage Shipp'd, there arriv'd 14 or 15 Ships of War from *Holland* in the *Downes*; a number not usually seen thereabout but upon a greater occasion than I could imagine: Though I mistrusted they would have obstructed the

Ambassador's Passage, and sent for the Principal Captains, of whom I requir'd if they had Commission to impeach his Landing; they answer'd No, and seem'd to make a frivolous Excuse for their coming.

Then I requir'd them to stay in the *Downes* after I was gone, or to depart before me, for avoiding both Rumour and Suspicion. They made choice of the latter, and stood over for *Gravelin* Road, where I found them upon my arrival, and discovered that the cause of their coming to the *Downes*, was to have an Eye on the Lord *Arundell's* Passage.

During the time of the Ambassador's stay at *Sandwich*, those of the Town thought to have put an Affront upon him; which if I had not prevented, had more disgusted than all the Favours he receiv'd in *England* had contented him.

His Horses being Shipp'd, and the Barque ready to depart the Harbour, an Informer went aboard one of them, and made seizure of a Fardel of Bays to the value of 10 or 12 *l.* which belong'd to one of the Ambassador's Servants; which he took for such a Disgrace, knowing it, as he said, to be a practice of the Offspring of the *Hollanders* within the Town, that he resolv'd not to depart thence till he was righted by his Majesty's own Order.

I laboured to give the Ambassador Satisfaction, and as earnestly perswaded the Informer to restore the Fardel, but could prevail with neither; for the value was not so much look'd upon, as the Injury offered.

At last, by threatening the Informer to complain to the Lords, and perswading him how ill his Majesty would take such a wrong done to an Ambassador, he restor'd the Fardel, but writ to the Farmers of the Custom, that I countenanc'd and carried over uncustom'd Goods under the colour of the Ambassador's Provisions.

When they of *Sandwich* saw they could not detain the Fardel, they secretly practis'd with the *Dutch* Fleet then at the *Downes*, that upon the arrival of the Barks at *Dunkirk*, they should intercept the Fardel, and gave Intelligence in what Barque, and what part of the Barque it lay.

The *Hollanders* accordingly detain'd the Vessel as they were directed, and took out the Fardel; and upon this Occasion was the stay made of the Ambassador's Goods, as I have shew'd before.

At my arrival at *Dunkirk* from *Gravelin*, upon the News of the Arrest of the Ships, as your Lordships have heard, I wrote

wrote to the Admiral of the *Hollanders*, that he had exceeded his Commission in intercepting the Ambassador's Provisions, having Order from their State for a free Passage, and that the Injury was no less to his Majesty, and therefore I requir'd the Discharge of the Ships, and his Answer to the Contempt.

He answer'd in Writing, that it was true his Directions from his Masters, the States, did import so much, which he did willingly obey; but in his Commission he was Authoriz'd to intercept any Merchandize that should be transported under colour of the Ambassador's Furniture, and that in one of the Barques he had found a Fardel of Bays, which he might justify the taking of, and so dismiss'd the Barque.

I return'd Answer, that if he went to the strict Letter of his Commission, I confess'd he might do it; but I told him the value was so small, and it having been question'd at *Sandwich*, that I would think my self beholding to him, if he would either restore it, or keep it in his custody 14 days. To my latter Request he consented; whereupon I gave assurance to the Ambassador, who was then much incrag'd, that a Letter should be procured out of *England* that should compel the delivery of the Fardel.

Within 4 or 5 days after I arriv'd in *England*, I acquainted the Lord Treasurer *Dorset* with the Affront offer'd the Ambassador at *Sandwich*, and the Complaint made to the Farmers of the Custom against me. I inform'd my Lord Admiral and my Lord of *Cranborne* with the Lord *Arundell's* Passage, and the Contempt of the Captain, whom I displac'd and detain'd Prisoner, as also of the Fardel seiz'd on by the *Hollander*.

My Lord Treasurer sent for the Informer by a Pursuivant, and committed him Ten weeks Prisoner in the *Gate-House*, refusing to release him till I became Suitor for him. The Captain was handled in the same manner, being long Imprison'd; and the Fardel restor'd to the Governor of *Dunkirk* by a Letter from Sir *Howell Garroone*.

I am the more tedious herein, to shew the Genius of the Men of *Sandwich*, who made more Account of venting their Spleen and Revenge, than of his Majesty's Reputation and Honour; and did their best endeavour to make a breach betwixt the *Hollanders* and me: At that time they had Thirty Ships for Two in the *Narrow Seas*.

I observ'd at all times that I was to

transport a *Spanish* Ambassador, the *Hollanders* labour'd to shew some point of Insolency; as I remember at the return of the Marquis of *St. Germain*, I met a *Dutch* Fleet in the midst of the Channel, convoy'd by a Man of War, who would not take in his Flag till I was forc'd to use violence. I could entertain your Lordships with a Volume of these Discourses; but what I have said is sufficient to shew the Arrogant and Unmannerly Carriage of the *Hollanders*, who ambitiously desire to incroach upon his Majesty's Jurisdiction: Had I conniv'd at them, I had purchas'd less hate of them and their well-wishers. And not long before my Commitment there fell out an Accident which perhaps might hasten my Imprisonment; Sir *Howell Garroone* their Agent, coming over in a Man of War, was shot at by a Pinnace of the King's, for not striking his Topmast to her, which I understood he took in ill part, and call it upon me.

If I had transgress'd, or given the least advantage to have excepted against me in the 12 years I serv'd on the *Narrow Seas*, it is very likely his Majesty or the State should have known it; but seeing I was never question'd for any Action, publick or private, I did no more than became a Subject and a Servant to his Majesty, to defend the Honour and Reputation of him and his Kingdoms, tho' it had been with the loss of my Life.

And since I have made my Apology for 12 years, I will add 18 more to it, and begin with the Wars of *Spain*, where I was an Actor in the first Ship, and General of the last Fleet *Queen Elizabeth* ever employ'd.

If it shall appear by Records in the Admiral's Court, or by Petition in the Council Chamber, that ever I was question'd for any unlawful Act, or so much as my Name us'd for a Witness, I will willingly receive my due Punishment; or let it be prov'd in all my Employment by Sea, which has been more than any *English* Gentleman, that either directly or indirectly I deceiv'd either of my two Sovereigns, and I will desire the Reward of a Traytor.

I well remember the first time I was Examined by the Chief Justice *Cooke* and Secretary *Winwood*, at *Hutton-House*, I besought them, that they would be pleas'd to enquire into my Behaviour, and the Course of my Life from my Infancy, and I hop'd it would prove Loyal, Honest and Spotless.

Now I humbly desire as a second Suit, that either they, or any other, would exa-

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mine the Service I have done to the State, in the time of the late Queen, when there was greatest occasions for Men to shew their Abilities and Deserts: As also what Imprisonment I have endur'd in Spain; What Famines, Hurts and other Casualties I suffer'd; What Wealth has been brought into England by my means; With what Hazard and fortunate Success I have obtain'd both Wealth and Victory: As in particular, and which is freshest in Memory, the last Carrack valu'd at almost Two hundred thousand Pounds, and dispos'd of by His Majesty at his Accession to the Crown.

When all these things shall be consider'd, and I see how well valu'd, the Integrity of my Heart will appear, and how much I prefer'd the Service to my Prince and Country, above my private or particular Interest.

I must confess my Folly and Misfortune; the one made me too forward in Complaining, and wishing a Reformation of his Majesty's Navy, which has purchas'd me much Envy; the other procur'd me as much Hate in taking the Lady *Arabella*: And then perhaps the Cause of my Imprisonment will more plainly appear.

Some have obtain'd their desires, in ruining my Estate, made me Infamous to the World, taken from me my Employment, seiz'd by way of Forfeiture upon my Land, denying to Accompt with me, which they have long practis'd: And above all, cast such an Aspersions upon my Children, as all hope of Preferment is taken from them; But my comfort is in the saying of *David*, That *My defence is in God, who saveth the upright in heart*.

Thus have I briefly run over some particulars that happen'd in my Employment, wherein I have shew'd in what condition I found the Narrow Seas, how with Envy and Hate I reduc'd it, and in what form and condition I left it.

And as I have given an account of 12 years Employment on the Narrow Seas, I can as well derive my felt from the year 1585. when the War with Spain began, for then made I the Seas my Profession, being led to it by the wildness of my Youth: And because the two Barks in which I then serv'd, had the fortune to take the first Spanish Prize that ever saw the English Shore; and the rareness of the Fight in taking her consider'd, I thought it not unworthy of repetition.

In the Month of September 1585, and about Eight a clock in the Evening, being upon the Coast of Spain with two small Ships aforesaid, we met and boarded a Spanish Vessel of 300 Tuns burthen, well Mann'd and Arm'd; all our Men with one consent and courage entered her, and we left fighting aboard her, all Night, the Seas being so grown that our Barks were forc'd to ungrapple and fall off.

The Spaniards betook themselves to their close Fights, and gave two attempts by trains of Powder to blow-up their Decks on which we were, but we happily prevented it by Fire-Pikes. Thus continu'd the Fight till Seven in the Morning, when the Spaniards found they had so many Men kill'd and disabled, that they were forced to yield.

When we came to take a view of our People, we found few left alive but could shew a wound or shot through their Cloaths in that Fight: We were a woful spectacle as well as the Spaniards; and I dare say, that in the whole time of the War, there was not so rare a manner of Fight, or so great a Slaughter of Men on both sides.

I confess it exceeds the bounds of Good Manners to trouble your Honours with this impertinent Discourse; but I do it that it may appear, I had no thought but to employ my Pains and Travel to serve my Prince and Country: And so I humbly take my Leave.

*A Voyage by Sir William Monson, during the time he serv'd as Admiral in the Narrow Seas, about England, Scotland and Ireland, Anno Dom. 1614.*

HIS Majesty being earnestly importun'd by his Scottish Subjects to have the assistance of some of his ships to redress the Spoils committed by the Pyrates on their Coast, out of Care to them, and Honour to himself, he dispatch'd Sir William Monson and Sir Francis Howard in great

haste upon that Service, commanding such Victuals and other things as they stood in need of to be sent after them.

They departed from *Margate-Road* the 14th of May, and arriv'd at *Leith* in Scotland, on the 23d of the same; thence he immediately went to *Edinburgh* and presented

sented himself to the Lords of that Realm, acquainting them with the Cause of his coming, and the Charge he had from his Majesty to defend that Coast from Pyrates, and therefore desir'd to be inform'd by their Lordship's concerning their Strength, their Number, and Place of abode: He desir'd to be furnish'd with able Pilots, for his Majesty's Ships were of greater burden and value than usually had been employ'd on those Coasts; and besides, that the Navigation to the Northward of that Place was not frequented by our Nation, and therefore unknown to us.

It pleas'd their Lordships to recommend the Care thereof to the *Trinity-House of Leith*, expressly commanding them to appoint the ablest Pilots that could be chosen amongst them. This Command of theirs was accordingly obey'd, and their Pilots repair'd aboard the next Morning. Sir *William* immediately set Sail, leaving Instructions for his Viceroy to follow him to the Islands of *Orkney*; which the Lords of *Scotland* took into their provident Care, and perform'd it accordingly.

The First of *June* Sir *William* arriv'd at *Sinclair Castle*, the House of the Earl of *Cathness*, the utmost Promontory of *Great Britain*: Here he found neither the Number nor the Danger of Pyrates, so terrible as Report made them; for Twenty they were diminish'd to Two, and both of them Men of bale Condition; the one of them not long before my Boatwain's Mate in the Narrow Seas; the other of as mean Quality and Rank, and first made a Seaman by Sir *William*; neither can this Man be properly call'd a Pirate, for being amongst them, and mistaking their damnable Courtesie, he, with three others, left their Society, and in an *English* Bark they had taken, stole from them, and put himself into the hands of the Earl of *Cathness*, where I found both him and the Bark, which I brought away with me.

The day before I came to *Cathness*, I was disappointed of meeting the Boatwain's Mate, the Pirate, *Clarke*, by name, who had been altho' with the Earl, and friendly Enterain'd, because his House and Tenants lay open to his Spoil.

That day there arriv'd a *Scottish* Bark from the *Firth*, which gave an account of Sir *William's* coming to *Leith*, with an intent to pursue such Pirates as he could hear of. This News made *Clarke* quit that Coast, and fly into the Island, where he refresh'd himself amongst the Fishermen.

But Sir *W.* being now out of hope of him, and out of doubt of any others thereabout, staid not at *Cathness*, but the same

Night pass'd to the Island of *Orkney*, where he found more civil, kind and friendly Usage, than could be expected from such kind of Creatures in those. Here he left Sir *Francis Howard* for guard of the Coast, and prosecuted his Intentions against *Clarke*, not sparing any Place to seek him in, where there was a possibility to find him. After some time spent at Sea, he put into the Island of *Shetland*, and from thence to those of *Hybrides*, where he design'd Sir *Francis Howard* should meet him.

The Brutishness and Uncivility of those People of the *Hybrides*, exceeds the Savagery of *America*; and it may be well said of them, that Education is a second Nature; for there cannot be greater difference betwixt Day and Night, than betwixt the Conversation of those of *Orkney*, and those of the *Hybrides*.

Being out of hopes of meeting with *Clarke*, Sir *William* directed his Course for *Broad-Haven* in *Ireland*, a Harbor frequented by Pyrates, in respect of the Security thereof and the Remoteness, few knowing it, and the relief such People find by a Gentleman there dwelling, who should not his own Daughters to bid them Welcome.

The Danger Sir *William* ran into was great, and worse to think, that two ships of his Majesty's of that consequence should be hazarded on so slender an occasion, as the Pursuit of so few petty Pyrates.

Betwixt those Islands and *Ireland* he met with so great a Storm and Ground Seas, that it were impossible for a Fleet to delect it. Of four Vessels he had in company, one was swallow'd up in the Seas; the other Three were separated, and saw one another no more till they met in *England*.

When the Seas had spent their fury, the Storm began to abate, and the 28th he arriv'd at *Broad-Haven*, a Place unknown to any one in his Ship but the Pirate he had taken from the Earl of *Cathness*, as you have heard, of whom he made use to execute this Stratagem.

Being now come to the Well-head of all Pyrates, and desirous to be fully inform'd of the Condition of those Peop of *Broad-Haven*, as soon as he came to an Anchor he made choice of such Persons of his Company as formerly had been Pyrates, to give the less suspicion of his purpose.

These Men he sent in his Boat to the Gentlemen of that Place, and took upon him to be a Pirate, and the Name of Captain *Mammaring*: The Man he trusted in this Service, extoll'd the Wealth he had on Board him; his Royal Disposition and Liberality to those that shew'd him Courtesie.

Courtesie. This hope of Wealth and Reward set their Hearts on fire.

He us'd the Commendations and Names of sundry Pyrates, their Acquaintance; and feign'd Misfortunes to the Women from their Sweethearts, who he made believe had sent them Tokens, which he had on board for them.

The silly Women conceiv'd so great a Joy at it, that it took away all Suspicion of Deceit.

The Gentleman of that place, like a wily Fox, abated himself, and left his Wife and Hackney Daughters to entertain the new welcome Guests, till he beheld the Coast clear; and when he saw his time he returned, and to make his Credit and Reputation seem the greater with Capt. *Manwaring*, express'd the Favours he had done to sundry Pyrates, tho' it was to his eminent Peril, which he did not esteem, if he might do Capt. *Manwaring* any Service; so much he was devoted to his Person, when he heard the report of his Wealth: And to endear him the more, he promis'd to send two Gentlemen of Trust the next Morning on board him, to give him the better assurance of his Fidelity; and in the mean time, because he should not be unfurnish'd of Victuals, he directed him to send his Men ashore Armed, and in a Warlike manner, that it might appear their Cattle were taken by violence, which he would appoint in a place with their Ears slit, to be distinguish'd from other Beasts.

The Messenger being fully satisfy'd, and having executed his Stratagem, return'd aboard that night. At the dawning of the day the Play began, for that was the Hour appointed for the Wolf to seek his Prey; and Capt. *Chester* with 50 Armed Men in a disorderly manner like Pyrates, went on Shore, and acted so much as was agreed on; and the Cattle being kill'd, he was, in a secret manner, invited to the House of the Gentleman, but at his intreaty was to make it appear publicly, that he came not by Invitation, but of his own accord.

Here he was welcom'd and friendly entertain'd by the Daughters, whose desire was to hear of their Sweethearts, and to receive their Tokens; but all in general covet'd to see Capt. *Manwaring*, who they confidently believ'd would enrich them all. The Gentleman, Mr. *Cornat* by name, was punctual in all his Undertaking, and the two Ambassadors he promis'd came aboard, and deliver'd a friendly (tho' in a rude manner like their Country) Message of their Love and Assurance of their Service to Capt. *Manwaring*.

Their Message ended, Sir *William* with'd them to observe and consider, whether they thought that Ship and Company to be Pyrates, for they could well judge of Pyrates, because of their Familiarity and Acquaintance with them.

It was a folly to dissemble any longer; for tho' they would, yet they could not betray Sir *William's* design, and therefore in as rough and rude a manner as they deliver'd their Message, he told them how they had transgress'd, and the next thing they were to expect was Death, and commanded them to be put in lions, in dark and several places, being careful to permit neither Boat nor Man to go ashore, until his own Landing.

The time approach'd Sir *William* promis'd to visit them; and for his greater Honour they had drawn down 4 or 500 People to attend on the Shore side, which he perceiving, and seeming to be jealous of their number, pretended to be shy of going ashore for fear of Treachery: But if Oaths, Vows, or any kind of Protestations would serve him, he had them, and when they saw him thus convinc'd of their Sincerity, and that he put himself upon them, three of their Principal Men run up to the Arm-pits in Water, striving who should have the Credit to carry him ashore.

One of these three was an *Englishman*, a late Tradesman in London, and attended the arrival of Pyrates. The Second had been a Schoolmaster, and a Man attended like another *Apollo* amongst those rude People. The Third a Merchant of *Gallaway*, but his chiefest Trade was to Buy and Sell with Pyrates.

These three Gallants, like Gentlemen-Ushers, conducted Sir *William* to Mr. *Cornat's* House; and the meaner sort follow'd with Acclamations of Joy. At his Landing, happy was he to whom he would lend his Ear: Falling into Discourse, one told him they knew his Friends, and tho' his Name had not discover'd it, yet his Face did shew him to be a *Manwaring*. In short, they made him believe he might Command them and their Country, and that no Man was ever so welcome as Capt. *Manwaring*.

Entering into the House of Mr. *Cornat*, his three Hackney Daughters rose to entertain him, and conducted him to the Hall newly strew'd with Rushes, as the richest decking their Abilities, or the meanness of the place could afford. In the corner was a Harper, who play'd merrily to make his Welcome the greater.

After some Discourse, and several Questions ask'd by the three Daughters concerning their Acquaintance and Friends; but



but above all, being desirous to handle the Tokens promised, and Laughing and Jearing at their two Messengers aboard, who they did not suspect, were detain'd Prisoners, but drinking and frolicking in the Ship, as the use was upon the arrival of Pyrates: After these Passages the Women offer'd to Dance; one chose Sir William, which he excus'd, but gave free liberty for the rest of his Company. The *Englishman* was so pleasant and merry, that he seem'd to have new Life infus'd into him; he told Sir William, the Heavens did foresee he was born to serve him, and to relieve him; he shew'd him a Pass procur'd upon false Pretences from the Sheriff of that County, Authorizing him to Travel from place to place to make Inquisition of his Goods, which he falsely pretend'd he was robb'd of at Sea: He Laugh'd at the Cheat he had put upon the Sheriff in getting his Pass, and urg'd the advantage that might be made of it, in sending to and fro in the Country without suspicion.

He proffer'd Sir William the Service of Ten Mariners of his Acquaintance, that lay lurking thereabouts, expecting the coming in of Men of War, which Seafaring Men he had power to Command.

His Antick behaviour was enough to put the Melancholick Man in good Humour: sometimes he play'd the part of a Commanding Sheriff; then he acted his own, with many witty passages how he deceiv'd the Sheriff. Sir William embrac'd his offer of Ten Mariners, with a promise of Reward, and caus'd him to write effectually for them, as may appear by this that follows.

*Honest Brother Dick, and the rest, we are all made Men; for valiant Capt. Manwaring and all his gallant Crew are arriv'd in this place. Make haste, for he flourisheth in wealth, and is most kind to all Men. Farewel, and once again make haste.*

This Letter being Writ, and the Pass enclos'd in it, Sir William took it into his own Hand, offering to hire a Messenger to carry it; but Night drawing on, which requir'd his return aboard, and having drawn from the Country all the Secret he desir'd, he caus'd the Harp to cease playing, and commanded Silence, because he was to speak.

He told them, That hitherto they had plaid their part, and he had no part in the Comedy; but tho' his was last, and might be term'd the Epilogue, yet it would prove more Tragical than theirs. He put them out of doubt that he was no Pyrate,

but a Scourge to such, and was sent from His Majesty to Discover, Suppress, and Punish them, and their Abettors, whom his Majesty did not think worthy the name of Subjects: He told them that he had receiv'd sufficient Information of the protection given to Pyrates in that Harbour, and by *Cormatt*; and that he could find no better Expedient to confirm what had been told him, than by taking upon him the Habit of a Pyrate, and one of their Associates; and that they had made themselves guilty in the Law, without farther Accusations: And now there remain'd nothing but to proceed to their Execution, by virtue of his Commission; and to that purpose he had brought a Gallows ready fram'd, which he caus'd to be set up, meaning to begin the mournful Dance with the two Men they thought had been merry Dancing aboard the Ship.

He told the *Englishman* he should be the next, because his Offence did surpass the rest, being an *Englishman*, who should be a pattern of good Life to those People we have fought to reduce to Civility since we first possess'd that Country; and seeing Man naturally is rather apt to follow evil example than good, he should be hanged for example.

He told the Schoolmaster he was a fit Tutor for the Children of the Devil, and that he had apt Scholars to follow his damnable Instructions; and, that as the Members are govern'd by the Head, the way to make his Members sound, was to shorten him by the Head; and therefore Will'd him to admonish his Scholars from the top of the Gallows, which should be a Pulpit prepar'd for him. He ask'd the Merchant, whether he imagin'd there could be Thieves if there were no Receivers? And as the contriver and plotter of evil is worse than he that executes it, so is the Abettor and a Receiver to be condemn'd before the Thief. He told him that Pyrates could no more live by their Occupation, were it not for Buyers, than a poor Labourer work without Wages; That the Offence in a Merchant was more heinous than in another Man, because his Trade must be maintain'd and upheld by Peace: His time he told him was not long, and will'd him to make his Account with God, that he might be found a good Merchant and Factor to him, tho' he had been a Malefactor to the Law.

Here was seen the Mutability of the World; their Mirth was turn'd into Mourning, and their Dancing into Lamenting, each Bewailing and Repenting, as is the custom



custom of Offenders. The Night calling Sir *William* away, he appointed their Guard to a Boat, and left the Carpenter ashore to finish the Gallows, which was done by Morning, and the Prisoners ready to receive their doom; but being surpris'd by the whole Country, with a Promise never to connive again at Pyrates, after Four and twenty Hours fight in Irons he pardon'd them.

The *Englishman* was banish'd, not only from that Coast, but from the Sea side, throughout *Ireland*, and a Coppy of his Pass sent to the Sheriff, with Advice to be more cautious for the future in granting his safe Conduct. Here the Master Dy'd, and all that Country could not afford a Pilot, so little use those People make of God's Blessings in those Parts; for were they Industrious, as in other Countries, both Land and Sea would afford them as great plenty of Trade and Commodities, as any part in *Europe*.

The next Morning as Sir *William* was at Anchor in *Broad-Haven*, he espied a Ship bearing into that Harbour, which seeing him sprung her Luff, and came to an Anchor under the Weather-Shoar; by her working he judged her to be a Pirate, and tho it blew much Wind, he put himself into his Boat, having the opportunity of a great Fog, thinking to steal upon her at unawares; but finding the Fog, like other weather at Sea, unconstant, when he came within Falcon shot of her, it clear'd up; which the perceiving, cut Cable and stood off to Sea, where he pursu'd her with great danger of Drowning in his Boat.

Six days she kept the Sea in foul weather, and the Seventh arriv'd at the Island of *Enescey*, Seven Leagues to the Southward of *Broadhaven*, where she was out of fear of any Attempt to be made upon her, by reason of the Wind.

In the dark of the night, when there was least danger of discovery, the Pirate found means to have a Letter secretly convey'd to *Cormatt*, their Agent and trustiest Friend; but *Cormatt* being lately burnt, did dread the fire, and no sooner receiv'd the Letter, but he brought it to Sir *William*, which was to this effect.

Dear Friend,

**I** Was bearing into *Broadhaven* to give you Corn for Ballast, but that I was frighted by the King's Ship, I suppos'd to be there. I pray you send me word what Ship it is; for we stand in great fear. I pray you provide me two Kine, for we are in great want of Victuals: whenever you shall make a Fire on Shore, I will send my Boat to you.

This Letter pleas'd Sir *William*, hoping to make good use of it, as he did. The first thing was to conjure *Cormatt* to keep Secrecy, charging him upon pain of Life to follow his Directions. He writ an Answer, which he caus'd *Cormatt* to Sign, as from himself: The purport of it was, 'That he rejoic'd to hear of his Health, and desir'd to see him; he bid him be confident this Ship could not endanger him, for she was not the King's, as he imagin'd, but one of *London* that came from the *Indies* with her Men sick, and many dead. He promis'd him two Oxen and a Calf, to observe his Directions by making a fire, and gave him hope to see him within two Nights.

A Man could not be too cautious among the People of the Country, who in their Hearts were Pyratally given; and therefore he cloath'd three or four of his Company in *Irish* Habits, to accompany the Messenger, commanding them to lye in ambush not far off, as well to take a view of the Bearer, as to defend him from any violence of the Pyrates, fearing they might surprize him, if they mistrusted any Deceit.

The Pyrates kept as good a Watch to observe the Fire, as the Country doth a Beacon upon suspicion of an Enemy, and espying it, were not long a rowing to Shore, and as little awhile on Shore, for it was the Letter only at that time they coveted, and having it, they hasten'd aboard to read it.

The Letter gave them great Content, because they found themselves free from danger of the Ship they took to be the King's; as also because they were promis'd Relief in their Extremity, by the two Oxen to be sent them.

This day they were frolick and merry, to make amends for the six before spent in foul weather at Sea. In the mean time Sir *William* contriv'd a Stratagem the Pyrates neither dreaded nor dream'd of: For understanding that at the end of the River where they lay, and not above seven Miles from him, there was a nook of Land two Miles in breadth that parted it from another River which open'd it self into the Sea over against *Enescey*, where the Pyrates lay; Sir *William* kept his Design secret from the *Irish*, who he knew would not much further his Design against Pyrates; and on a suddain took to many of those *Irish*, with the help of his own Company, as drew his Boat and another over Land, and having recover'd the next River, with no little astonishment to the *Irish*, they were to Row 30 Miles to the place design'd for the Fire to be made.

Having

Having pull'd hard to be at the place by Midnight, as soon as the Boat arriv'd they kindled a Fire; and by the time they conjectur'd the Pyrates Boat might be a-shoar, who they made account would weaken the Ship of so many Men as she should carry, they Row'd off with speed, and came within sight of, and surpriz'd her before they could be suspected, which did so much amaze the Pyrates, that they had not power to resist, but yielded like so many Wolves caught in their own snares.

Being thus circumvented and apprehended, they were brought to Broadhaven, where Sir William executed the chief of them, shewing Mercy to the rest, so far as he durst; for he was commanded in his Instructions to execute Justice with some vigour. Examining the Behaviour of all the Pyrates, of many he pick'd out the worst, who had tasted twice before of His Majesty's Gracious Pardon. This severe Justice gave a Terror to the People of that Country, and no less Satisfaction to the Owner of the Ship, whom they kept Prisoner aboard them, and who might see His Majesty spar'd not His own Subjects if they offended.

The Pyrates ever after became Strangers to that Harbour of Broadhaven, and in a little time wholly abandon'd Ireland, which was attributed to the execution of that Man; for before that time, they were in

those parts rather conniv'd at than punish'd.

From hence Sir William went groping along the Coast; the Country, as was said, not being able to afford him a Pilot. On the 12th. of July he came to the *Vimry*, a place that had twice reliev'd him before.

Coming from Sea in great extremity, on the 28th. to *Bear Haven*, the 1st. of August to *Plymouth*, the 8th. to the *Isle of Wight*, and the 10th. to the *Dorset*; after fetching a circuit round His Majesty's three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.

And here he bid farewell to the Sea, this being the last Voyage Sir William made in King James's time, and the last year but one he serv'd on the narrow Seas, which wanted not much of Twelve years; in which I will boldly and truly say, there was never Service neglected, omitted, or unperform'd, that he was commanded upon, which I look upon as strange, and not to be parallel'd by any that enjoy'd his Employment before: And if the time be consider'd, Six years of them Twelve bred many doubts and differences, how an English Admiral should carry himself, betwixt the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*, the Wars continuing between them; yet such was his Hap and Care, that he committed no Errour for the one or the other justly to except against him.

*The Names of such Ships of the Queens, King James's and King Charles's as I served in, besides divers others not mentioned.*

|                                                                                      |  |                          |      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|------|
| IN the <i>Charles</i> , whereof I had no Command<br>Anno 1588                        |  | In the <i>Merebonour</i> | 1602 |
| In the <i>Victory</i> , in which Voyage I was Vice Admiral to my Lord of Cumberland, |  | In the <i>Merebonour</i> | 1603 |
| 1589                                                                                 |  | In the <i>Vanguard</i>   | 1604 |
| In the <i>Garland</i> ,                                                              |  | In the <i>Rainbow</i>    | 1605 |
| 1591                                                                                 |  | In the <i>Assurance</i>  | 1606 |
| In the <i>Lion</i> ,                                                                 |  | In the <i>Rainbow</i>    | 1607 |
| 1593                                                                                 |  | In the <i>Vanguard</i>   | 1609 |
| In the <i>Rainbow</i>                                                                |  | In the <i>Assurance</i>  | 1610 |
| 1595                                                                                 |  | In the <i>Rainbow</i>    | 1611 |
| In the <i>Repulse</i>                                                                |  | In the <i>Adventure</i>  | 1612 |
| 1596                                                                                 |  | In the <i>Assurance</i>  | 1613 |
| In the <i>Rainbow</i>                                                                |  | In the <i>Lion</i>       | 1614 |
| 1597                                                                                 |  | In the <i>None such</i>  | 1615 |
| In the <i>Defiance</i>                                                               |  | In the <i>James</i>      | 1635 |
| 1599                                                                                 |  |                          |      |
| In the <i>Garland</i>                                                                |  |                          |      |
| 1600                                                                                 |  |                          |      |
| In the <i>Nonperill</i>                                                              |  |                          |      |
| 1601                                                                                 |  |                          |      |
| In the <i>Swiftsure</i> .                                                            |  |                          |      |
| 1602                                                                                 |  |                          |      |
| In the <i>Mary Rose</i>                                                              |  |                          |      |
| 1602                                                                                 |  |                          |      |

*A Note of such Princes, Ambassadors and others, whom Sir William Monfon Transported from the 20th. of July 1604. till the 13th. of January 1616. with the number of their Followers and their Meals, at his own Charges, Aboard His Majesty's Ships, for which he is as yet unsatisfy'd, and which did amount to the Sum of 1500 l.*

| Year | Month   | Day |                                                                                                            | Followers | Meals |
|------|---------|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 1604 | August  | 4   | The Constable of Castile at his coming over.                                                               | 200       | 3     |
| 1604 | August  | 31  | The Constable at his Return.                                                                               | 300       | 3     |
| 1604 | Novemb  | 7   | The Duke of Holstein                                                                                       | 40        | 2     |
| 1604 | Decemb. | 23  | The Duke of Lenox at his going into France                                                                 | 110       | 4     |
| 1604 | Febr.   | 28  | Two Gentlemen of the Arch Duke's Chamber                                                                   | 10        | 3     |
| 1604 | March.  | 13  | The Duke of Lenox at his return out of France                                                              | 300       | 4     |
| 1605 | April   | 19  | The Earl of Hertford going into Flanders                                                                   | 300       | 4     |
| 1605 | May     | 16  | The Earl at his Return from Flushing                                                                       | 300       | 4     |
| 1605 | June    | 30  | The Emperor's Ambassador                                                                                   | 70        | 4     |
| 1605 | July    | 25  | The Emperor's Ambassador at his Return                                                                     | 70        | 4     |
| 1605 | Sept.   | 1   | The Earl of Villa Mediana aboard five Days in foul weather                                                 | 200       | 10    |
| 1606 | April   | 21  | The Marquis of St. Fermans coming                                                                          | 50        | 4     |
| 1606 | May     | 3   | The same Marquis at his Return                                                                             | 74        | 4     |
| 1606 | Sept.   | 4   | Count Vandemout at his coming over                                                                         | 300       | 3     |
| 1606 | Octob.  | 13  | In his Return                                                                                              | 250       | 3     |
| 1607 | May     | 5   | Prince Jarville at his coming over                                                                         | 40        | 4     |
| 1607 | June    | 1   | At his Return                                                                                              | 40        | 4     |
| 1607 | Nov.    | 27  | The Landgrave of Hesse                                                                                     | 30        | 4     |
| 1608 | Octob.  | 1   | The Ambassador in Ordinary of Venice                                                                       | 40        | 4     |
| 1608 | Feb.    | 5   | The Spanish Ambassador Don Hernando Jeron at his Return                                                    | 30        | 3     |
| 1610 | March   | 25  | The Duke of Brunswick coming over                                                                          | 38        | 5     |
| 1610 | May     | 6   | Sir Tho. Edmunds and the Duke of Wurttemberg's, Ambassador                                                 | 50        | 3     |
| 1610 | June    | 3   | Don Pedro de Cuniga at his Return                                                                          | 35        | 5     |
| 1610 | June    | 18  | The Duke of Brunswick at his Return                                                                        | 35        | 5     |
| 1610 | August  | 20  | The Lord Wotton going over                                                                                 | 46        | 1     |
| 1611 | Sept.   | 5   | The Spanish Ladies coming over                                                                             | 28        | 2     |
| 1611 | Feb.    | 11  | The Marshal Laverdin at his Return                                                                         | 200       | 2     |
| 1612 | April   | 23  | The Duke of Bologna coming over                                                                            | 200       | 2     |
| 1612 | June    | 27  | Don Pedro de Cuniga coming over                                                                            | 50        | 3     |
| 1612 | August  | 24  | The Spanish Ladies returning                                                                               | 25        | 2     |
| 1612 | Octob.  | 16  | Don Pedro de Cuniga at his Return                                                                          | 53        | 3     |
| 1613 | April   | 25  | The Earl of Arundel and his Lady going over with the Lady Elizabeth Grace, for which I receiv'd Allowance. |           |       |

*A Consultation before the Lords of the Council in 1617. to which I was call'd, and a Proposition made, How the Pyrates of Ar-giers might be Suppress'd, and the Town attempted: My Advice to it was as follows:*

1. **F**irst, because an Expedition against the Pyrates could not be the Employment of one Fleet for the space of 6 Months only, but that it is rather like to prove a Work of Years; it is necessary that all the

Maritime Towns of Europe do contribute towards the Expence and Charge: For considering the Profit will be universal, if the Pyrates be destroy'd, there is no reason but the Charge should be as general.

Because

2. Because every Nation is not provided with swift Ships and Strength alike for such an Action, which are the Two principal Things, it is fit the Fleets that must second one another consist of *English, Spaniards, and Hollanders*, as most able to perform the Service, in respect of their Strength and swift Sailing, as aforesaid: And all other Towns and Countries bordering upon the Seas, that cannot furnish able Ships, to pay their Quota in Money.

3. This being agreed upon, it must be likewise resolv'd, That as the Charge is general, so the Gains may be equally shar'd and divided, which must arise from the Sale of such *Turks and Moors* as shall be taken for Slaves, and of such Goods as shall be recovered out of the Pyrates hands, where no Proprietor can challenge it.

4. The Ships employ'd to be rated after the Proportion of Men and Tunnage: (As for Example) So many Ships of his Majesty's as will carry 3000 Tuns Burthen, and 1200 Men; *Spain* and *Holland* sending Ships proportionably, will be a Force sufficient to encounter the whole number of the *Turkish* Pyrates.

5. It is not convenient to employ any Ships under 250 Tuns, nor above 300, the King's Ships excepted; because a lesser Ship losing company, will be a Prey to an Enemy; and if bigger than 300, it will fill up the quantity of Tunnage and number of Men, and be able to do little more Service than the lesser Ship; for the more number of Ships there are of 300 Tuns, they will be the abler to pursue the Pyrates, if they be forc'd to scatter; for every Ship must undertake a Pyrate, and if there be more Pyrates than Ships of ours, the overplus in number to ours will escape for want of Ships to follow them.

6. The Generals to execute Martial Law, and to determine their Authority before they meet, to avoid Questions and Differences that otherwise may happen.

7. To have safe Conducts to all Christian Ports, and Authority to be supply'd with Necessaries they shall want; as also Provision for the sick and hurt Men; and such Ships or Prizes as they shall take from the Pyrates, to be left in safe Custody in the said Ports.

8. To carry Money or Commodities to Re-victual, and all manner of Provisions to trim and careen their Ships, with one Master-Carpenter to have the over-seeing and ordering the State of the Shipping. It is better to carry Commo-

dities than Money for their Occasions, because of the loss between our Money and theirs; and besides, it will be a Gain to exchange Commodities.

9. To have a Treasurer to look to the Payment of Money, and a Stock for the Disbursement of all Necessaries for the Voyage.

10. To be extraordinary well provided with Muskets and Ammunition, and especially with Chain shot for the Ordnance; because, where there are many People, as commonly in Pyrates, Chain shot will make a great Slaughter amongst them, and such Confusion withal, where there are so few Sailors to tackle their Ships, that they will be taken upon the Stays, or lie upon the Sea at our Mercy.

11. To make the Ships Musket proof, which will be done with little Charge, and no Burden to the Ships, and to have all the spare Decks and other Things of weight taken down, and only put up, which will be a great ease to the Ships sailing.

12. Forasmuch as the chiefeft Care in a Sea Action consists in keeping the Designs secret, this Voyage requires special Secrecy; for there being several *Englishmen*, who have been too busy in Trading with Pyrates, and furnishing them with Powder and other Necessaries, it is to be fear'd those same *Englishmen* will endeavour to give the Pyrates Intelligence, lest they being taken, their wicked Practices should be discovered: For Prevention whereof, it is necessary that our Ships be provided under another Pretence than Pyrates, and the Captains themselves not to know of it till they are at sea.

13. That the *French* King do prohibit his Subjects, and especially those of *Marseilles* and *Toulon*, to Trade with Pyrates, who now make it a common and daily Course, and from whom they will have Notice of our Preparations, if they be not prevented.

14. The Place of Rendezvous to be at the Islands of *Bayn*, the hithermost part of *Spain*, as most convenient for all squadrons to meet without Suspicion. *England* and *Holland* may pretend several Enterprizes, without knowledge of one another till their meeting. The Squadron of *Spain* coming thither from *St. Lucar*, *Cadiz*, or *Lisbon*, will make the Pyrates of *Argiers* and *Tunis* think the Preparations cannot be against them, the *Spanish* Squadron being furnished in the nearest Part of *Spain* to them, and carry'd to the furthest from them.

15. The time of the year to be in *August* or *September*; for in those Months the Pyrates usually put to Sea, because of the Vintage, and other great Trades: Commonly in those Months the Fleets from the *Indies* return into *Spain*; as also in those Months the *Spanish* Gallies retire into Harbour, so that they need not fear them.

16. Our Fleet not to appear within the Streights until they hear of the Pyrates being at Sea; for having Intelligence of it, they dare not put out.

17. One great Advantage we shall have, is, That if they are at Sea, we shall still know where they are, by Ships we shall meet that have seen them: And observing the Winds, can conjecture where we shall have them: Or if we shall hear that they are scattered, we will do the like, and have Signs to know one another.

18. Another Advantage we shall have, is, That no Harbour can entertain or defend them from their going out till they return home; for all Christian Shores are their Enemies, and they will have none but *Tunis* and *Argiers* within the Streights, and *Sally* and *Santa Cruz* without the Streights, which are wide and open Roads, and apt to be surpris'd or burnt.

19. If we happen to miss them at Sea, they cannot escape at their return, if we spread two Squadrons 10 or 12 Leagues from *Argiers*; for they can have no Intelligence of us from the Shore, because we cannot be descri'd from thence.

20. That no Mariner or Sailor be ransom'd or set at liberty after they are taken; for taking away their Sailors, they cannot set a Ship to Sea; and we know their Numbers cannot be great, because it

is not above 12 years since the *English* taught them the use of Navigation.

21. Such Renegadoes as shall be taken, or such Christians as have willingly serv'd the *Turks*, to be executed immediately, for the Terror of others; for if Christian Sailors can be kept from them, their Piracy will cease, which otherwise will prove a great Detriment to the Christian Commonwealth.

22. That such an *English* General be appointed, and the Ships with that Care fitted, that may give Reputation to the Action; for considering the Reputation we have had in Sea Affairs, it behoves us upon such an Occasion as this, because we shall join with other Nations, to carry it with Honour.

23. That such a General be appointed, as shall have more Care to perform the Service than to his own Ease, Pleasure, or Ostentation: That he keep the Sea, and avoid seeking Harbour, unless Necessity compels him, and then not to let it be to the Leeward of *Argiers*; for so Pyrates may go in and out at their Pleasure: And moreover, That he enter no Harbour but such as have good Outlets, lest the Service be neglected, and he not able to get out.

24. And lastly, as the Ships shall grow foul, and be forc'd into Harbour to trim, that he do it with this Consideration, That he keep a Squadron out at Sea whilst the others are fitting in Harbour; and upon the return of the clean Squadron to Sea, whilst the other Squadron is in trimming, to put himself into one of those Ships; for it is not the part of a General upon any Occasion to leave his Fleet, tho' for a time he may leave his Ship.

### *The Danger and Uncertainty in Surprising Argiers, or taking it by Siege, or otherwise.*

Whoever knows *Argiers*, cannot be ignorant of the Strength of it: The Inhabitants consist principally of desperate Rogues and Renegadoes, that live by Rapine, Theft, and Spoil, having renounced God and all Virtue, and become Reprobates to all the Christian World. This Town is, and has been, of so great Annoyance to the Christians lying over-against it, that they have been oftentimes forc'd to attempt it by Surprise, but still have fail'd of their Designs, either by Intelligence the Town has had, or by their

Carefulness to defend it; for no Man but must think that a Town which depends on its own Strength, being in continual Danger of Stratagems, and sudden Surprises from the bordering Enemies, both *Moors* and *Turks*, who have the conveniency of Gallies to transport and land an Army at Pleasure, will be extraordinary watchful and circumspect to fortify it self, and withstand all Dangers that can befall it.

And if those Christian Countries that lie open to the Places aforesaid, could never



never prevail in their sundry Attempts, being nigh them, and having conveniency to embark and transport an Army without Suspicion or Rumour, and to be succoured by the Islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca* if necessity requir'd; but especially having Intelligence with some of the Town for the delivery of it, as about 14 years since it happen'd by the Practice of a Renegado, called *Spinola*, which fail'd; what hope have we then to prevail, who cannot so secretly furnish an Army and Fleet, but that all the World must ring of it in Gazettes and other Intelligences? Or if it be once known in *Marseilles*, it cannot be conceal'd many hours from *Argiers*, there being a settled Trade and Correspondence between those two Cities.

But allowing our Designs to be kept secret till the very time we arrive upon that Coast, yet the Warning will be sufficient for a Garrison Town of less Force, and fewer Men than *Argiers*, to prevent a Surprise.

In such a case as this the Time and Wind is principally to be regarded; for a large Wind that is good to carry a Fleet into a Landing-place in an open Bay, will be dangerous if it overblow upon a Lee Shore; and it will make so great a Sea, that it will be impossible for Men with their Furnitures and Arms to land without apparent Danger; and what Resistance a few Men are able to make, I refer to Consideration.

On the other side, if we ply into the Bay with a scant Wind, and it gives us a good Entrance to land, by reason of the smoothness of the Sea, yet the Defendants shall have these Advantages; they will defy us from the Shore a long time before we can draw near, and consequently time sufficient to withstand our Landing. With their Gallies they may cut off our Boats with our Men, if Ships ride not within command of the Shore; besides many other Casualties the Sea and Weather afford. Besides our Boats can land but the third part of our Men at once; by which Means we shall attempt to land but with the third part of our Army, and if we do it near the Town, they will still have warning enough; or if it be far off, the March will be inconvenient, and they warn'd by Fires.

But if we fail of Surprising *Argiers*, and attempt it by Siege, we have neither Necessaries to land our Ordnance, nor to draw it to a Place fit to raise a Battery, wanting Engines, Cattle, and other Conveniencies for that purpose. It must be

consider'd how to relieve our Siege, and defend our Besiegers against the Sallies of the Town, which have ten Men to one of ours: We must likewise forecalt, if we fail of the Attempt, to bring off our Men with Safety, as a Point of great Providence in a Commander.

Whosoever shall enterprise *Argiers*, his greatest Strength by Sea must be in Gallies, which can run near the Shore, and command the Landing-place with their Ordnance: Or if an Enemy draw down his Forces there to withstand him, he may soon bring about his Gallies, quit that Place, and land where he shall see no Danger; ships cannot do so when they are at Anchor, but must have Wind and Tide for their purpose.

But all I can say is nothing to what follows; for you must understand the *Argerines* are a sort of Outlaws, or Miscreants, that live in Enmity with all the World, acknowledging the Great Turk in some measure for their Sovereign, but no farther than they please themselves. Now that part of *Barbary* where *Argiers* is seated is a spacious and fruitful Country, and abounds in numbers of People; and tho' the King of it be a Mahometan, as well as the *Argerines*, yet they live in perpetual Hatred and War; but so that if either of them is attack'd by Christians, they will presently join as Partners in Mischief: And we shall no sooner land, but be welcom'd by 60 or 80000 of those ungodly People.

Having shew'd the Impossibility of taking *Argiers*, either by Surprise or Siege; now shall follow the little use we can make of it, either to annoy the King of *Spain*, or any other Potentate; as also the small Profit we shall make of it; no, not so much as to defray the Tenth part of the Garrison, or any hope to go farther with a Conquest.

If it be conceiv'd to lie conveniently to annoy the King of *Spain*, or any other Enemy, it will prove otherwise, considering the distance from *England* to be reliev'd, and the many Casualties we shall undergo at Sea, having neither the Christian nor Turkish Shore to friend, and yet we must sail in the *Mediterranean*, where we cannot pass unseen or unmet, because of its narrowness.

The Harbour of *Argiers*, which must entertain us, is of so small a Compass, that it will not receive above 20 Ships, which number, and no more, we must allow both to annoy and defend our selves from all Enemies, either Christians or Turks.

The



The Place affords neither Victuals, Powder, Maſts, Sails, Ropes, or other Neceſſaries that belong to Ships; and if there be but a want of the leaſt of them, *England* alone muſt ſupply them. Then conſider the Charge and Danger that is like to follow to this little purpoſe; for the Expence is certain, and leſs than 5000 Men cannot be allow'd for *Gariſon*, and the 20 Sail of Ships aforeſaid: The Profit and Advantage that can be made of it muſt be by Theft and Rapine at Sea, which the *Turks* cannot afford us, they having little or no Trade in Shipping. The Princes of *Italy* are in the ſame Condition; and therefore our only hope muſt depend on the Spoils of *Spain*, which we cannot expect in the *Streights*, they having no Trade of Importance upon thoſe Coaſts; and what we ſhall take without the *Streights*, we ſhall ſooner do it from *England* than *Argiers*, and Prizes ſo taken will be ſooner and ſafer brought for *England* than carried to *Argiers*, where they muſt paſs fo many Dangers, as I have ſaid before.

When this following Action againſt the *Turkiſh* Pyrates was in Agitation, it was ſolicited by the late Lord Admiral of *England*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, who not long after reſign'd his Office to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who being young, and infected with the Diſeaſe of Youth, to

hearken to baſe Flattery, gave ear to thoſe that thought to make uſe of his Favour with the King, and adviſ'd him to promote this Voyage, promiſing it ſhould redound to his everlaſting Honour at the firſt Entrance into his Place; but the Event of it ſhall appear to be cauſ'd by the ill Management of it; for no doubt but the Intention was to be commended, and the Management was to be blam'd.

Befides this, there were two other ill Undertakings, and as ill manag'd, which fell out in the following years, 1625. and 1628. whereof I deſign to give an Account one after another: The one was to *Cadiz*, the other to the Iſle of *Ré*; wherein our Ralhneſs appear'd greater than our Diſcretion, in bidding Deſiance to the too mighty and potent Princes of *Europe*, *Spain* and *France*, both at one time, without Help or Aſſiſtance from abroad, and under the uncertainty of Money, the then Parliament oppoſing his Maſteſty's Demands.

To the *Spaniards* we only ſhow'd our Teeth, with a deſire to bite; *France* provided for us, and pluck'd out our Teeth before we could bite, as is to be ſeen by the unfortunate and unadviz'd Expedition to the Iſle of *Ré* which left ſuch a Mark of Diſhonour upon our Nation, as former times could never be tax'd with.

### *The ill Manag'd Enterprize upon Argiers in the Reign of King James, and the Errors committed in it.*

Being to treat of the Two unfortunate Undertakings in the Reign of King *Charles*, occaſioned by ill Advice and Council, I muſt obſerve our Diſhonour at Sea began the way to future Miſfortunes, in the Enterprize againſt the Pyrates of *Argiers* in the Reign of King *James*; tho' I muſt ſay it was really undertaken by his Maſteſty with a Noble, Gracious, and Religious Intention; but through ill Management it prov'd no better than thoſe that enſu'd.

His Maſteſty conſidering the daily Complaints, not only of his own Subjects, but of all other Chriſtian People in *Europe*; many Thouſands of whom groan'd under barbarous Slavery, and were moſt cruelly treated by the *Turkiſh* Pyrates, ranging abroad without any Oppoſition, was mov'd to compaſſionate their Calamities, and out of a true Chriſtian Tenderneſs reſolv'd to endeavour to redreſs this Publick Grie-

vance, as appear'd by the chargeable Fleet he ſet out to ſuppreſs the Inſolencies of thoſe Miſcreants, who were the Ruine and Bane of the Chriſtian Commonwealth by Sea.

This Fleet, by Contract, was to receive ſome Aſſiſtance from the King of *Spain*, when it once appear'd on his Coaſt: But ſuch was the Miſgovernment of thoſe Ships, and the Negligence and Vain-glorious Humours of ſome to Feaſt and Banquet in Harbour, when their Duty was to clear and ſcour the Seas, (for indeed they carry'd themſelves more like amorous Courtiers than reſolute Soldiers) that they loſt the Opportunity which offer'd it ſelf of deſtroying thoſe helliſh Pyrates, as may be collected out of a Pamphlet publiſh'd at their return; to which I refer you; but with this Obſervation, That beſides their going and coming, they ſpent not 20 days at Sea whiſt

whilst they continued in the *Straits*, but retir'd into Harbour, where the Pyrates might find them, but not they the Pyrates.

This ill carried Action was a sufficient Subject of Scorn for all Nations to laugh at, considering the Reputation this Realm had gain'd in their former Expeditions by Sea. And yet the chief Actors in that Voyage, like Men naturally given to excuse their Errors, gave out to Justifie themselves, and it was afterwards believ'd by all Men, That the want of Authority, and their limited Commission, was the cause of their ill Success.

This Report was so universally credited, that I have often wonder'd with my self, that the State did not except against it for their own Honours and Reputation, if it had not been really so; for commonly, in such Cases, if a State do err in their Directions, they will cast it upon those that had the Execution, rather than that the Imputation should light upon them; and, indeed, this was the reason that carried me into the general Error of believing as others did, until I reflected upon the following Reasons.

The First was, That a Fleet of his Majesty's could not depart *England* without a Commission under the Great Seal. Secondly, I know that all Generals of Fleets have special Directions and Instructions to guide them: I know the Managing of such great Affairs by Land or Sea is committed to one Man alone. Thirdly, I consider'd that there were but Two Ends of this Imployment, (*viz.*) either Peace, or War: If Peace, I marvel that so great a Fleet should make an Overture of Peace, when a Pinnace and a Letter from the King was as authentick as the greatest Person, or the greatest Fleet his Majesty could send to Treat. Fourthly, I saw, that notwithstanding this friendly Overture of Peace, Ships us'd Hostility, took and destroy'd some Prizes, made an Attempt to destroy their Ships with Fire in Harbour, which fail'd; And whilst our Fleet remain'd upon that Coast, they carry'd themselves as Enemies.

And seeing, as I have said before, that either Peace or War must be the ground of their Imployment, that they attempted both, and prevail'd in neither, I know not how they can lay the blame on their want of Commission; but rather on their unprovident, negligent, and unconstant

Behaviour; But too true it is, that since that time, our poor *English*, and especially the People of the West Country, who Trade that way daily, fall into the hands of those Pyrates: It is too lamentable to hear the Complaints, and too intollerable to suffer the Misery that has befallen them; and all occasion'd, as they suppose, by the miscarriage of this unlucky Voyage of 1620.

This making up Three unfortunate Voyages, as you shall soon hear; as many more were perform'd with no better Success, Two of them under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the Third under the Lord of *Donibeg*. These Three had no Advantage of one another, for there was nothing done worth remembering; and therefore I can say no more, than to join with others, who desire, that the Subject may have Satisfaction what the Defects, Ignorance, and Errors of this Voyage were, that upon Examination all may appear, and every Man receive his Reward as he justly deserves.

His Majesty and State could not have been more honour'd, nor all in general better pleas'd; for People are persuaded that the Realm never enjoy'd braver and more Warlike Ships than now, Commanders of greater Antiquity and Valour, Seamen of greater Experience and Skill, more Abundance and Choice of Ammunition and Arms, greater Quantity of Victuals, and all things else to furnish such an Action; as I shall have occasion to make out hereafter.

Then would have appear'd the Weakness of a great Person in Authority, when being spoken to by one of greater Blood than himself, who friendly told him, he did not see a Man of Experience employ'd in the Fleet to *Cadiz*, which made him doubt of the good Success thereof: He answer'd not like one that thinks Example of more weight than Concept, but rudely, rashly, and disrespectfully, That they were all Fools who commanded in the Queen's time in comparison of those now employ'd. But it might have been more truly told him, That Men in Authority who govern more by Will and Chance than by Reason and Advice, are dangerous in a State; for nothing is so great a Weakness, as for a Man to think he knows much, when in effect he knows nothing at all.

*A Resolution of War with Spain, and what follow'd upon the Second Expedition to Cadiz in 1625. and in the Reign of King Charles the First.*

**K**ing James dying on the 25th of March 1625. left his Kingdom doubtful whether Peace or War should be embraced; having just occasion of unkindness offer'd, which was likely to turn to Hostility. For the Noble Prince his Son, now our blessed King, was disgusted at the delatory Courtes Spain us'd to defer the Marriage then in Treaty with his Sister; and his Highness's Journey into Spain gave him not the Satisfaction he expected; wherefore being sensible of the Injury done him, he could do no less in

return to it, but let Spain see its Error in the ill Usage given him, and accordingly in the year 1625. sent a Fleet to Sea to revenge himself upon them. But the Winter Season approaching (an ill time taken for such an Enterprize, besides some other Miscarriages which may be imputed to the want of Experience in the Commanders, as is to be seen in the Answer to a Book publish'd by the General at his return) it had no better Success than the Author hereof foretold before their going from hence.

*The Author's Opinion of that Expedition, which he writ to a Noble Friend of his before the Fleet sail'd; As also what he conceiv'd of the first News brought of the taking of the Fort of Cadiz, with hopes to possess the Town and keep it.*

*Noble S I R,*

**I** Have address'd to you my Opinion of this Secret and Conceal'd Fleet, whose Design and unknown Orders, give cause of Admiration, and consequently of Censure; every Man Judging as his Fancy leads him, but all concluding of Victory to us, and Ruine to Spain, whether it is conceiv'd to be intended by the Rendezvous of Ships and Men in the Western Parts; some threatening Portugal, some the Islands, others the Bay of Cadiz, and City of Seville, others the State of Genoa, and Islands adjacent, some the West-Indies, and the Fleet from thence expected.

I will begin with Portugal, as the Countrey nearest us, and upon which most Mens Opinions are settled; having Experience of the Force of that Kingdom by an Attempt formerly made in the year 1589.

You must conceive that Portugal fronts upon the Heart of Spain, and that Spain hath sundry Entrances into it, as namely by the South and West sea upon the East-Castile, upon the North Galicia, and towards the South Andalusia. Portugal is far inferior to those Countreys in Strength, and a Means not only to keep the People in Obedience, but to give present Aid and Assistance against Foreign Invasions.

I confess if our Actions in 89. had been well carry'd, we had spoil'd and ruin'd the City of Lisbon, where they had been surpriz'd before we had been suspected. But we could expect no other Advantage besides taking and destroying the City; for though the Merchandize in it was of an inestimable value, yet neither could we transport them to our Ships, nor our Ships repair to receive them, the Passage being stopp'd by the Castle of St. Julian and Belem.

Our Hope was as little to settle Don Antony for King, the Portugueses being a Multitude of poor Spirited People without Arms, or Hearts, that further than in their Tongues and Wishes, would not afford a Finger to Fight.

And besides the barrenness of the Countrey is such, that it affords not Corn enough, nor other Provisions, were it not for the help of the Sea. And I dare boldly aver, the Kingdom had better fail of their Trade to the East-Indies, than of their Fishing for Pilchers upon their Coast. And let this be the first Consideration how an Army can subsist in that Countrey, and the rather by the Proof we had of it in 89.

Moreover, by possessing Lisbon and the Northern Part of Portugal, we were nothing nearer enjoying the South Part, which

which yields greatest plenty of Food, Cities, and Nobility; for from *Lisbon* we were to begin as it were a new Conquest, and to pass Three Leagues to the *Alenja*

side over-against *Lisbon*, where the *Spanish* Gallies which were then there would have been our destruction in Landing.

*The State of Portugal in the Year 1625. compar'd with the Year 1589.*

**I**N our Enterprize of 89. we had no cause to complain of Fortune, for she gave us a happy entrance into the Kingdom by the Surprize of *Peniche* Castle, that afforded us a Landing; and after a Peaceable March to *Lisbon*, where we found the City unarm'd and unprovided, the Castle excepted; but yet our Success prov'd miserable and unhappy.

We can scarce hope for the like Fortune now, their Forts being better Arm'd, and their Forces better ordered by the late warning they have had.

I perceive, the River of *Tagus* excepted, there are but Two Places which advantage us in Landing, which if we fail of, our Enterprizes are frustrated: The one is *Peniche*, the other *Cascais*. The Ports to the Northward of *Peniche* are in the bottom of the Bay of *Portugal*, a Place all Ships will shun and avoid, and too far distant from *Lisbon* to March. Those to the Southward of *Cascais* are on the other side of *Lisbon* and the River *Tagus*, which I have shew'd the impossibility to pass over; and had not the Duke of *Alva* provided to pass his Army in Gallies upon his taking of *Portugal*, he might at that time have possessed the South Parts of *Portugal*, and have left the North Part to the *Portuguese* themselves.

*Peniche* has a small Harbour only capable of Barques and Fishermen; the other Two are open Roads, and not secure from a Southerly or Westerly Wind. Our Landing must be in one of these Two open Bays, where Ships lie subject to Southerly Winds, which will hazard the destruction of them if they come with violence.

The Nature of the Shore is disadvantageous to the Invader in Landing, and advantageous to the Enemy in Resisting.

Our Means to Land must be in our own Boats, that cannot contain the number of our Soldiers at Thrice Ferrying, and thereby we shall not bring the Third Part of our Men to fight at the time of our greatest need.

A Fleet coming to an Anchor that distance from the Shore, that Ships cannot

command their Landing with their Ordnance, the Gallies will cut off our Boats, and utterly defeat us, as they had done at *St. Sebastians Point*, in our Journey to *Cadiz*, if we had attempted it as it was directed.

We neither having Castle nor Harbour, our Field Pieces cannot be landed, which must be the Strength to force the Castle; the want whereof was our loss of *Lisbon* in 1589. All these Reasons have I given in the Instance of our Landing at *Algiers*.

My Second Observation is the State of *Portugal* since the year 1589. when we attempted it. The *Portuguese* Nation in their Nature are better reconcil'd to the *Spaniard* than they have been, and not without Reason grounded upon Necessity; for they have no hope ever to recover their Loss in the *East-Indies* or *Brazile*, or to enjoy what they possess, but by the help and force of *Spain*.

Secondly, The Nobility, Gentry, and others in *Portugal*, that were most discontented with the Managing of things in those days, are consum'd and dead; and their Descendents, who never knew other times, have fram'd themselves up to it, and obtain favour of the King in their Employments; nor does the King himself make any difference betwixt them and his other Subjects.

Thirdly, The *Portuguese* are more exasperated against the *English* than they have been, by the Spoils done them at Sea, and the ill Usage of them in the *East-Indies*.

Fourthly, Many *Portuguese* in those days were transported by their Love to *Don Antony*; others believ'd in his Title, but the most dislike'd to be under the *Spanish* Government. Since which *Don Antony* is dead, his Issue gives little hope for them to rely on; but especially the Children of the now pretended Prince; and the Father himself since this was written, is repair'd to the Arch-Duke, which takes away all Comfort from the discontented *Portuguese*.

Fifthly, It is worth Observation, that in our Voyage to *Portugal* in 1585, our Army consisted of 14000 brave Soldiers, 4000 choice Seamen, our design being to settle that King, who had been formerly Crown'd in that Kingdom; and yet such was the Condition of the People of that Country, that there was neither Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, Baron, Knight,

or Gentleman, repared to him, or shew'd himself of his Party, except only a mean Knight in calling, named *Dufarte Pais*, with whom I was after fellow Prisoner in *Lisbon*, his Commitment being for that offence, (*viz*) for flying to *Don Antonio*; he would often complain to me of his Folly, and commend the King's Mercy.

### The Islands.

FROM *Portugal* I will shape my Course for the Islands, as well the *Canaries* as *Tercera*, tho' I will say little of the *Canaries*, it being an Action fitter for Ten Ships and a Thousand Soldiers to attempt, than so glorious an Army as is now intended. I may say less for the Island of *Azores*, the impregnable Isle of *Tercera* excepted, which giveth Reputation to the rest.

All these Islands, as well the one as the other, cannot boast of one Harbour to entertain Ships, but open Bays, subject to all Dangers, and outerly Winds, which many Vessels of great value have felt, that have there perish'd.

The Island of *Tercera* by Nature and Situation exceeds all other Islands in the *Streights*, being encompass'd about with mighty high Cliffs, a few Bays excepted, which are fortify'd by Art to prevent an Enemy's Landing.

As well that Island as the rest, are shore deep, and no possibility of Anchoring, but close on board the Land; the Ground Rocky, that if it fret the Cable, the waves of the Sea will force a Ship on Shore; or being near the Land and a Gale of Wind coming off from Sea, that a Ship cannot claw it off, but must of necessity be wreck'd; both which my Lord of *Cumberland* had proof of in the *Victory*, a Ship Royal of the *Queens*, which being at an Anchor at *Flores*, and the Weather calm, his Cable was cut with the Rocks; and had it not been for the help of his Boat and mine that tow'd him off, he had been forc'd to Shore.

After that, being at an Anchor at *Fayall*, which Island he took one day many of the Principal Men on Shore being at Dinner with him, suddenly the Wind chop'd up Southerly, which forc'd him from his Anchor, and with great and apparent Peril he doubled the Point of the Land, or else he had perish'd.

No Man that knows those Seas will advance an Enterprize upon the Islands now towards Winter; for in *August* begin their Storms, and commonly last nine Months

with great violence: For which cause they are held the most unconflant Seas in the World; and I say nothing that I will not aver by Proof and Precedent.

*Don Pedro de Valdes*, who was taken Prisoner in the Action of 88, for *England*, was commanded with certain Ships and 600 Soldiers, to repair to the Islands, before *Tercera* had yielded to the King of *Spain*, there to guard and defend all the Ships coming from either of the *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*; his Commission gave him no absolute Authority to Land, but yet finding an Opportunity to put his Soldiers ashore, with a Determination to fortify a Landing Place which seem'd to be open for his Advantage, immediately thereupon the Wind shifted, and forc'd him to Sea, leaving his Men to the mercy of the Islanders: As the Wind rose, the Surges did the like on Shore, that his Boats durst not put in with the Land, nor he approach to nigh it with his Ships, as to give Succour to his Men with his Ordnance, by means whereof they were pitifully massacred, not one of them returning.

In my Lord of *Essex* his Voyage to those Islands, he Landed and took *Villa Franca*, a Town in the Island of *St. Michael*, which afforded him not so much as his trouble was to Land. But when he came to Embark his Men again, the Wind began to blow, which if it had done but three hours sooner, it would have forc'd his Ships to Sea, and left his Troops ashore, both he and they being slenderly provided of Victuals, and uncertain of the Ships return, the Weather being so Unconflant and Outrageous at that time of the Year. My self was witness of this, as well as of that of my Lord of *Cumberland*, in 1589.

The Marquis of *Sancta Cruz* had fail'd of taking *Tercera*, if he had not had more help by his Gallies in landing his Men, than by his Ships and Boats: But to speak the truth, *June* and *July* prov'd extraordinary fair, to his great advantage.

The



The twelve Gallies he carried from Spain were the first Vessels of that kind ever seen so far in the Ocean; the Prows of those Gallies dismounted a piece of Ordnance on Shore, that secur'd their Landing, and were ready upon that Accident with celerity to land their Men, which was the first step to their Victory that follow'd.

The Town of *Angra*, which is the Head and Principal of all the rest, by help

of the Point of *Brazil*, is made the most impregnable Situation in the World; then what hope have we, if we were ashore, to surprize it, or by Siege to take it, the Seas being as I have said before so unconstant, our Ships keeping so far off that should yield a Supply? Especially the *Spaniards* having the Rode of *Angra*, they may always relieve the Town in despite of us, or any Force we can make by Sea.

### The Coast of Spain.

Leaving the Islands, I will repair once more to the main Land of *Spain*, and arrive at the Bay of *Cadiz*, a Place fatal to the *Spaniards* and fortunate to us, by two Attempts made upon it, the one in 87 by Sir *Francis Drake*, the other in 96. by the two Lords Generals, the Earl of *Effex* and the Lord Admiral.

These two Expeditions alone, did twenty times more prejudice, and impoverish'd the *Spaniards* more than all other Attempts of ours in our Wars. *Drake* had the Spoil Sacking and Burning of Thirteen thousand Tun of Shipping, most of them laden with Provision for an intended Fleet against *England*, which being this Year by Sir *Francis Drake's* good Fortune diverted, was the following year 88. attempted.

In the second, the Lords had the destroying of 55 great Ships; the Galeons of War excepted, all the rest were richly laden, and ready in two days to sail to the *Indies*.

I love not to tax Dead Men, tho' in truth I must say there was great Negligence, that those Ships were not as well possess'd and enjoy'd by us, as destroy'd by the Enemy.

But I must tell this pretended Fleet of ours, that tho' no Place gives us better advantage to annoy the King of *Spain*, than the Bay of *Cadiz*, because of the breadth thereof, which cannot be fortify'd to impeach our Entrance, yet shall we now vainly undertake an Attempt upon it, the Ships of the *Indies* being long before they can arrive, departed, for commonly they let not *Midsummer-Day* pass before they set sail.

I must a little digress, and shew how much our two great Lord's were abus'd in their Attempt upon *Cadiz* in 1596.

They were made believe the Taking of it was feasible, the Honour great, the Wealth inestimable, and the Damage of

the Enemy beyond all the rest; never dreaming of that which gave Glory to the Enterprize, which was the Shipping we there found; for had it not been for our destroying the Fleet, tho' otherwise no profit to us, the Lords had return'd with the bare Taking of *Cadiz*, which had given them no Reputation, but rather have brought their Judgment into question, for so mean a Design.

As for the Feasableness of Taking it, if we had Landed at *St. Sebastian*, where our Projectors of the Voyage directed, not a Man had return'd; for besides the strong Fortifications made against us, four Gallies were appointed to have cut off our Boats and Men, as we should have Landed, our Ships lying without command of them or their Shore.

The Wealth found in *Cadiz* was so small, considering it was carry'd away the day before in the Gallies, (the two Galeons we brought from thence excepted) the Queen saw not one Penny towards her Charge: Nay, I dare be bold to aver, the meanest of twenty Ships there burnt was of more value than the whole Town, and by us neglected, as I have said before: For upon my Reputation, I avow, that I advis'd my Lord of *Effex*, the same morning he arriv'd at *Cadiz*, to seek rather to possess himself of the Ships than Town; alleging that it was the Ships afforded both Wealth and Honour, for that Riches in Ships could not be conceal'd, as in Towns it might: And that Ships being brought for *England*, they were always in the Eyes of the People to behold them, and put them in remembrance of the Exploit in gaining them; as perhaps the Town soon won, would not be long enjoy'd, and quickly forgotten. All this I have declar'd where I treated of the Voyage to *Cadiz* 96. in the former Book.



## Andalusia and Sevil.

**I**F an Invasion upon the Continent of Spain be intended, and especially upon *Andalusia* and *Sevil*, as the Country of all Spain that flows with Milk and Honey, in respect of the Soil and Trade, there ought to be Consideration of the Place of Landing; the distance and wearisomness of the March in an unsufferable parching Sun, which our unexperienc'd Soldiers can never endure: Besides, the provisions of Victuals, of Carriages, and all other Necessaries, must be thought of, which we are wholly unprovided of.

I will not much insist upon the Attempt, because I think it is much less reasonable than any of the rest, first, in seeking to Invade a Country where we have neither Friend nor Faction, but shall find their Hands and Hearts all join to repulse us; a Country populous, and the more for their mighty and continual Trade, fronting

upon their Enemies in *Barbary*, which makes them ready to receive every Alarm, and put themselves under Arms. If we believe History, and not above 100 years before Spain was grown Great by their *Indies*, the *Moor* of *Granada* had often more Men by five degrees to invade *Andalusia*, out of their bordering Territories, than we carry, and could not prevail; then what hope can we expect, Spain being since that time so mightily increased in Greatness and Wealth.

It seems we make less account of the Strength of Spain, than of any other Country of Europe; for I am persuaded no Kingdom having warning of the approach of an Enemy, is so unprovided, that they will suffer 12 or 14000 Men to March quietly 40 or 50 Leagues into their Country.

## The Streights.

**F**ROM hence I will sail into the *Streights* towards the Port of *Genova*, which it is suppos'd the French, we, and the rest of the League, will possess our selves of, and give a further Entrance into *Italy*.

If this be intended, as indeed it is not probable, the Invader ought to have two principal Considerations, without which a Fleet and Army goes in perpetual Peril: The one is to be defended by a safe Port to entertain their Ships; the other, that it be not far from home, but with care to be continually supply'd and reliev'd; for where Soldiers are transported far by Sea, Ships cannot contain Victuals to maintain them; and to hope for Succour in the Country invaded, were too desperate a Thought.

The Service I conceive the Ships could perform, our Soldiers being Landed, is to Beleaguer *Genova* by Sea, riding with our Ships in the face of the Town. This, as all things else, I refer to Consideration, my dist being no more than to relate the true State of things, for Men of better Capacity than my own to judge of.

Whereas I advis'd, as a main thing of Providence, not to attempt the Invasion of a Country, without gaining a Port for the safety of Shipping; therefore I must say our Design upon *Genova* is not without great Hazard and Danger, being hopeful of a Harbour nearer than *Marseilles* in France, 100 Leagues distant from thence.

In Anchoring before *Genova* to Beleaguer it, we shall lie open to the Sea and a Southerly Wind, which makes the Hazard no less than the two Attempts upon *Argiers*, opposite to it, the one by *Hugo de Moncada*, the other by *Charles V.* both which were overthrown by Storms at Sea; and there is no difference betwixt the two Actions, but that the Southerly Winds are death upon the Christian Shore, as the Northerly upon the Coast of *Barbary*. And the greatest conflict our Fleet is to endure, is against the Rage of the Sea.

I do not conceive we shall either hurt or damage the City of *Genova* by this Adventure of ours; for in Anchoring near the Shore, the Lanthorn of *Genova* will bear us from the Road; if further off, we cannot hinder the Galleys going in and out, but they will be able to Relieve the Town in spite of us; besides, other Stratagems may be us'd by Galleys to fire us: I confess, if *Corfica* or *Sardinia* could be surpriz'd, they would yield us Relief and Refreshment, with good Harbours for our Safety.

We have found by our unlucky and unadvis'd Voyage to *Argiers*, how unable our Bodies are to endure that Coast, by the Sickness we found, tho we had the help of the main Land of Spain and the bordering Islands, to give us Relief, which now we shall fail of: The excessive Heat ashore; the change of the Air, and the

alteration

alteration of Food, will cause a most lamentable Mortality and Sickness.

And if the King of Spain in the mean time, upon the return of his Fleet from Brazil, shall arm to Sea, and take Advantage of our weakness and want, and in such narrow Seas as the *Streights*, which

are like a Pond, where Fleets meeting cannot be avoided: Or if with that Navy or any other, the Spaniards shall send to attempt Ireland in the absence of our Ships, I hold it Dangerous, and worthy to be had in Consideration.

### The West-Indies.

I Will not leave my Voyage till I have visited the *West Indies*, that I may relate my Opinion of those Parts, as well as of the rest that went before: Many are ignorantly carry'd away with the Name of *India*, and the Spoil we shall there commit, thinking it will afford Wealth and Riches to the King and Kingdom to maintain a War, and Preferment and Gain to the Undertakers; not valuing nor fearing the King of Spain's Force in those Parts to resist us.

But for the better satisfaction of the Ignorant, who are thus vainly carry'd away with the Concept of our Actions, I will shew the true State of the *Indies*, and the Spaniards inhabiting, thereby comparing times past, when we had Wars, with the time present when we cover Wars.

I confess, that in the year 1585. when the War began, and Sir Francis Drake possess'd himself of *Santo Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and *Saint Iago*, her Majesty had a notable Opportunity, by keeping those Places to annoy the Spaniards, and encroach upon their *Indian Territories*.

First, In respect Her Majesty in those days was rich, and her Subjects no less able than willing to contribute to what she propos'd, they were so much devoted to her in their Hearts.

Secondly, In point of Reputation as well as Profit, it behov'd them to maintain those Places after they were taken, as a Motive to encourage them to go on with a Victory thus begun.

Thirdly, Her Majesty in those days might have drawn such Conditions as she pleas'd from the States of *Holland*, who were then at her Mercy, for presently enforc'd the Earl of *Leicester's* going over to protect them; so that she might have bound them to her with their own Enterprizes upon the Spaniards, whereas from that time till the Year 1602, when the Queen died, we see, that notwithstanding we were drawn into the War by them, yet they Traded peaceably into the King of Spain's Dominions, and never offer'd to annoy the Spaniards, by any Acts of Hostility at Sea, but supply'd them with Ships and Intelligence against us.

Fourthly, If we had kept footing in the *Indies*, it would have shaken the Fidelity of the Portuguese in the *East-Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*, which Countries were lately become Obedient and Subject to Spain; but wistful, so discontented in each Place, that it had been an easie thing to have made a Combustion in these several Countries, whilst the Spaniards had been taken up in the *Indies* and *Holland*.

Fifthly, The King of Spain in those days was altogether unfinish'd with Ships and Mariners; for till we awak'd him, by the daily Spoils we committed upon his Subjects and Coasts, he never sought to encrease his Forces by Sea.

Sixthly, He thought himself so secure in his *Indies*, no Enemy having ever appear'd in those Seas before, and thought them so far from any hostile Enterprize, that he little fear'd what could be there offer'd.

But leaving our Opportunities and Advantages as Negligences or Ignorances of times past, let us enter into the state and condition of our Attempts, as they are now to be undertaken and follow'd.

Whoever makes an enterprize on a Town in *America*, with an Intention not to keep it, will do no more than a malicious Person that seeks the destruction of his Neighbour, in setting his House a fire, without any other prospect in so doing but Mischief and Revenge.

I confess we shall damnify the Inhabitants of the Town so sack'd and spoil'd, as the owner of a House burnt will be damnify'd; but it is no more loss or prejudice to the King of Spain, or to the bordering Countries, than to the Neighbour of the Man that shall have his House burnt, for every one fears his own particular Loss; And whereas the Matter of the House and People in it, are often so suddenly surpriz'd, that they have not time or leisure to save any part of their Goods, after the fire is kindled, it is otherwise in a Town that is to be surpriz'd by Sea; for the Inhabitants will destroy Ships, before they approach the Shore, and either provide to ward them that Land, or to leave and quit the

Town,

Town, and bury or carry away their Wealth; for notwithstanding the several Towns taken by us in time of War, as well in the *Indies* as other places, I dare be bold to say the Wealth found in them did not countervail the 20th part of the Charge of the Voyage, as I have shew'd in the First Book.

The State of the Towns in the *West-Indies* near the Sea, is as follows. If they be of strength they Arm and Fortify themselves so, that they do not fear a sudden Assault of an Enemy; and for a long Siege they well know, the Invaders cannot be provided, because it is so far from home, where Victuals and all things else will quickly waste and be consum'd.

Or suppose, upon their first Landing, they possess themselves of some Cattel, which is all the Victuals they can expect in those parts; you must understand that no Flesh in the *Indies* will take Salt, or continue Man's Meat above 3 or 4 Hours, so that our present Relief will be little; and in the mean time we shall spend our Store on board, and become miserable for want of Sustainance.

Such Towns as are weakly provided for Defence in those parts, they never trust with Wealth of value, but are ready to quit them, and carry or bury their Goods; so that if the Town be taken, their loss will only be of a few slight Houses which are soon re-edify'd again.

If we think to inhabit and dwell in such Towns as shall be surpriz'd, we ought to consider the following Mischiefs and Inconveniences.

1. The First is the distance from *England*, and to compute the time they may be supply'd and succour'd from thence.
2. The casuaty of the Sea, and the danger of sickness which Northern Bodies are subject to in hot Countries.
3. The number of *Spaniards* in those places, their Strength, and in what time they may be drawn together.
4. The keeping us from Victuals, and driving their Cattel up the Country, where it will be in vain for us to pursue them.
5. The building of Sconces, and keeping us in Towns like Prisoners, that we shall not be able to make any Sallies upon them, or to pass into the Country to annoy them.
6. The small distance from *Spain* to give them Succours, and the certainty of the Winds from thence to the *Indies*, which many times makes the Journey shorter and easier than from *Dover* to *Plymouth*.

The Country, the Streights, and the By-ways, all known to the *Spaniards*, and not to us, will much advantage them.

8. But perhaps all Men will not be satisfi'd with Truth or Reason; for some are of such a nature as to rely more upon Opinion and Fortune, than upon Proof. But for the better satisfaction of such, I will collect and repeat the Success of our Enterprizes upon Towns, in time of War, as well in the *Indies* as other places, and make them Judges of their future hopes, by looking back upon times past.

And I will begin with *Santo Domingo*, *Cartagena* and *St. Augustine*, surpriz'd by Sir Francis Drake before they could be Warn'd or Arm'd, and yet (the Ordnance excepted) the Wealth of them did not countervail the 40th part of the Charge of the Fleet.

*Puerto Rico*, taken by my Lord of Cumberland, prov'd so poor, that the Adventurers had good cause to repent their Designs upon Towns, for it afforded them little in comparison of their Expence.

There was a Town surpriz'd in the Island *Trynidad*, by Sir John Burrowes; and another in the *Margarita* by Sir Walter Raleigh. *Comenagota* was taken by Capt. Preston; and *Vera Cruz* by Capt. Parker all which did not afford to much Wealth, as would reimburse the Adventurer.

*Portobello* and *Nombré de Dios* were taken by Sir Francis Drake, that Voyage when he dyed. Instead of Riches, they afforded him a most miserable and infectious Sickness: but for Wealth they yielded none: The same Town of *Portobello* was after taken by Capt. Parker, with as little profit to him as the other; the same Captain also took *Campeche* in *New Spain*, which afforded him no more Wealth than the rest.

There were divers Towns taken at *Cabo Verde* in several Voyages, and in the *West Indies*, *Rio de la Hacha*, *Capeia*, *Santa Marta*, *Puerto Santo*, *St. John Bellona*, *Tupuecco*, *Vera*, and several Houses and Farms burnt or ransom'd.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in his unfortunate Attempt upon *St. Tome* and *Guiana*, which was his own Ruine and his Son's Death, and yielded only stinking Tobacco, a Commodity that could not be convey'd away, because of the Bulk; and his Voyage prov'd much less than Smoke.

And if we Sail further, and through the streights of *Magellan*, and pass into *Peru*, thinking there to find Silver and Gold, as the Well head from whence it springs; Let us ask Mr. *Candish*, if he were now living, what Wealth *Marmarano*, *Areca*, *Santa Maria*, *Pisca*, *Perruca*, *Chepea*, *Paita*, the Island of *Poma*, *Acaulca*, the Port of *Navidad*, the Port of *St. Jago*, and the Island of *St. Andrea*, and

and other places yielded him, which he burnt, because they would not be Ransom'd, tho' he requir'd not much more than Victuals for their Redemption; which proves my former Discourse, that the Spaniards little esteem'd their Houses, and may easily convey away their Wealth, upon the approach of an Enemy.

And if we come nearer home, I pray you what did the Sack of *Cadiz* afford the Queen; or the *Canary Islands*, or *St. Tome* the *Hollanders*; or the Island of *Fuayal* the Lord of *Cumberland*; and after the Earl of *Essex*, for it was twice taken; or *Villa Franca*, or *Faro* by him taken, or two or three Forts taken upon *Cape St. Vincent*; or *Cape Saere* by *Drake*; or *Peniche*, and other Towns in *Sir John Norris* his March to *Lisbon*, and the Suburbs thereof. And in the same Voyage *Drake* with his few Forces took *Cascais*. I omit *Lancarote*, and many other places seiz'd upon by private Ships; and we may conclude that our Actions prov'd the ruine of some, with-

out any great advantage to our selves. And this shall suffice for our Attempts upon Towns in the Queens time.

But indeed, if ever *England* will annoy the States of *Spain*, and make them feel the smart of a War with us, it must be by obstructing their Trade by Sea; for all other Spoils are nothing in comparison of it, as I have before shew'd: For Wealth in Ships can neither be conceal'd nor imbezeld, as we have had proof by three several Carracks by us taken, the Wealth of each of which, was equal to the value of all the Towns, putting them together; and how to effect it, you will find in my First Book, to which I refer you.

Thus much I writ to an honourable Friend of mine, as I formerly said, before the setting out of the unhappy Fleet to *Cadiz*, in 1625. which Friend of mine is ready to justify and produce, if need require, the Copy of this I have here inserted word by word.

*Upon the news of the arrival of our Ships at Cadiz, with the taking a Fort, and afterwards the Town, intending to keep it, I added this as follows.*

THE Fort I conceive to be *Pantal*, the Place where we Landed when we formerly took *Cadiz*, above 3 Miles distant from it by Land.

I should be glad to hear they had taken the Bridge of *Swazo*, which passes between the main Land and the Island where *Cadiz* stands; for by that Bridge Succour must come to relieve the Island and Town, or obstruct any such Relief, if an Enemy get Possession of it; and therefore we having no News of the Surprize of that Bridge, I doubt the Truth of the Taking the Town.

We know *Cadiz* is strongly fortify'd since we enjoy'd it, and the rather out of a Fear they conceive of the *Turkish* Pyrates, who since they have learnt the Art of Navigation, which before they were Ignorant in, have of late made many Attempts upon the Continent of *Spain*, to the great hurt and Spoil of the Inhabitants.

And if the Spaniards have not carefully fortify'd *Cadiz*, which lies near and more open to the *Turks* than all other Towns in *Spain*, they deserve all the Mischief that can betal them.

If we fail of surprizing *Cadiz*, and be forc'd to Besiege it, these Dangers following may ensue

1. The Force of *Andalusia* and all the bordering Countries, which yield more good Men and Horses than all the other parts of *Spain*, will come down upon us.

2. Secondly, the Spaniards keeping the Bridge of *Swazo*, will bring multitudes of People to Besiege us; and with their Horse cut off all Succours sent from our Ships, which must only afford us Relief; for the Island yields nothing of it self.

3. If we so begirt the Town by Land, that we permit no entrance into it that way, yet we cannot do the like by Water; for with their Gallies they will daily Renewe it in despite of us, Port *St. Mary* in the Continent lying opposite to it, which makes me hopeless of taking it by Siege, if we fail of a Surprize.

4. One other Reason I have to mistrust it is not taken, which is, that the news of taking the Town and Fort would have come all together; for if all were not done at one instant, I much fear the Success, for the Reasons aforesaid, and by the example of us in 1596.

*The Second Rumour was, of Keeping Cadiz when Taken.*

THE Question of Keeping Cadiz in 1596. was long Debated by the Two Lords Generals, and the most experienc'd Soldiers of that time, whom I think all Men will allow, this Age doth not equal. The manner how to supply it out of *Barbary* and *England* was thought of; and Sir *Edward Hobby* was to undertake an Embassy to the King of *Morocco* to that purpose.

But to use the words of the Author who writ that Voyage, as it is set down in the Chronicle. He says, there was a great Dispute about the keeping of *Cadiz*, and the Opinion of all old Soldiers and Seamen asked; but because it appear'd not how it might at all times be reliev'd with Men, Ammunition and Victuals, and other Causes best known to the Generals, it took not effect.

It was then Discus'd and Disputed by Men of Experience, as I have said, and concluded upon mature Deliberation, that it was not possible to keep the Town: I would gladly know what Reason Men have to induce them to it more now than at that time; but especially, when I see never a Man call'd upon for Advice, whose Opinion was thought worthy to be taken at that time.

If it was then held impossible to Relieve it. I now compare and collect the Reasons of times past we had to hold it, with the time present, if we had it.

1. Our Army was then stronger, in that most of our Men were old Soldiers, and better experienc'd than those that are in this Action.

2. They were healthful in Body, and victorious in taking the Town, and Bridge, with little loss; which is a great encouragement to People that undertake an Enterprize.

3. The Bridge of *Swazo* was taken, and possess'd by us, so that we might keep the Town from Relief by Land, as we had done with our Fleet by Sea.

4. We knew the King of *Spain* was unfurnish'd with Shipping to hinder our Designs; we having burnt and taken 59 Vessels of his and his Subjects in that Harbor.

5. The Kingdom of *Barbary* was then in Peace amongst themselves, and would have rejoyc'd at the occasion to have aided us against *Spain*: And since there have mortal Wars continu'd betwixt the succeeding Kings of that Kingdom, to the wast-

ing the most part of their People and Food the Earth affords.

6. In those Days the King of *Barbary* had three Maritime fronting Town upon *Cadiz*, as namely *Alarache*, *Sally*, and *Mamora*; since which time two of them are possess'd by the *Spaniards*, and only *Sally* remains to that King, 40 or 50 Miles further from *Cadiz*, than the other two, and has a Harbor only for small Vessels, with a dangerous Bar at the entrance of it.

I must now say as I said to the Earl of *Essex*, when him self, Sir *Francis Vere* and I, stood upon the Beach of *Cadiz*, and saw the Gallies in their flight to *Ruby*, after their escape through the bridge of *Swazo*. I told him he had lost his opportunity of keeping *Cadiz*, shewing how much the Gallies would have avail'd him, if he had kept the Town, and the annoyance he would find by their escape; for with these Gallies he might have Transported all necessaries from *Barbary*, whereas they would now be able to cut off such single and small Ships, as should be sent thither for Relief.

In the year 1596. and many Years before, the *French* King and we were in War with *Spain*, and aided one another; and if the King of *France* had seen us have footing in *Spain*, it would have been a motive to have diverted him from his Peace with *Spain*, which in less than two years after he concluded. Our design was to keep *Cadiz*, to exchange for *Calais* in *Picardy*, not long before taken by the *Spaniards*; and no doubt but the King of *Spain* would willingly have consented to it; as thinking it better policy that *England* should enjoy *Calais* than *France*; for they well knew they could no longer hold it, than the Wars continu'd between them and *France*, and that Peace would cause the Restitution of it.

They likewise knew that if *England* possess'd it, there would be a perpetual jealousy and dislike, between *France* and *England*, which would prove their Secularity.

Besides, a Treaty being set on foot, tho' but to exchange those two Towns, yet it might be an Introduction to a Peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*; which if it had taken good effect, Her Majesty had not needed to have Reliev'd *Ireland* with so great Hazard and Charge, as afterwards she did, by reason of the Aid *Tyrone* had from *Spain*, when he was ready to sink, and



and almost forc'd to yield to Her Majesty's Mercy; which Enterprize from *Spain* brought the Queen into such a Straight before her Death, that she was compell'd to pardon him, tho' much against her Will.

And this shall suffice by way of Comparison betwixt our holding *Cadiz* in times past with the present, and the Advantages that might have ensu'd by keeping it.

I doubt not, but as the keeping of *Cadiz* was thought of before the departure of our Fleet, (if it should be taken) to the Reasons for keeping it were no less discuss'd; for it is a Maxim, That no Place in another Country far from home is worth keeping, that will not defray the Charges of maintaining it, unless it be for Security, or to give a farther Entrance into a Country.

In my Discourse where I treat of our Attempt upon *Genova*, I advis'd, as the principal Thing in an Invader, to possess himself of a Harbour for the Safety of his Shipping; wherein I mean not only from the Weather, but for securing themselves from an Enemy.

I will therefore distinguish betwixt an Harbour, that is to be fortify'd on both sides by him that possess it, and an open Bay, such as *Cadiz*, that is 10 or 12 Miles in breadth, so that whosoever is Master, and strongest in Shipping, has the Command of it, and the Ships within it.

If we intend to keep *Cadiz*, we must be sure, in our Supplies, to Master the *Spaniards* in Ships, by reason of the breadth of the Bay, which cannot be fortify'd.

The Relief we give *Cadiz* must either be from *Barbary* or *England*, and the Distance from *England* is 400 Leagues at the least; a long Navigation, subject to Storms, the uncertainty of Winds, loss of Company, the danger of the Enemy, being separated, and many other Casualties the Sea is subject to: As on the contrary, the *Spanish* Fleet that shall oppose us, is furnished nearer home, and runs no such Hazard.

We are to expect no other Help or Succour after our departure out of *England* till our return, but what we carry with us; and on the contrary, the *Spaniards* will be supply'd from their own Shore, and that with speed.

Suppose as we ride in the Bay of *Cadiz*, the *Spaniards* attempt us with a Fleet,

and that by Accident or Force they drive part of us ashore, then are we out of Hope to recover either Ship or Man: Whereas if the *Spaniards* run ashore, their Danger will not be great, it being their own Country where it happens, which will afford them present Succour.

I have shew'd where I treated of Gallies, how easie a thing it is to endanger us, by towing Fireships amongst us; because those Vessels have a great Advantage over us, and will either burn or force us ashore; as our Fireships did among theirs in 88. when we had done them more Hurt, had we been assisted by Gallies.

If the *Spaniards* assault us with a Fleet in the Road of *Cadiz*, it will be with a large Wind, and a Leeward Tide to keep themselves to Windward of us, and consequently in their Power to board us, and we not to board them.

Whereas our Advantage over the *Spaniard* is in our excellent sailing in open Sea, where we may take and leave at our Pleasure, the only Advantage in Sea Service; here our Sailing will not avail us, we lying in the Chanel of a Bay, where there is no space to sail in.

If you will enter into the true State and Strength betwixt the King of *Spain's* Ships and ours, laying aside the Advantage of swift sailing, and according to the old Phrase they are bound to fight, *Fight Dog, Fight Bear*, till one side be overcome, which cannot be better decided than at an Anchor in a Harbour, let us judge the difference of Ships; the *Spaniards* are bigger in Burthen, and by consequence have the Advantage to board; more spacious within Board, and therefore contain more Men; more Decks, and therefore carry more Ordnance: Then consider that the greatness of Vessels, the number of Men and Ordnance, makes the Strength of Ships, I refer it to Consideration, and will conclude,

That if we do not relive *Cadiz* from time to time with a stronger Fleet than *Spain* can make, we shall undergo great Hazards, Dangers and Disgraces; which ought to have been well consider'd and argu'd before undertaking the last Enterprize upon it. And this shall suffice for our Attempt upon *Andalusia*, or the City of *Cadiz*; and so I will proceed to the Answer of the Pamphlet.



*The Voyage ended, there was publish'd a Book of the Proceedings of that Expedition; which Book was not long after answer'd, as appears by what follows.*

*Author.* **T**HE 8th of October, 1655. they departed from *Plimouth*, and the 9th fell in with my Lord of *Effex*, the Vice Admiral, who had put into *Falmouth*.

*Answer.* That Month and Day had been fitter (if the Action had been carry'd with Reason and Discretion) to have fought *England* after a Voyage, Winter approaching, than to have put themselves and Ships to the Fortune of a mercyleless Sea, that yields nothing but boisterous and cruel Storms, uncomfortable and long Nights, Toil and Travel, to the endless Labour of the poor Mariners; and what was no less than the rest, I fear an unexperienc'd General, by his Phrase in saying, He fell in with my Lord of *Effex* the 9th day; when the proper Word of falling in was with the Land, and not with Ships; He should rather have said, We met my Lord, or, We and my Lord met together: And the Reason is, the Land is a steadfast thing, and a Ship is ever moving, not certain to be fallen in withal, but accidentally to be met with.

*Author.* The 11th, he call'd a Council, and sett'd the Instructions for a Sea Fight, as appear'd in the 7th and 10th Articles, (*viz.*) If the Enemy's Approach be in such sort, as the Admiral of the *Dutch* and his Squadron, or my Vice Admiral of our Fleet and his Squadron, may have opportunity to begin the Fight, it shall be lawful for them so to do till I come, using the Form, Method, and Care, as aforesaid.

*Answer.* This Instruction in my Opinion was unadvis'd, and should have been conditionally, (as thus) If the Enemy had offer'd to fly, then not to lose any opportunity, but to assail him; but if they meant to abide it, presuming upon their Force, it was great Folly to hazard part of the Fleet to all the Enemy's, but rather to have stay'd for the Admiral and the rest of the Ships, to observe the working of the Enemy, and then to have directed every Squadron accordingly how to have order'd themselves; for it were a madness in a single Combat of Six to Six, or more, for Two of them to charge their Opposites before the approach of the rest.

*Author.* If any Ships of the Enemy do break out and fly, the Admiral of any

Squadron that shall happen to be next, and in the most convenient Place for that purpose, shall send out a competent number of the fittest Ships of his Squadron to Chase, Assault, and take such Ship or Ships so breaking out; but no Ship shall undertake such a Chase without the Command of the Admiral, or at least an Admiral of the Squadron.

*Answer.* The General's want of Experience shall appear in this Article; for if no Ship shall undertake the Chase without Order of the Admiral, or Admiral of the Squadron; What if a Ship that is chas'd be near some of your Fleet, and a good distance from your self, shall your Ship or Ships lose the opportunity of Chasing, and repair to you for Orders: By that time the Ship chas'd will be out of sight, or so far off, that it will be a Folly to follow her.

For your Instruction another time, these are the Directions you ought to have given in such a case; If there shall happen a Chase, the next Ship to her to follow her; and if there be more than one chas'd, the rest of our Ships next to her to single themselves, as they shall think themselves able to overcome them; and if you be brought to Leeward by that Chase, then to ply into your height again. This Article contains as much as the Admiral or Vice-Admiral of a Squadron can give, after the loss of so much time as by a Ship's coming to him for his Directions: And Time in such case is the principal thing.

In your Article there was no Provision how far such a Ship should be chas'd, when to leave the Chase, or whither to repair after the Chase; but confusedly, and to the loss of the Advantage aforesaid.

*Author.* The 12th day, the Wind North-North-West, the Seas grown so high, that the long Boats were lost, and many other Damages sustain'd.

*Answer.* At that time of the year you are sure to find that Weather, and to look for such Disasters; and therefore it is a folly to undertake a Sea Journey towards Winter, as I have said. If in that Storm the Wind had been Southerly, you would have return'd into the Harbours of *England*, where would have been found such Defects in Ships, that you had seen the end of your Voyage; and amongst wife

Men

Men it is a great Question, Whether your going or staying would have prov'd more Honourable to the Kingdom.

*Author.* The 18th, a Council was call'd, and Sir William St. Leger writ a Letter, that he suspected the Plague in his Ship, but it prov'd not so: And here the General gave special Order for the Ships to come near together, and hail their Admiral every morning, reproving their former Negligence, and gave them thier Instructions, which should have been done before, but was hinder'd by Storm.

*Answer.* Sir William St. Leger did ill to suspect the Plague in his Ship upon such uncertainties, which was enough to put the rest of the Fleet in fear, and a Means to make them quit one another, and separate the Fleet.

If the Ships were negligent in keeping near together, they deserv'd Blame, but no Punishment, as not having receiv'd their Instructions: The Blame was worthy to light upon the General, when in Winter and the Weather so uncertain, he delay'd giving his Orders, which should have been done in Harbour, and sail'd up, until occasion of low Weather at Sea, or loss of one another.

I will let pass many trivial things not worth Answering or excepting against, as namely the defects of Ships, the losing Company and meeting again, the Winds, Victuals, Sicknels and other things of that nature.

*Author.* The 20th he call'd a Council, to debate how he should put into *St. Lucar*, according to an Intention of the Council held at *Plimouth*; when his Majesty was present; where the Matter being very doubtful, it was referred to be decided upon the Spot when we should be arriv'd; but upon better enquiry of the Inconveniences and Disadvantage for going into the Harbour, and Landing our Army, it was quite laid aside.

Then follows a long Circumstance of the Impossibility of going into *St. Lucar*.

*Answer.* I dare undertake never Enterprize at Sea, was set out with such doubtful Directions, as to take their Resolutions when they should come to the Place, The Port of *St. Lucar*, and the Danger of the Bar, being as well known to the Masters before their going from home, as after they came thither: And if they did not inform his Majesty with it at the Council held at *Plimouth*, they deserv'd to be hang'd there; for no Man that had heard of the Bar of *St. Lucar*, but knew the Danger express'd in the Pamphlet.

*Author.* The General demanded both

of the Captains and Masters, why they did not speak of these Difficulties before his Majesty? They Answer'd, *It was now the depth of Winter, and Stormy.*

*Answer.* If the Masters knew no more than the Captains, I think they knew little; for I am inform'd few of the Captains had any Experience and Skill in Sea Affairs: And the Masters Answer was as ridiculous to the General's Demand, Why they acquainted not his Majesty with the Difficulty at *Plimouth*? For, say they, *It was the depth of Winter and Stormy.*

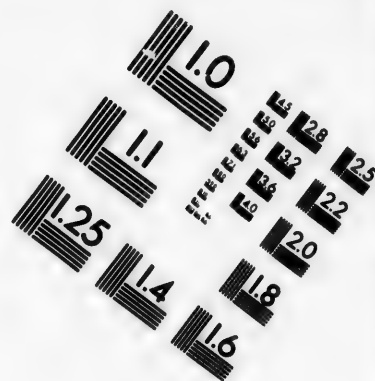
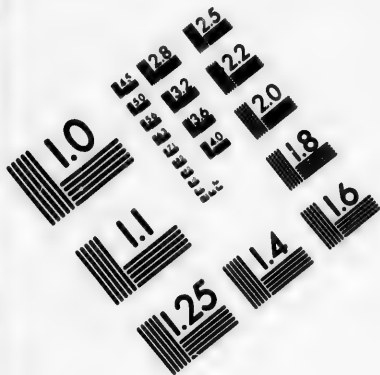
What was this in Answer to the Impossibility of going to *St. Lucar*? Could the Summer remove the Bar, and give them a safe Entrance? Could the Summer Season give them more knowledge of Pilotship than they had before their coming thither? Or, Did they not know that Winter was approaching, when they were call'd to the Council at *Plimouth*? for it could not be above 20 days more Winter than it was when they were at *Plimouth*. *I could say no more to them,* says the Author, *being I was no great Seamen.* And in the 10th Leaf, he says, he made no account but the Ships were ours; for speaking of Seamen, (he says) they knew more than he did, how to set upon them.

Would any Man thus confess his Ignorance in a Command he undertook? Or would any Man ever take upon him the Charge of a General by Sea, that had never pass'd further than betwixt *England* and *Holland*? It were good to know whether he sought the Employment, or whether it was put upon him against his Will: If he was led unto it by Ambition, let him answer his Errour, and that with Severity: If it was procur'd by others, they ought to have the same Chastisement he deserv'd. Betwixt the one and the other it is pity the Kingdom should bear the Dishonour, which in truth cannot be justly tax'd; for *England* affords as good Ships as ever it has done, Men of as great Experience and Valour, if they had been employed; and no reason therefore but that every Horse should bear his own Burthen, and that the Defect be not laid upon Ships and Men, but upon those that should be found culpable.

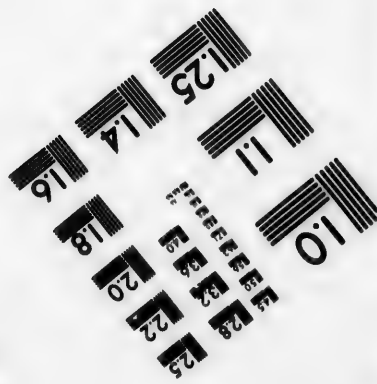
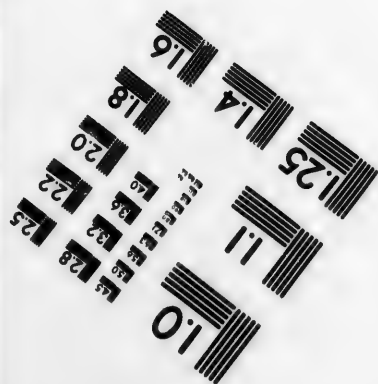
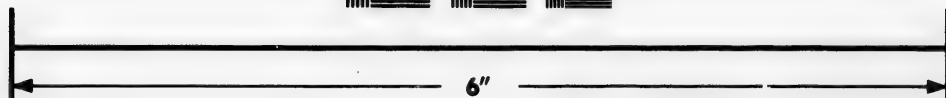
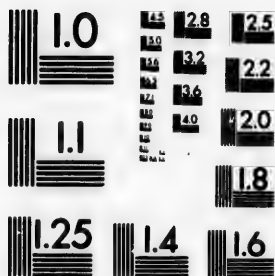
*Author.* In the same Council it was determin'd, that the whole Fleet should bear into the Bay of *Cadiz*, and Anchor before Port *St. Mary*: it was appointed how every Ship should Anchor (*viz.*) that the General and Dutch Admiral should Anchor together, and give Directions to the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral.

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*Answer.* It was a most ridiculous Resolution to Anchor and Land at Port St. Mary; First, in respect of the danger of the Road, if the Wind came Southerly or Westerly; Secondly, their Gallies would have cut off our Poats and Men, if we had attempted to Land; Thirdly, such Spanish Ships as were in the Road of Cadiz, would have had leisure to have sav'd themselves, and convey away their Wealth; Fourthly, the Town of Cadiz, had space to prepare for its defence, and the Country would quickly have given Relief to it, as well as the Place where they pretended to Land.

My next Observation is the Place they chose to Anchor in, that he might give Directions; and yet before he excus'd himself as unexperienc'd, and by consequence unfit to direct. He that shall read this little Pamphlet to Cadiz, shall find more Directions, more Councils, more Letters writ, and more Absurdities committed, than in any Action a Man shall read of.

*Author.* The General gave Orders, for every Ship to break down their Cabbins, to be ready to fight.

*Answer.* This every Ship would have done without Directions: Still Directions to little purpose, and nothing came of it.

*Author.* I writ to my Lord of Essex to make all the haste he could, and that I would command his Squadron to follow him (which I did;) but I must confess they went the most untowardly way I ever saw Men, for they did not hoist up their Sails as they were commanded.

*Answer.* This was not a time to write, and I marvel your leisure would admit of it, for what you were to Act was now or never; and if you had not directed before you came to the Port, what Ships should go in, and what Ships should second one another, you were very unfit for the Command you had; for this did the Two Lord Generals in their Expeditions to Cadiz, they consulted and resolv'd what Ships should attempt the Enemy the next morning; and when it came to be executed, never Greyhounds strove to overcome, or outstretch one another in a Course, as those Ships did to draw near to the Spaniards; and if you had had but one Man, that had known the Affairs of that Voyage, you needed not but to have walked in the Path they had trodden out before you.

You urge, you could not learn by all the Seamen in your Ship, who were those that were so backward: And in the 13th Leaf you say, *Because I would lose no*

*time, I went from Spain to Sicily, coming out, advance for shame; but I found them not very busy to do it.*

Shall a General say Men were backward to fight, when he had Authority to compel them? Or, That he was not obey'd, having Marshal Law to execute upon them? No, No, but they knew who they had in hand, when they refus'd to tell what Ships were backward to fight; for a General that had known the Sea, would have known every Ship of his Fleet, being so nigh them.

But indeed if all your Directions had been converted into this one Direction following, you had sav'd your self from Writing, Sending, or your Labour in going to give the Command; (that is to say) if before your coming to Cadiz you had appointed, if you would not have been the Leader your self, as my Lord of Essex was in his Voyage to Cadiz; I say, if you had commanded an admiral, and all the Ships of his Squadron to follow him, and they had not obey'd you, then you knew who was backward, and whom to have punished; but your Direction and Execution was all of a sudden, without Form or Deliberation; then what could you expect but Confusion?

*Author.* When all the Fleet came to an Anchor and I saw the Spanish Ships lie before me, I immediately call'd a general Council to loose no time; and the Opinion of Seamen was to clear the Two Ports for securing the Fleet: Then I demanded what kind of Ports they were; They told me, that Twenty of the Colliers, and some of the Dutch, would beat them to dust by the morning: Whereupon I commanded the Ships warn'd should go up to the Port, and that they should receive Directions from my Lord of Essex, who had Orders from me.

*Answer.* If my Lord of Essex had Orders from you, what need was there to call a Council and loose time? Or, Why should you give Order to my Lord of Essex before-hand, and not to the Ships that should second him till the very instant? Still Writing, Directing, but no Acting.

But for the Advice in clearing the Ports, surely the Advisors were not well advised therein; and in this case you should have enquir'd what my Lord of Essex did upon the same Occasion, when he attempted the Shipping; and it would have appear'd to you, that he followed the Spanish Gallies, fighting with them six or seven hours, and overcame them before he landed or took the Port. He made *Punta* no impe-

Impediment to his Design; he would not loose his Opportunity for fear of a Fort, nor refer his Enterprize to a farther Council, but Acted what was resolv'd on before.

*Author.* I Commanded, That upon sight of my Biler, they should be ready to assault the Fort of *Pantal* in the morning, and to pursue the Ships: I advis'd with the most Experienc'd Captains and Masters, to conduct the Ships to *Port-Royal*, which was difficult for want of Water; and at Three of the Clock in the Morning, I arose and receiv'd the Communion aboard the *Ark-Royal*: After which I commanded the Master to carry up the Ship to *Pantal*; but he excus'd it for want of Water.

*Answer.* Here is still Direction, Writing and Communion, when there should be Fighting; and because he speaks of the Communion, it is not improper to set down what Queen *Elizabeth* laid upon the like Saccels in 1590. Sir *John Hawkins* being first General of a Fleet to sea, spent Seven Months without taking one Spanish Ship. At his return he writ a long Apology to the Queen; and for his Conclusion told her, That *Paul plumbeth, zipolis watereth, and God giveth the Increase.* Gods death (said the Queen upon reading his Letter *this Fleet went out a Victory, and so came home a Divorce.*

But now, in Answer to the Excuse in not carrying up the Ship for want of Water, it serv'd not my Lord of *Essex* for a Reason in his Voyage in 15, for he found Water, though his Master and others made the like Allegation: He would not trust Mariners in that case, but appointed a sufficient Captain at the Helm, and the Captain of his Ship to stand aloft, as he saw other Ships go afore him, having his Lead on both sides continually heaving.

But had the General been Experienc'd, he might have Answer'd the excuse of want of Water, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* was answer'd in the same Place, and upon the same Occasion. Sir *Walter Raleigh* being order'd over-night to lead the Van, and Sir *Francis Vere* to second him, Sir *Walter* came to an Anchor at such a distance from the Gallions, that he could not reach them with his Ordnance: He return'd aboard my Lord of *Essex*, excusing it for want of Water. A Gentleman well known standing by, said, *It was strange thus the Spaniards, who drew much more Water, and had no more advantage of the Tide then he, could pass where his Ship could not follow.* I protest Sir *Walter* was much abashed at this Speech, and there-

upon went aboard his Ship, causing his Master to weigh again and go higher, where he perform'd the part of a Noble and Valiant Gentleman.

This Answer from the General had stopp'd the Mouths of the Masters Exceptions; and they would have found this Channel as deep for their Ships, as the Spaniards did, going up before them, and the same Channel my Lord of *Essex* did when he was there.

I will leave taking *Pantal* by the Land Forces, with which he fill's Two or Three Leaves, directing and ordering things; my intention being only to prosecute the Enterprizes by Sea.

*Author.* The 24th I went by Six a Clock in the Morning to my Lord of *Denbigh*, and spake thus to him: *I am no old Seaman, and therefore I would not you make all the b'sts, and get all the Seamen together to Council; and tell fire your strength upon the best way how to van and destroy the Enemies Ships.* He went upon it without delay, which he did very earnestly and punctually.

*Answer.* Though the General wanted Experience himself, yet he made choice of one of Sufficiency, who perform'd it carefully and punctually; (But what did he perform?) for hitherto nothing was perform'd, and yet there was Considerations of a Lord for his punctual performance, that did nothing punctually at *Pantal*, or the Ships in *Cadix*.

If any Men deserve Honour for this Voyage, it is those that did vided it at that time of the year; for indeed they had sav'd a great deal of Dishonour this Kingdom now undergoes; They had enrich'd this Kingdom with much Money, thus unadvisedly spent; They had preserv'd many a Brave Man's Life, that might have liv'd to have done their Country Service; and lastly, the Spaniards had not been harried and inbored, as now they are.

But for all the General Council and Directions, or the careful and punctual Carriage of the other Lord, the Ships escap'd without firing or sinking. The General's Design, it seems, was not to take *Cadix*, as he countenanc'd in the 16th Leaf; for the King, before he went, was acquainted, that it was extraordinarily fortified, and so he found when he came to view it.

I hold up my Hands and Eyes to Heaven, when I consider the poor Design and weak Carriage of this last Voyage to *Cadix*; for now it appears it was intended for *St. Lucar*, though the impossibility of it



it was known before their going from home. He likewise confel'd the Strength of *Cadiz* to be impregnable, and yet notwithstanding they were both enterpriz'd. They could not have a design upon Ships, because they knew not of any being there, or those that were, to be so few as they were not worthy of such an Expedition: Then what Man can excuse it, or the absurd Carriage of it?

Most Men, I confess, had an ill Opinion of the Voyage before their going, a worse after their return, but worst of all upon publishing the Pamphlet; for it has stopp'd the Mouths of all those that could force Arguments to excuse it: Some out of Charity and good Nature forbore to think the worse of it; some out of Judgment did no more condemn it than an Action that fail'd by Fortune in the Execution; some that would seem wiser than others, said, there was a greater Mistery in it than the ordinary People conceiv'd; some said, they had Intelligence with *Cadiz*, or other Places of Importance, but took no Success. But this Book has discover'd all; for they find the Project was as ridiculous as the Execution of it.

*Author.* The 25th there was a Motion to march 4 or 5 miles to recover some Boats, to serve instead of their Long-boats they had lost at Sea; and so they march'd forward and back again, brought away their Boats, spoil'd the Fishermen's Nets, Masts, and other Provisions they there found.

*Answer.* Here was marching forward and backward, which we may properly call a set Dance. These Boats, I confess, saved your Honour for something you did upon them, though you did nothing upon the Ships; and for your Attempt upon the Fishermen's Nets, you made the Enemy have a feeling of it, they being ty'd to observe Fasting days from Fish, which now they must want.

*Author.* The 26th the Colonels met at *Puntall*; and here it was resolv'd that nothing could be done upon the Ships, because of the Wind and Tide, and for that the Spaniards had sunk themselves, and the Channel was so narrow, which was the reason my Lord of *Essex* in his Journey, 95. could send no Ships to do the Enemy harm.

*Answer.* I confess, that if my Lord of *Essex* had follow'd your Example, to be talking 3 or 4 days, of what he perform'd almost in as many hours, he had done the Enemy no more harm than you; but what he did, and by the good Advice he did it, I have shew'd before. And if you

call it no harm to the Enemy, to have the best Ships *Spain* ever enjoy'd, burnt and taken, to the number of 59 Sail, with a Mass of Wealth in them, and this to be done in despite of your Fort, which takes up Three Leaves of Paper in your Book of Difficulties; I say, it this be no harm, and your taking of Fishermen's Boats and Nets be a Spoil and Harm, I confess yours was the Honourable Action, and that of my Lord of *Essex* of small Consequence in respect of yours.

*Author.* The Council of War did consider, that going to the Bridge of *Swaze*, was no great Design, but to meet with the Enemy and spoil the Country; and that when my Lord of *Essex* took *Cadiz*, Sir *Centers Clifford* was tax'd by Sir *Francis Vere* for mistaking his Directions, which were to go no farther than within Shot of the Town, where he might be seconded and Reliev'd; but *Clifford* went to the Bridge; so in regard there was no such necessity, he return'd back again.

*Answer.* Here was a strange Consultation, a strange Consideration and as strange a Council of War, to conclude the taking of the Bridge to be nothing more than to meet the Enemy and spoil the Country.

I must tell you, That in that Journey of my Lord of *Essex*, which you say did the Spaniards no harm, there was a Consultation, and a Resolution before their Landing, to possess the Bridge, as a prime Service to be executed; whereupon, at my Lord's Landing, he divided his Army, Three Regiments he sent to the Bridge, the rest he led himself to the Town: Both these Directions had good Success; the Bridge was possess'd, and the Town surpriz'd; and your self abus'd by him that told you Sir *Centers Clifford* had no Order to go to the Bridge, or that Sir *Francis Vere* was angry with him for so doing.

I confess it was not Sir *Francis Vere* alone, but my Lord of *Essex* and all in general were angry for quitting the Bridge, as they had reason; for the main Business of the Service depended on it: But it seems they wanted Reason in comparison of you and your Council of War; for by that Bridge all Succours was to pass from the main Land to the Relief of *Cadiz*; by that Bridge we were to attempt other Parts of the Country, as we intended; by that Bridge the Gallies were to pass and escape us, which otherwise they could not have done: And if this be no great Design, let you and your Council consider it.

But

But that you may the better understand it, I will lay before you a Comparison that may be made to concur with it. Suppose an Enemy should land in *Surrey*, with a Design to take *Wimbleton*, and that there were a Bridge to pass the *Thames* at his Barony of *Putney*: do not you think that a Council of War would advise to take that Bridge, to hinder the Succours that might be sent from *Middlesex*, or the Countreys thereunto adjacent, to the Aid of *Wimbleton*? If this Advice would not have been follow'd, the Council of War were fit for you, and not for my Lord of *Essex*.

*Author.* And I have been so long in the Wars (*Leaf 19*) that I dare undertake they who think *Cadiz* was to be taken, cannot tell how to come at it with Cannon, if there were none but Women in it.

*Answer.* When you speak Truth, I will concur with you, for I believe there was little reason to attempt it; but indeed your want of Experience in Sea Affairs, your frequent Councils, which lost Time and Opportunity, your multitude of Directions to no purpose, and the carefulness of your Captains to disobey your Command, was your Blemish and Shame; but more especially your want of expert Men to advise what had been practis'd in Fleets; for every Man that can Manage a small Barque, is not capable to direct a Fleet: You should not have rely'd upon Sailors, put into the Habit of Gentlemen, and made Knights before they knew what belong'd to Gentility, nor were ever expert but in poor petty Barques: This was the Bane of you and your Reputation.

*Author.* The One and twentieth I imbarqu'd again, thinking to have landed at Port *St. Mary*, if the Wind should not serve the Fleet to go out of the Bay of *Cadiz*; but as ill luck would have it, the Wind came good even as we were in Council; and if we had not taken that Wind in the Instant, perhaps we had not come out in a long time.

*Answer.* That which was good for your coming out, had not been ill for your landing at Port *St. Mary*, though I confess it had been a rash Attempt, as I said before.

*Author.* Monday the last, the Wind came Westerly, and we could not come out of the Bay.

*Answer.* And yet you said before the contrary; no Wind, no Council, no Directions, would answer your Expectation after your Loss, through your Delays, Negligence, and Carelessness of the Opportunity upon the Ships.

*Author.* The Third day, by general Consent, we were to stay, and expect the Fleet from the *Indies* till the 20th of *November*; but it pleas'd God such Sickness came, that we had not Men enough to handle our Sa's.

*Answer.* You must know it was strange to hear of a Fleet from the *Indies* at that time of the year; but suppose it had been so, and you had taken them, what would you have done with them, not having Sailors enough to bring home your own Ships, as your self confess'd?

*Author.* The Sixth day, (and 24th *Leaf*) we took a Man of War of *Argiers*, who had taken Two Prizes, one of them *John Jack*, a *Scotchman*, that dwelt at *Dover*, laden with Wood and Iron from *Biscay* for *St. Luke*, by the King of *Spain's* Subjects; which shews the great want that King has of Timber and Ships to carry it.

*Answer.* This was as Wise an Observation, as if a *Daneker* had taken a *Freedom* Freight with Coles by an *Englishman*, from *Newcastle* to *London*, and should say, the King has great want of Coles and Shipping to carry them; I should have made another Constuction, That it shew'd the *Spanish* Ships were employ'd upon better Voyages, than upon such base Commodities.

*Author.* On the 10th Sir *Michael Geric*, who had been 5 days wilfully wanting, came again to the Fleet; his Master told him of it, and he beat him with a Cudgel. His Master had bore better Command than ever he did. And in the 25th *Leaf* he says, he sent aboard the *Dreadnought* for Ten Tuns of Beer that was left in her for the use of the *Ann Royal*; but the Company mutiny'd, and would not deliver it; neither would the Captain nor Master confess who were the Mutineers.

*Answer.* Would ever General set down the Contempt and Abuses, and not shew the Punishment inflicted upon them? it is no marvel you were no better obey'd in weightier things, that could digest these petty Disgraces; surely *Geric* might have come home a Knight, though the strangest that ever was made; but he should not have come home a Captain, nor made capable ever to bear Office in any Employment.

Honour was wont to be conferr'd on Men of Desert, for Services done by them before they receiv'd it; but this Knight and others were made Knights unworthily, that it bred not only an Admiration, but a Contempt to that Order.

As

As backward as you were in the Affairs of *Cadiz*, you were as much too forward and liberal in giving and taking Honour: To delay it before your going, had been to some purpose; for a Noble Mind would not have receiv'd it, till the World had taken notice he had deserv'd it.

As there was great difference in the Management of Sea Affairs, betwixt the Queens time and this, so there was in the bestowing of Honour; for tho' my Lord Admiral was the Son of a Baron, and the Grandson of a Duke, tho' he had the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, and many other Dignities and Preferments, tho' he had gain'd so great a Victory in 88. by repulsing an Enemy that might have endanger'd the Kingdom, tho' he spoil'd, beat, sunk Ships, and destroy'd Cities of the Enemies, in their own Countries, yet had he obtain'd and perform'd all these Exploits, before he could be admitted to the Degree of an Earl.

*Author.* In the 27th Leaf. The Defects of the Ships were such, that he call'd a Council for going into the Islands of *Bryons*, and here he sets down the losing of Company, breaking Masts, splitting Sails, and shilting of Winds, &c.

*Answer.* These things were impertinent for a General to relate: Such Observations are only proper to Mariners; and he might as well have set down the seething of the Kettle, the Companies dining, or the setting of the Watch.

*Author.* Now was I arriv'd at *Kinsale* in *Ireland*. On *January* 19. came in a Dutchman from *Lisbon*, who reported he saw Letters from *Cadiz*, that the Plate Fleet came home within three days after my coming away, and that 100 Carvels were sent to stop them, but none of them could meet the said Fleet, for they came upon the Coast of *Barbary*; inasmuch, that if any of these Accidents following had happen'd we had been Masters of the Plate Fleet.

The first was, if the Council had consented with me, to keep *Puntal* fourteen days. The second, if the Wind had not chang'd as it did. The third, if the Plate Fleet had but kept the same Course they have for this Forty years; for they had no manner of News of us. But Man proposes and God disposes; and moreover, the Dutchman said, that on the last of *July* there were not four Barrels of Powder in *Lisbon*.

*Answer.* Could the Plate Fleet arrive in *Cadiz*, and not be vulgarly spoke of in *Lisbon*, but by some few Letters; the arrival of that Fleet being of such Consequence, that not only *Lisbon*, but all *Spain* would

ring of it? And unless you had better Assurance of their Arrival, than by this poor Dutchman that was in your Custody, prisoner, you were ill advis'd to print it, because every Merchant upon the Exchange was able to contradict you; wherefore you should have first consider'd it, as thus:

Was it likely, that a hundred Carvels should be sent to meet the Fleet? A number of Carvels never employ'd, nor to be found in all *Spain*: Could they be so imprudent, as to hazard so many Veiels, the Taking of one of which would discover the height the Fleet came home in; or could the Fleet be met and stopp'd at Sea, that was both Foul, Weak, heavily Laden, wanted Victuals, and must be compell'd out of necessity to seek a Harbour? Or could a hundred Carvels spread themselves at Sea, and your Fleet not see any part of them? Or could the Fleet come home in four days after your being at *Cadiz*; and computing the time, you could not be above 20 Leagues West from thence, and to have no News of them? Or could the *Spaniards* be so mad at that time of the year, to venture to keep the Coast of *Barbary*, being subject to Northerly Winds, and to fall in upon *Cadiz* Road, just at your quitting it? To wife Men these things seem improbable.

And moreover, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, you should have set down your Reasons, why you advis'd the keeping of *Puntal* 14 days; all the Reasons you had would not have given satisfaction to a reasonable Man; for it is to be imagin'd you must have one of these Reasons in it, as Namely, That you had Correspondence with *Cadiz* for the Surrendering it; or that you expected a Revolt in the Country; or that you hop'd for Supplies in 14 days; or that you knew of the *Indies* Fleets repair thither in that time: One of these I conceive to be the end of your Persuasions.

Then on the other side, I think with my self the Mischief that might have ensu'd upon it in the space of them 14 days; your Victuals would have been much wasted, for it seems then you began to want; your People being sick, as they were, it is probable, they would rather grow worse than recover Health. In that 14 days the *Spaniards* would have had leisure to prepare fresh Ships and Men to encounter your feeble and weak Army. Your suppos'd hundred Carvels might have met in those 14 days with the imagin'd Plate Fleet, and have conducted them to *Lisbon*, whilst you were propping up of *Puntal*. You had proof what the lingering of 14 days might have brought you

you and the Fleet to, by the Misery you found in your Return. It was no less ridiculous, that you should believe the Dutchman's report, that at the last of July there should be but four Barrels of Powder in Lisbon; for whosoever knows Lisbon and the Castle, knows the great quantity of Powder there is still kept in it.

*Autor.* I put to Sea three times against the Seamen's Opinion; They desir'd to see the Winds settled before we should set out; but I did not hearken to them.

*Answer.* It will appear by this Rashness of yours, how unfit you are to take Charge of such a Fleet. In the 16th Leaf you confess your Ignorance in Sea Affairs, and refer your self to Men of Experience, in an Attempt of much less consequence than this, that concerns the safety of his Majesty's Ships, to venture them to no end but a desire you had to be at home; this was a rash Hazard of your own, against the Approbation of Mariners, who could only judge what was convenient in such a Case.

I confess, nothing in your Discourse doth make it appear to be writ by a Soldier at Land or Sea, but a plain and absurd Style, the improper Terms us'd by Sea and in Ships, and the often repetition of some words which is not proper in Oratory. From Soldiers, neither Eloquent Words nor Forms is requir'd; their Actions must give Matter for Scholars to amplify upon; and tho' this may excuse the writing of the Pamphlet, yet it can no more clear you of Blame in your Carriage of the Action, than the Projector of it; it being hard to judge whether of you two deserv'd the most shame, the one in Advising, or the other in Executing.

But if this Journey had been undertaken by Men of Experience, Understanding and Reason, it had more annoy'd the State of Spain, than any Enterprize of ours heretofore, either in the Queen's, or King Charles his Reign, as it shall appear by what follows.

### *How to have Ruin'd Spain by the Fleet of 1625.*

**S**pleen, Passion and Envy to some they love not, and the want of Knowledge in themselves, are the bane and destroyers of all warlike Actions, either by Sea or Land; which could not be better verifi'd than in this last unfortunate Fleet to Cadix. I have spoken of; For I must say, that in many Ages, (or rather in no Age) we shall have the like Opportunity again to annoy the State of Spain, as was then offer'd us, if the Enterprize had been well Projected and Directed, as it was rashly begun and prosecuted; as may appear by what follows.

If our Land Forces had been discharg'd at the beginning of Summer, when they were first rais'd, and the Fleet employ'd upon a Sea Action only; for take it for a Maxim, That Sea and Land Enterprizes together, are the Bane of one another; as Experience has made it appear.

At this time that the Expedition was undertaken, we well knew the Spanish Fleet had dispossest the *Hollanders* of the Town of *Baye* in *Brazil*, a little before taken by them; we likewise knew they

were to return to Spain with a Million of Pounds in wealth, which after prov'd true.

And yet this was not all, and the worst that Spain was to receive from us; this happen'd when they had no suspicion of us as Enemies, nor any shew of Hostility made, to give them warning or distrust.

If therefore we had employ'd our Fleet then in readines, to the *Tercera* Islands, where we assuredly knew the *Spaniards* would touch in their Return, as indeed they did all scatter'd and ill provided; we had, without all doubt or question, intercepted them, and possess'd so much Wealth of theirs, as would have maintain'd a Royal War against them, till his Majesty had been reveng'd of the Affronts offer'd him, as was conceiv'd, at his being in Spain.

Besides this Wealth, we had cut off his Fleet, which consisted of 50 or 60 of his best Galeons, which in an Age could not be restor'd, whereby he would have been unable to undertake any Action against us. This was discover'd to some, before the Fleet's going out, but either neglected or not believ'd.

*The Errors committed in the Expedition to the Isle of Rec.*

IN my Examination of the Voyages in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, I make often Reflection, without fear or flattery, upon the Errors then committed, as well by us as by the Spaniards our Enemies; which kind of proceeding I follow in these two last Expeditions, the one to Cadix in 1625, which I have treated of; the other to St. Martins in 1627, which I am to treat of, as well in number and goodness of Ships, as in proportion and quantity of Men.

Tho' I was no Actor my self in the two last Expeditions, there being no relation that can give a more true Account of them, than those publish'd by the Authority of State, I have, upon view of these Pamphlets, collected such Errors as the Actions themselves have given just Cause to except against.

Let it not be imputed to me that I do it out of a carping or detracting Humour, or a malignant Disposition, or an evil or contesting Nature, or out of a vain or phantastical Curiosity, or Pride, or Arrogance, to make small Errors seem greater than they are; for I have no other end than what I have often express'd, viz. by discovering the Faults and Oversights past, to make them serve as a warning for time to come.

I would not be so bold and presumptuous as to examine the Grounds of this last Design upon the Island of St. Martins, or the Carriage of it upon their Arriving and Landing; for I never doubted, but that a Matter of such great Consequence, as the Breach of Peace between Princes, and wherein his Majesty's Honour was to be engag'd, and the Reputation of the Chief Commander consider'd, was not only Discuss'd and Argu'd by the grave and wise Senators of the State, but Advice taken of the most experien'd Captains both by Land and Sea, this Kingdom could afford; which being so, the Success must be referr'd to him who is the giver of all Victories; for I am like the Carthaginian, who did not esteem the less of the General that lost a Battel, but of such as fought against Reason; for Success is the Measure of Fools, whereas Conduct proceeds from Judgment.

This Expedition to the Island of St. Martins was begun from Portsmouth on the 17th of June 1627. a Place design'd for the Rendezvous; and to that end the Ships of Provisions that attended the Retort of

the Army to Plymouth, were drawn together at Portsmouth, tho' with ill success; First, in respect one of those Ships miscarried, and others were in danger to have done the like: Secondly, I must make the Rendezvous at Portsmouth the Ground of my Argument, to except against the Carriage of the Action, and the chief Cause of the Mischiefs that ensu'd.

You must understand that Stokes-Bay, where our Ships rode, is 40 Leagues from Plymouth by the way of St. Helens Point; and the Course of the Chanel is East North-East, and West South-West: Ushant, which is the head Land of France, and by which you must pass either from Plymouth or Portsmouth, if you will sail to St. Martins, is 26 Leagues from Plymouth South-Westerly; so that there was 40 Leagues run to fetch those Ships which could have brought themselves; and a Ship lost, which had not so happen'd but by their going to fetch them.

Now should they have held a grave Consultation, if they had done well, how to proceed afterwards, which should have consisted of three Propositions; the one, whether to keep the Sea with that Easterly Wind or no, which in little space would bring them to Leeward of all? The second, whether to Land in Conquet-Road, or some part of France? The third and last was, whether to return to Plymouth or Falmouth, there to attend a better Opportunity of Wind? But to be short, unadvisedly they took the worst of the Three, and kept the Sea till they were to Leeward of all French Shores, in which space they had pursuit of certain Drunkirkers, whom indiscreetly they chas'd a whole day, when in two hours they might have discern'd whether they could fetch them up or no.

If they had Anchored in France, or any part of that Coast, notice would have been taken of it by the French; and it would have given a sudden Alarm, and been a cause to arm all Places they might suspect we would Attempt.

If they had repair'd to Plymouth, or Falmouth, it would have put a Doubtfulness in the French, whether our Design had been against them or no; and they would have made the less Preparations to resist us. Spain would also have taken the Alarm, being in as great a Doubt and Danger of us as France; but drawing the Ships from Plymouth to Portsmouth, Spain could not conceive that it was intended against them; and



and France was in as great Assurance that it was design'd upon them.

Thus you see from *Portsmouth* they were to attend the uncertainty of two Winds, and give warning to France to provide for themselves, whereas from either of the two Ports of *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, one Wind would have carry'd them directly to *St. Martin's*, which might have been run in two or three days, without fear of scattering, or other Disaster. These Inconveniencies should not have been only foreseen, but prevented, if Experience and Discretion had guided the Action.

Now follows the Mischief that ensu'd upon keeping the Sea. The First is, that they were brought so far to Leeward, that if they would, yet they could not recover either *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*. Secondly, they were subject to foul Weather, which they afterwards found. Thirdly, their Men not being accusom'd to the Sea, and peffer'd in Ships, brought a great Inconveniency amongst them. But the greatest was the foul weather which parted them, and was the chief Cause of the Misfortune that follow'd: For above 60 of the Ships being scatter'd, came to the Island of *St. Martin's* the 10th of July, and the rest the day following.

The 60 Ships first arriving put the French out of doubt but that was the Place we intended, and gave them opportunity to do as much as the time would permit.

And here you may observe the true Overthrow of the Expedition to the Isle of *Ree*, whereas, if our Fleet had come together from *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, and landed together, [they had suddenly surpriz'd the Island, and possess'd all the Victuals in it, which, in that short time we gave them, they carry'd into the Castle, being before but ill provided either of Victuals, or any thing else.

Thus have I run over such Errors as I have briefly collected, out of the ill carry'd Action to the Island of *St. Martin's*, wishing that Generals may not only see, but foresee, that they may with Judgment determine what they shall put in Execution, before they attempt it with Force and Courage; for great Actions ought to be resolv'd on by leisure, and perform'd with speed: They should not say and stay, but say and do; they must consider, that the first Enterprize in War gets the best Reputation, and a thing well begun is half ended.

AS I have set down the Names of the Ships the Queen left at her Death in my first Book, now shall follow the Names of those that were built by King James and King Charles; and the present Rates for Seamens Wages, according to the Ranks of Ships and Officers increas'd, Anno Dom. 1626.

#### *Ships built by King James.*

| Ships.                | Men in Harbor | Men at Sea. |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Reformation</i>    | 9             | 250         |
| <i>Happy Entrance</i> | 7             | 160         |
| <i>Garland</i>        | 7             | 160         |
| <i>St. George</i>     | 9             | 250         |
| <i>Mary-Rose</i>      | 6             | 120         |
| <i>Triumph</i>        | 12            | 300         |

|                    |   |     |
|--------------------|---|-----|
| <i>Swiftsure</i>   | 9 | 250 |
| <i>Bonaventure</i> | 7 | 160 |
| <i>St. Andrew.</i> | 9 | 250 |

#### *Ships built by King Charles.*

| Ships.                   | Men in Harbor | Men at Sea. |
|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Ten Whelps</i>        | 3             | 60 some 70  |
| <i>Henrietta Pinnace</i> | 3             | 25          |
| <i>Mary Pinnace</i>      | 3             | 25          |
| <i>Charles</i>           | 9             | 250         |
| <i>Henrietta Maria</i>   | 9             | 250         |
| <i>The James</i>         | 9             | 260         |
| <i>Victory</i>           | 9             | 250         |
| <i>The Leopard</i>       | 7             | 170         |
| <i>The Swallow</i>       | 6             | 150         |
| <i>The Sovereign.</i>    |               |             |



*The New Rates for Seamens Wages, confirm'd by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, according to his Majesty's several Rates of Ships and Degrees of Officers, Monthly, Anno Dom. 1626.*

| Ranks                                           | 1               | 2               | 3               | 4               | 5               | 6               |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Numb. of Men                                    | 500 400         | 300 250         | 200 160         | 120 100         | 70 60           | 50 40           |
|                                                 | <i>l. s. d.</i> | <i>l. s. d.</i> | <i>l. s. d.</i> | <i>l. s. d.</i> | <i>l. s. d.</i> | <i>l. s. d.</i> |
| Capt. Ordinary                                  | 14 00 00        | 11 04 00        | 09 06 08        |                 | 06 12 00        | 04 06 08        |
| Lieutenant                                      | 03 10 00        | 03 10 00        | 02 16 00        |                 |                 |                 |
| Master                                          | 04 13 09        | 04 10 00        | 03 15 00        | 03 07 06        | 03 00 00        | 02 06 08        |
| Pilot                                           | 02 05 00        | 02 00 00        | 01 17 06        | 01 13 09        | 01 10 00        | 01 03 04        |
| Master's Mates                                  | 02 05 00        | 02 00 00        | 01 17 06        | 01 13 09        | 01 10 00        | 01 03 04        |
| Boatwain                                        | 02 05 00        | 02 00 00        | 01 17 06        | 01 13 09        | 01 10 00        | 01 03 04        |
| Boatwain's Mate                                 | 01 06 03        | 01 05 00        | 01 00 08        | 01 00 08        | 01 00 08        | 01 00 08        |
| Quarter-Masters                                 | 4 01 10 00      | 4 01 05 00      | 4 01 05 00      | 4 01 05 00      | 2 01 05 00      | 2 01 00 00      |
| Quarter-Master's Mates                          | 4 01 05 00      | 4 01 00 08      | 2 01 00 08      | 2 01 00 08      | 2 01 00 08      | 2 00 17 06      |
| Yeo. Sheets men } Tacks } Years }               | 4 01 05 00      | 4 01 01 00      | 2 01 01 00      | 2 01 01 00      | 2 01 01 00      |                 |
| Corpor. l                                       | 01 10 00        | 01 08 00        | 01 05 08        | 01 03 04        | 01 00 00        | 00 18 08        |
| Mr. Carpenter                                   | 01 17 06        | 01 17 06        | 01 10 00        | 01 06 08        | 01 03 04        | 01 01 00        |
| Carpenter's Mate                                | 01 05 00        | 01 04 03        | 01 03 04        | 01 01 00        | 00 19 02        | 00 18 08        |
| Other Carpenters and Calkers                    | 9 01 00 08      | 6 01 00 00      | 4 01 00 00      | 3 01 00 00      |                 |                 |
| Purser                                          | 02 00 00        | 01 16 08        | 01 10 00        | 01 06 08        | 01 03 04        | 01 03 04        |
| Steward and Cook                                | 01 05 00        | 01 05 00        | 01 05 00        | 01 03 04        | 01 03 04        | 00 17 06        |
| Surgeon                                         | 01 10 00        | 01 10 00        | 01 10 00        | 01 10 00        | 01 10 00        | 01 10 00        |
| Surgeon's Mate                                  | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        |                 |                 |                 |
| Mr. Trumpeter                                   | 01 10 00        | 01 06 08        | 01 05 00        | 01 05 00        | 01 05 00        | 01 01 00        |
| Other Trump.                                    | 4 01 03 04      | 01 03 04        |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| Drum and Fife                                   | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        |
| Coxswain                                        | 01 05 00        | 01 05 00        | 01 03 04        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        |
| Coxswain's Mate                                 | 01 00 08        | 01 00 08        | 00 19 02        |                 |                 |                 |
| Skiffswain                                      | 01 00 00        |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| Skiffswain's Mate                               | 00 17 06        |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| Two Swabbers                                    | 01 08 08        | 01 08 00        | 00 18 06        | 00 17 06        | 00 17 06        | 00 17 06        |
| Swabbers Mate                                   |                 | 00 17 06        | 00 16 08        |                 |                 |                 |
| Armorer                                         | 01 01 00        | 01 01 00        | 01 01 00        | 01 01 00        | 01 01 00        | 01 01 00        |
| Mr. Gunner                                      | 02 00 00        | 01 16 08        | 01 10 00        | 01 06 08        | 01 03 04        | 01 03 04        |
| Gunnery Mates                                   | 01 02 06        | 01 01 00        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        | 01 00 00        | 00 18 08        |
| Quarter-Gunners                                 | 4 01 00 00      | 4 00 18 08      | 00 18 08        | 00 18 08        | 00 17 06        | 00 17 06        |
| Quarter-Gunners Mates                           | 4 00 18 08      | 4 00 17 06      |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| Yeom. of the Powder-Room                        | 3 01 00 00      | 00 18 08        | 00 18 08        | 00 18 08        | 00 18 08        | 00 18 08        |
| Mr. Cooper                                      | 00 16 08        | 00 16 08        | 00 16 08        | 00 16 08        | 00 16 08        | 00 16 08        |
| Grumets                                         | 6 00 11 03      | 5 00 11 03      | 4 00 11 03      | 3 00 11 03      | 00 11 03        | 00 11 03        |
| Common Men                                      |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 360. 4 out of each 100 are the Captains Retinue | 00 15 00        | 2 00 15 00      | 1 46 00 15 00   | 65 00 15 00     | 41 00 15 00     | 23 00 15 00     |
| Boys                                            | 5 00 07 06      | 4 00 07 06      | 3 00 07 06      | 3 00 07 06      | 00 07 06        | 00 07 06        |
| Gunmaker                                        | 01 01 00        | 01 01 00        |                 |                 |                 |                 |

of his Ma.  
and Degrees

6  
50 40  
l. i. d.  
04 06 08  
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01 01 00  
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If I were worthy to advise his Majesty, he should follow the Precedent of the Earl of Lincoln, late Lord High Admiral of England, who two years before he died, and in the year 1582. caus'd a General Muster to be taken of all Ships, their Burthen and Mariners belonging to the Ports of England, as here follows.

And withal, I with there were a Computation made from the Year 82. till the end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign in 1602. All which being compar'd with the increase of Ships and Mariners, since that time, and their greatness in Burthen, it will seem wonderful to all his Majesty's Subjects, who shall understand it, that since the first year of King James's Reign,

till this, which is the 13th of King Charles, the Navy of England is so much encreas'd and augmented; and thereby they may conjecture what Wealth hath been Imported and Transported since that time, to the infinite enriching of all People in general, which will make them repine the less at paying Ship-Money; for they must truly confess, how much the Kingdom is, since the year 1582. Strengthen'd and Fortify'd by Sea, and the Common-Wealth enrich'd by Trade; for tho' the Merchant only runs the hazard of Ships and Goods that go to Sea, yet the whole Kingdom receives Benefit and Profit by it, from the Handicrafts-Man to the Labourer.

*A Muster of Ships and Mariners throughout England, Taken two Years before the Death of the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Admiral.*

*Somersetshire.*

**S**hips 37. whereof 10 above 80 Tuns.  
Mariners, Masters and Fishermen at  
Home ————— 462  
Abroad ————— 40  
In all 502

*Cheshire.*

Ships ————— 14  
Mariners, Masters and Seamen — 113

*Lancaster.*

Ships 53. whereof 10 above 80 Tuns.  
Masters and Mariners ————— 163  
Fishermen ————— 36  
In all 199

*Essex.*

Ships above 80 Tuns — 12  
Hoys, Crays and other small Vessels 107  
Masters and Seamen ————— 517

*Cornwall.*

Ships above 80 Tuns — 5  
Other small Ships — 67  
Masters ————— 108  
Mariners ————— 606  
Other Seamen ————— 204  
In all 918

*Lincolnshire.*

One Ship of 80 Tuns burden.  
Small Ships ————— 20  
Masters ————— 20  
Mariners ————— 190  
Fishermen ————— 134  
In all 344

*London.*

Ships above 100 Tuns — 62  
Ships of 80 Tun and above — 23  
Small Ships ————— 44  
Masters ————— 142  
Mariners ————— 868  
Watermen, or Ferry-men — 957  
Fishermen ————— 195  
In all 2162

*Hampshire.*

Ships and Boats 89. whereof 10 above 80 Tun.  
Masters ————— 46  
Mariners ————— 244  
Fishermen ————— 180  
In all 470

*Yorkshire.*

Ships 54. whereof 18 above 80 Tun.  
Masters and Sailors ————— 375  
Fishermen ————— 507  
In all 880

*The*

*The Cinque Ports.*

Ships and Boats 223. none above 80  
Tun.  
Masters and Sailors ————— 853  
Fishermen ————— 139

In all 992

*Kent.*

Ships and Boats 106. none above 80  
Tun.  
Masters and Sailors ————— 221

*Suffex.*

Small Ships under 80 Tun..66  
Masters ————— 28  
Sailors ————— 222  
Fishermen ————— 123

In all 370

*Dorset.*

Ships above 80 Tun ——— 8  
Small Ships ————— 72  
Masters and Mariners ————— 605  
Fishermen ————— 34

In all 639

*Devonshire.*

Ships above 80 Tun ——— 8  
Small Ships ————— 113  
Masters, Mariners and Fishermen — 2176

*Norfolk.*

Ships above 80 Tun ——— 22  
Small Ships ————— 148  
Seamen of all forts ————— 1890

*Suffolk.*

Ships above 100 Tun — 26  
Small Ships ————— 76  
Seamen of all forts ————— 1286

*Gloucestershire.*

Ships under 80 Tun ——— 29  
Masters, Seamen and Fishermen — 219

*Cumberland.*

Small Ships under 80 Tun — 12  
Mariners and Fishermen ————— 195

The Total of all Vessels ——— 1232

Above 80 Tun ————— 217

Mariners of all forts ————— 14295

*The*

The particular number of Ships and Mariners in the Fleet of 1100 Sail, in the days of King Edward III. with the Names of the Cinque-Ports, viz. Hastings, Rumney, Heth, Dover, and Sandwich.

The South Fleet.

|                   |          |     |                     |          |     |
|-------------------|----------|-----|---------------------|----------|-----|
| <i>The Kings</i>  | Ships    | 25  | <i>Hastings</i>     | Ships    | 5   |
|                   | Mariners | 419 |                     | Mariners | 96  |
| <i>London</i>     | Ships    | 25  | <i>Rumney</i>       | Ships    | 4   |
|                   | Mariners | 662 |                     | Mariners | 63  |
| <i>Alford</i>     | Ships    | 2   | <i>Rye</i>          | Ships    | 9   |
|                   | Mariners | 24  |                     | Mariners | 16  |
| <i>Heth</i>       | Ships    | 2   | <i>Heth</i>         | Ships    | 6   |
|                   | Mariners | 24  |                     | Mariners | 122 |
| <i>Maidston</i>   | Ships    | 5   | <i>Shoreham</i>     | Ships    | 20  |
|                   | Mariners | 59  |                     | Mariners | 329 |
| <i>Newbith</i>    | Ships    | 5   | <i>Sefford</i>      | Ships    | 5   |
|                   | Mariners | 45  |                     | Mariners | 86  |
| <i>Margate</i>    | Ships    | 15  | <i>Newmouth</i>     | Ships    | 2   |
|                   | Mariners | 160 |                     | Mariners | 18  |
| <i>Morden</i>     | Ships    | 2   | <i>Hambock</i>      | Ships    | 7   |
|                   | Mariners | 21  |                     | Mariners | 117 |
| <i>Fewkesham</i>  | Ships    | 2   | <i>Hoke</i>         | Ships    | 11  |
|                   | Mariners | 25  |                     | Mariners | 208 |
| <i>Sandwich</i>   | Ships    | 22  | <i>Southampton</i>  | Ships    | 21  |
|                   | Mariners | 504 |                     | Mariners | 576 |
| <i>Dover</i>      | Ships    | 16  | <i>Lynnington</i>   | Ships    | 5   |
|                   | Mariners | 336 |                     | Mariners | 159 |
| <i>Wight</i>      | Ships    | 13  | <i>Poole</i>        | Ships    | 4   |
|                   | Mariners | 226 |                     | Mariners | 94  |
| <i>Winchelsey</i> | Ships    | 21  | <i>Wimbam</i>       | Ships    | 3   |
|                   | Mariners | 596 |                     | Mariners | 59  |
| <i>Weymouth</i>   | Ships    | 13  | <i>Swansey</i>      | Ships    | 1   |
|                   | Mariners | 263 |                     | Mariners | 29  |
| <i>Lyme</i>       | Ships    | 4   | <i>Uffordcomb</i>   | Ships    | 6   |
|                   | Mariners | 62  |                     | Mariners | 79  |
| <i>Seaton</i>     | Ships    | 2   | <i>Patrickstown</i> | Ships    | 2   |
|                   | Mariners | 25  |                     | Mariners | 27  |
| <i>Sidmouth</i>   | Ships    | 3   | <i>Polewam</i>      | Ships    | 1   |
|                   | Mariners | 62  |                     | Mariners | 60  |
| <i>Exmouth</i>    | Ships    | 10  | <i>Wadworth</i>     | Ships    | 1   |
|                   | Mariners | 193 |                     | Mariners | 14  |
| <i>Tegmouth</i>   | Ships    | 7   | <i>Cardiff</i>      | Ships    | 1   |
|                   | Mariners | 120 |                     | Mariners | 51  |
| <i>Dartmouth</i>  | Ships    | 22  | <i>Bridgewater</i>  | Ships    | 1   |
|                   | Mariners | 283 |                     | Mariners | 14  |
| <i>Portsmouth</i> | Ships    | 5   | <i>Carmarthen</i>   | Ships    | 1   |
|                   | Mariners | 96  |                     | Mariners | 16  |
| <i>Plymouth</i>   | Ships    | 26  | <i>Carlebeck</i>    | Ships    | 1   |
|                   | Mariners | 503 | <i>worth</i>        | Mariners | 12  |
| <i>Tulme</i>      | Ships    | 2   | <i>Malbrock</i>     | Ships    | 1   |
|                   | Mariners | 47  |                     | Mariners | 12  |
| <i>Foy</i>        | Ships    | 47  |                     |          |     |
|                   | Mariners | 770 |                     |          |     |
| <i>Bristol</i>    | Ships    | 22  |                     |          |     |
|                   | Mariners | 608 |                     |          |     |
| <i>Tinmouth</i>   | Ships    | 2   |                     |          |     |
|                   | Mariners | 52  |                     |          |     |

The North East.

|                  |          |    |
|------------------|----------|----|
| <i>Bamburgh</i>  | Ships    | 1  |
|                  | Mariners | 9  |
| <i>Newcastle</i> | Ships    | 17 |

Mariners

|                      |          |     |                      |                              |     |
|----------------------|----------|-----|----------------------|------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Waterich</i>      | Mariners | 140 | <i>Harwich</i>       | Mariners                     | 303 |
|                      | Ships    | 1   |                      | Ships                        | 14  |
| <i>Hartipool</i>     | Mariners | 12  |                      | Mariners                     | 283 |
|                      | Ships    | 5   | <i>Ipswich</i>       | Ships                        | 12  |
|                      | Mariners | 145 |                      | Mariners                     | 239 |
| <i>Hull</i>          | Ships    | 16  | <i>Mersey</i>        | Ships                        | 1   |
|                      | Mariners | 466 |                      | Mariners                     | 6   |
| <i>York</i>          | Ships    | 1   | <i>Brickley</i>      | Ships                        | 5   |
|                      | Mariners | 9   |                      | Mariners                     | 61  |
| <i>Ravenfer</i>      | Ships    | 1   | <i>Colchester</i>    | Ships                        | 5   |
|                      | Mariners | 17  |                      | Mariners                     | 90  |
| <i>Woodhouse</i>     | Ships    | 1   | <i>Whitbanes</i>     | Ships                        | 1   |
|                      | Mariners | 22  |                      | Mariners                     | 17  |
| <i>Strocketb</i>     | Ships    | 1   | <i>Malden</i>        | Ships                        | 2   |
|                      | Mariners | 16  |                      | Mariners                     | 32  |
| <i>Burton</i>        | Ships    | 3   | <i>Derwin</i>        | Ships                        | 1   |
|                      | Mariners | 30  |                      | Mariners                     | 15  |
| <i>Swinfleets</i>    | Ships    | 1   |                      |                              |     |
|                      | Mariners | 10  |                      |                              |     |
| <i>Saltfleet</i>     | Ships    | 2   |                      |                              |     |
|                      | Mariners | 49  | <i>Cinque-Ports.</i> |                              |     |
| <i>Grimby</i>        | Ships    | 12  | <i>Haftings</i>      | 21 Ships with 21 Men each,   |     |
|                      | Mariners | 170 |                      | and a Grummet.               |     |
| <i>Wainfleet</i>     | Ships    | 2   | <i>Romney</i>        | 21 Ships, each 21 Men, and   |     |
|                      | Mariners | 40  |                      | a Grummet.                   |     |
| <i>Wrangle</i>       | Ships    | 1   | <i>Heth</i>          | 5 Ships                      |     |
|                      | Mariners | 8   | <i>Dover</i>         | 21 Ships.                    |     |
| <i>Lenn, or Lynn</i> | Ships    | 16  | <i>Sandwich</i>      | 5 Ships, to be rais'd out of |     |
|                      | Mariners | 382 |                      | Goods, and not of Land.      |     |
| <i>Blackney</i>      | Ships    | 2   |                      |                              |     |
|                      | Mariners | 38  |                      |                              |     |
| <i>Scarborough</i>   | Ships    | 1   |                      |                              |     |
|                      | Mariners | 19  |                      |                              |     |
| <i>Yarmouth</i>      | Ships    | 43  |                      |                              |     |
|                      | Mariners | 950 |                      |                              |     |
| <i>Dunwich</i>       | Ships    | 6   |                      |                              |     |
|                      | Mariners | 102 |                      |                              |     |
| <i>Orford</i>        | Ships    | 3   |                      |                              |     |
|                      | Mariners | 62  |                      |                              |     |
| <i>Gosford</i>       | Ships    | 13  |                      |                              |     |

*Of the Sovereignty of the Seas of England, and of the Right belonging to Admirals in the same; as is to be seen in the Records in the Tower.*

**T**O you, Lords Auditors, Deputed by the Kings of England and of France, to Redress the wrongs done to the People of their Kingdoms, and of their Territories subject to their Dominions by Sea and by Land, in the time of Peace, and in Truce; the Procurators of the Prelates, Nobles and Admirals of England, and of the Commonalties of Cities and Towns, and of Merchants, Mariners, Merchant Strangers, and of all others of the said Kingdom of England, and the Territories subject to the Dominion of the said King of England, and other places, as of the Coast of *Genoa, Catalonia,*

*Spain, Alamanie, Zealand, Holland, Denmark, and Norway,* and of divers other places of the Empire, do shew,

That whereas the Kings of England, by reason of the said Kingdom, from times whereof there is no memory to the contrary, That it had been in Peaceable Possession of the Sovereign Dominions of the Sea of England, and of the Isles in the same, in making and establishing Laws and Restraints of Arms, and of Ships otherwise furnished, as Ships of Merchandize to be, and in taking Surety, and affording Safe-guard in all Cases, where need shall be, and in ordering all other things

things necessary for maintaining of Peace, Right, and Equity, between all manner of People, as well of other Dominions as of their own, passing through the said Seas, and the Sovereign Guard thereof; and in doing Justice to High and Low, according to the said Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Restraints, and in all other things may appertain to the Exercise of Sovereign Dominion, in the Places aforesaid. And *A. de B.* Admiral of the said Sea, Deputed by the King of England, and all other Admirals Ordain'd by the said King of England, had been in peaceable Possession of the said Sovereign Guard, with the Cognizance of Justice, and all other Appurtenances, except in case of Appeal, and of Complaint made of them to their Sovereigns the Kings of England, in default of Justice, and for evil Judgment, and especially for making of Stay, doing of Justice, and taking Surety of the Peace of all Ships aforesaid, otherwise furnish'd and set forth otherwise than appertains to a Merchants Ship; and in all other points where a Man may have reasonable Cause to suspect them of Robbery, or any other Misdemeanor. And whereas the Ships of the said Kingdom of England, in the absence of the said Admirals, have been in Peaceable Possession of taking Cognizance, and judging of all Actions done in the said Sea, between all manner of People, according to the said Laws, Statutes, Restraints and Customs: And whereas in the First Article of Alliance lately made between the said Kings, in their Treaties upon the last Peace of Paris, are compriz'd the Words following, in a Schedule annexed to these Presents.

' First, It is treated and agreed, betwixt us and the Messengers and Procurators aforesaid, in the Names of the said Kings, That the said Kings should from this time forward be, one to the other, good, true and loyal Friends, in aiding and assisting gainst all Men, save the Church of Rome, in such manner, That if any one or more, whatsoever they be, would disinherit, hinder or molest the said Kings, in the Franchises, Liberties, Privileges, Rights, Duties or Customs of them, and of their Kingdoms, they shall be good and loyal Friends, in aiding against all Men that may live or die, to defend, keep or maintain, the Franchises, Liberties, Privileges, Rights, Duties and Customs aforesaid, (except the King of England, Monsieur John Duke of Brabant, and his Heirs descending of him and of the Daughter

of the King of England; and except to our aforesaid Lord the King of France, the Excellent Prince John Earl of Hainault) and that the one should not be of Council, or Aiding, where the other may lose Life, Member, Estate, or Temporal Honour.

Monsieur Reynault Grimbault, who styles himself Admiral of the Sea aforesaid, deputed by his Lord the King of France in his War against the Flemings, contrary to the said Alliance, and the Intention of him that made it, wrongfully assumed the Office of Admiralty in the said Sea of England, by the Commission of the said King of France, and us'd the same one year and more, taking the People and the Merchants of the Kingdom of England, and of other Places, passing through the said Sea, with their Goods; and deliver'd the People so taken to the Prisons of his said Lord the King of France, and caus'd their Goods and Merchandize, by his Judgment and Award, to be brought to the Receivers deputed by the said King of France in the Ports of his said Kingdom, as to him forfeited and accruing; and the taking and determining of the said People with their said Goods and Merchandize, as also his said Judgment and Award, hath justly'd before you Lords Auditors in Writing, by Vertue and Authority of his said Commission of the Admiralty aforesaid, by him usurped, and during a Restraint to generally made by the King of England, by reason of his Power, and according to the Form of the Third Article of the Alliance aforesaid, which contains the Words underwritten; requiring that he might be acquitted and absolv'd of the same, to the great Damage and Prejudice of the said King of England, the Prelates, Nobles, and others above nam'd.

Wherefore the said Procurators, in the Names of the said Lords, do pray you Lords Auditors aforesaid, That you cause due and speedy Delivery of their said people, of their Goods and Merchandize so taken and detain'd to be made to the Admiral of the said King of England, and to whom the Cognizance of the same of Right appertains as is before express'd; for that without the Disturbance of you, or any other, he may take Cognizance thereof, and do that which appertains to his Office aforesaid.

And that the said Monsieur Reynault Grimbault be condemn'd and constrain'd to make due Satisfaction to all the Parties damnify'd, to far forth as he shall be able



and in his default, his said Lord the King of France, by whom he was deputed to the said Office; and that after due Satisfaction made to the Parties damnify'd, the said Monsieur *Grimbault* be so duly punish'd for the Violation of the said Alli-

ance that his Punishment may be an Example to others in time to come.

Thus much for *England's* Authentick Proofs of her Sovereignty on the Seas in these latter times.

### *A more ancient Proof of the Sovereignty of the Seas.*

**B**UT *England* may plead a more Ancient Sovereignty o'er the Seas, and not only the *Narrow Seas* that divide *France* and her, but also all other Seas that encompass her, as Well East and West, as North and South.

*Julius Agricola* was the first that Sail'd about *England* and *Scotland*, and subdu'd the Islands of *Orkney*, when *England* was call'd *Britain*.

King *Edgar* made his Summers Progress as appears upon Record, by Sailing about the whole Island of *Albion*, and was guarded with a Navy of 4000 Sail, which he divided into four Squadrons, and appointed 1000 Ships to every Squadron.

King *Arthur* subdu'd *Ireland*, *Iceland*, *Norway*, *Gotland*, and many other Kingdoms, which he could not have done, if he had not been Master of all the then known World by Sea, and in Shipping.

And if we speak of our *English* Conquests, since *William* of *Normandy*, we shall find that *Richard* the 1. in his Expedition to *Jerusalem* in 1099. had with him 254 Tall Ships, and 60 Gallies.

Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry* III. in his Voyage to *Asia* in 1270. had a gallant Navy of Ships, which God Bless'd above other Princes that join'd with him in that Expedition; for he lost never a Ship by Tempest, when the others had 120 Sail cast away.

*Edward* 3. had a Fleet at one time of 1000 Vessels, and because it shall the better appear, I have set down the particular numbers of them and their Men, with the

Names of their Ports from whence they were furnished, immediately before these two Discourses of the Sovereignty of the *Narrow Seas*.

And as for the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, I have set down her Offensive and Defensive Fleets in the said First Book: And comparing the strength at Sea, in the days of King *James*, and King *Charles*, we may very well say and conclude, that they are treble to those in the Queens time, both for the Number, Greatness and Goodness of Ships.

The Rustical People that go about to impugn the Prerogative due to *England* by Sea, are the *Hollanders*, not only by Calumnies, and malicious Practices, but by scandalous Pamphlets, which they divulge to prove the liberty of the Sea.

But the Nature of those base People ought to be consider'd, who turn all things topsie turvy, and make it their business to alter and change the Course of the World, and the Laws Anciently settled in it: They withstand the Rightful Power of Kings, establish'd by God himself, and cast it upon Bear-Brewers and Basket-Makers, whom they obey as Kings: They make the chiefest Offenders Judges, and the Justest Judges Delinquents; and therefore it is no marvel, if they use His Majesty Malipertly at Sea, that Treat their Natural Prince Rebelliously on Land: But mark the end of such Actions, wherein they offend God more than Man; and commonly such Injuries never escape without cruel Revenge in the end.

### *Presidents known to the Author, of Princes, as well Turks as Christians, standing up for Prerogatives in their Seas and Ports.*

**T**HE Prerogative of Princes, within their own Dominions, is without limit, and ever Receiv'd and Practis'd by consent of all Kings and Monarchs; for which Reason, Princes are bound to maintain one anothers Rights in that point

And to put the case in the Accident lately happen'd in the *Dowry*, through the Insolency of the *Hollanders* surprizing certain Ships of *Dunkirk*; I confess, tho' the Injury and Loss be great to the King of *Spain's* Subjects, whole Ships were taken,

ken, yet the Indignity is much more to his Majesty, than to the others; because they were forc'd away from under his Protection and Safeguard

All Ports and Harbours of Princes, are call'd their Chambers, and as dutifully to be observ'd and Reverenc'd by Strangers resorting to them, as the others are; and therefore the *Hollanders* might as well have seiz'd on the Person of a *Dunkirker*, within His Majesty's Chamber and Presence, as have offer'd this inexcusable Contempt, within any of His Majesty's Ports.

And because Examples and Precedents are the Rules, in such Cases, to make good Princes Rights, and uphold their Honours, I will collect some Accidents that happen'd in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, of famous Memory, and *Henry* 3. then King of *France*: I will prosecute the like Cases in the time of King *James*: And lastly, of the King of *Barbary*, a *Mohometan*, who yet stands as much upon the Prerogative of his Ports, as tho' he had Power to maintain them by Shipping.

In the Year 1588. when the *Spanish* Fleet was put from its Anchor by our Fireships in the Road of *Calais*. The Admiral of the Four Gallies, Don *Hugo de Moncado* was forc'd ashore, and there wrack'd: Whereupon my Lord Admiral Commanded her to be attempted with some Ship-Boats, Mann'd out of his Fleet, and making an attempt upon her, the Governor of *Calais*, Monsieur *Gurden*, thought it such an Indignity to his Master, that he shot at the *English* and defended the Gallies, which otherwise had been in our Power to have Burnt.

That same Year, and in the same Action of 88. one of the Gallions of *Spain*, put into *Newhaven* in *Normandy*, which Queen *Elizabeth* understanding, sent some of her Ships to surprize her in the Harbour; and as her Ships were bearing into the said Port, they were forbidden to meddle with her, with Shot from the Castle; which we obey'd, tho' it was well known, That in those days the *French* King did much more Favour the Queen and her Proceedings, than the King of *Spain*: But it is true, that Princes are always more jealous of their Honours, than private Persons.

King *James*, after his Accession to the Crown, finding that many occasions of Controversie were like to arise, betwixt the *Dunkirkers* and *Hollanders*, who were then at War, and the King a Friend to both; he directed by his Proclamation, how far he would protect either of them that should first arrive under his Prote-

ction: commanding such Ships as should arrive first in any of his Ports, that they should have liberty of two Tides to depart before they should be pursu'd by the Enemy: And because he would have the extents of his Chamber declar'd, for all Nations to take notice of its Limits express'd therein, he caus'd it to be drawn by a Line from Headland to Headland, by the Advice of the *Trinity-House*, who could best determine it. This Act of his was duly observ'd, during the time of the Wars betwixt *Spain* and *Holland*; tho' at the beginning the *Hollanders* found themselves much griev'd at this Decree of the King's, when they could not have their Wills upon several Ships of *Dunkirk* that arriv'd in the *Duins*; for Sir *William Monson* was very careful and watchful to observe and obey His Majesty's Commands, without Regard or Respect to either of them.

And whereas a Ship of *Dunkirk* arriving at *Portsmouth*, through some defect the Captain so'd her, retaining her Tackling, Ordnance, and Rigging, which he Shipp'd in an *English* Barque for *Dunkirk*, but by contrary Winds the Barque put into the *Duins* at a time when none of His Majesty's Ships were there Riding; an *Holland* Ship having Intelligence of it, against the Honour of the King he seiz'd upon her, and carry'd her into *Holland*: But this Affront being made known to His Majesty by Monsieur *Habuck*, then Ambassador for the Arch-Duke, His Majesty caus'd Restitution of Ship and Goods to be made; and the States seem'd offended with the Captain that did it.

Lastly, for as much as concerns the King of *Morocco*, all such *Englishmen* as Trade into *Barbary* can testify, That if any Ship, abiding in any of his Ports, be assail'd by any strange Nation, (as I will make comparison betwixt an *Englishman* and a *Spaniard*;) If an *Englishman* shall offer to surprize a *Spaniard* in any of his said Ports, the best Revenge he can take, and as I have known him offer to do, in a Case of my own, Anno 1587. he will instantly seize upon the Persons and Goods of all those *English* that are Resident and Trading in his Country, and Confiscate both Lives and Merchandize; so much Regard he has to the Reputation and State of Monarchy.

And besides these Precedents of Prerogatives of Princes aforesaid, the Civil Law which is Universal, and decides all Controversies at Sea, has adjudged this Case *Amicus Soli* (viz.) If a Ship taken

by an Enemy, be brought into the Port of a Friend to both, the Prize not having been at home with him that took her, before her arrival in a Friend's Country; she is as free as if she had not been taken. And if this be a Resolution in the

Law, How much more is a Prince injur'd by the Case aforesaid, and therefore Punishable, I refer to Consideration; for Harbours and Ports of Princes are Sacred things, and not to be disturb'd or question'd.

*A Discourse directed to the Subjects, exhorting them to pay Ship-Money, and contribute with their Fortunes and Persons to punish the Insolencies of the Dutch.*

CUSTOM becomes Law, which can plead no antienter Right, especially where that Custom is maintain'd by Force and Power; for it is an old Saying, That Custom has taught Nations, Reason Men, and Nature Beasts. Tyrants will not admit of Custom, nor submit to the Justice of their Cause, but to their own proper Power and Will: But God be thanked this Kingdom never admitted of Tyrants Titles, but of their true Inheritors, descending from their Ancestors; and if this Descent were at any time impugn'd by Usurpers, the Violence lasted not long, but Right took place, like the true Religion, which pestiferous Heresies could never darken or suppress.

And as Antiquity, Descent and Justice have Crown'd the Kings of this Land with lawful Authority, from our first *William* to this very day; so have the Seas given as Authentick Privileges and Prerogatives to the Kings thereof, by consent of Foreign Nations, as the former Record doth Declare; and ever since we have held an undoubted Succession, which makes our Title the more Strong and Potent. For First we plead Consent and Allowance of other Countries. Secondly, the long use and execution of it. Thirdly, a continual Possession without contradiction or opposition. And Lastly, our Force, that in all Ages has been able to maintain it, in the spite of any that should gainsay it.

And as we have receiv'd this Prerogative from our Forefathers, from whom all other Goodness descended, as both Tradition and Records do witness, who should doubt of the Truth thereof? Or who may not as well question the Clemency of *Julius Caesar*, the Magnificency of *Alexander*, or the Goodness of *Trajan*? If Actions and Accidents of times past be not allow'd, all things that are gone before or like a Dream, which when we awake we remember not, nor know any thing of it. *Cicero* saith, That if a

Man knew no more than when he is Born, he should be always a Child; for History and Monuments make Heroical Deeds to live again, which otherwise would be buried in everlasting Forgetfulness.

But can there be a more approv'd Testimonial, than that we live and enjoy the Ancient Right left to the Crown of this Kingdom, as many ancient Families have done their Lands and Possessions to their Heirs and Successors, who since, through the lewdness of the times, have Prodigally consum'd them, and made themselves the Scorn of the World: Therefore let the greater Mischiefs be shunn'd by Example of the less, that we may avoid the Disgrace, Imputation and Shame, the *Hollanders* endeavour to put upon us, by questioning and denying the Sovereignty of the Sea, as is apparent by their late insolent carriage to His Majesty's Ships serving in the Narrow Seas; an Injury without Satisfaction, unless we be publicly righted by open Proclamation, not only in the excuse of the Fact, but in acknowledging His Majesty's undoubted Right; which if they deny to do, they must be made to know, That the way to wipe out old Offences, is not to offer new ones.

But if ambiguous Words, or feign'd Promises will give us satisfaction, no doubt they will think it a little Lip-labour for their Tongues to pronounce it; but in that point they are like Spies, that will dissimble one thing and say another; it will be all one to us to be Deaf, as to Hearken to what they say, unless we compell them *per force*; for the nature of them is, to be proud when Successful, and to become Disloyal, and Base withal; as on the contrary, when cast down they will yield and sink under Calamity, which is the right property of Cowards.

Here is an occasion offer'd for all true *Englishmen*, to have a feeling of a publick and National Wrong; for a Reproach to a discreet Man, is more than the Lance of an Enemy. What Affront can be greater

greater, or what can make a Man valiant, than a Dishonour done to ones Prince and Country, especially by a People that was wont to know no more, than how to catch, pickle, and feed upon Fish, till now they are made drunk with our *English Beer*, and so rude and unruly, that they strike at us their next and best Neighbours and Friends.

But since our *English Beer* has that operation on their Brains, let us keep it from them, and let them find the effect of our Laws against Drunkards, which is the Whipping post, as not worthy of a better Revenge; For a Prince that punishes publick Offences, and forgives private Injuries to himself, has true Honour.

Towards this Defence of our Reputation, it is requisite some be aiding with Money, and others with their Persons. They that have not the one must supply the defect with the other; let the Rich assist in liberal Payment, and leave the rest to the Valour of Soldiers, who will think of nothing but Revenges suitable to the Wrong. And nothing claims Revenge more than a Contempt of our Prince.

This done, the next thing to be recommended is Celerity, as the principal advantage in War; and therefore let us disdain, and not Dally with the *Hollanders*, for it gives a Coward Courage: Our Houses are not made of Glass, that we need fear their throwing Stones; we shall find them like a Lion, not so fierce as he is painted, nor themselves so terrible as they are imagin'd. Let us strike and not threaten, for that is Womanish; and it is an old Saying, That a threaten'd Man eats Bread.

Yet let not what we do, be done in Fury, for Fury admits no Reason; let our Actions be govern'd with Discretion and Temper, for Rashness causes Repentance; and he that seeks not to avoid Danger, and with Valour to encounter it, Tempts God more than he Trusts in him. The greatest Glory of a Commander, is, to obtain a Victory with the least loss; for gems of War are the Products of wisdom; and Secrecy is requisite to conceal all designs from the Enemy, who is better overcome by Policy, than dint of Valour.

The Property of a Soldier is to be courageous in Fight, and free from Fear; for the true valiant Man loves Life and fears not Death; he is spur'd on by Revenge when Injuries require it, and knowing that Death cannot be avoided, is the less afraid of it. We see daily what little value Life is of, since every Soldier will venture it for 6*d*. The Badge a Soldier

should bear, ought to be writ in his Forehead, *For my God, my Prince and Country, I adventure my Life*. Then seeing Death is of so little value, and the Honour of ones Prince of such high Esteem, let us not shew our selves so indifferent, as to regard whether we Dye or Live: Let us seek to imitate the *Lacedaemonians*, among whom, a Matron being told, they only had the rule of their Husbands, answer'd, It was no wonder, because they only brought forth valiant Children. I need say no more to this point, since you are *Englishmen*, and therefore brave; you see your Prince and Country injured and affronted, which your Ancestors were never wont to put up, without bitter Revenge: The People that do this wrong, are so inferior to you, that they are unworthy the Title of Gentlemen, or the name of a Nation; their Original being drawn out of the Sea, as by the Etymology of *Zealand* it appears, that is to say, Sea and Land; their Lives, their Religion, their Education and Breeding, differs as much from the Society of Civil People of other Nations, as they differ from one another in diversity of Sects and Schisms. They live more by false Fame and Fortune, than by any Truth spoken of them; their Fame is gain'd by the intestine War they maintain against their Prince and Country, and by the People of the several Nations that slave them, who spread abroad their own Glory and Praise, because they are the Actors of their Wars. Few judge rightly of the Cause of their Renown; for if we take it truly as it is in it self, it is the Situation of their Country, their Rivers, the Sea fill'd with the multitude of their Ships, and the jealousy other Nations have of the Greatness of *Spain*, that are the true grounds on which they erect their Monuments of Fame.

As for their Fortune, I do not marvel at it; for Fortune often favours the Unjust; and God, who is the disposer of Fortune, as all things else, can change their Good into bad, and many times he suffereth a wicked Man to climb that he may give him the greater fall when he is at his highest. Therefore let nothing dismay your Heroical spirits; but go on with your Undertakings.

Now will I apply my self to Men of Means and Estates, who must bear the burthen, as the Soldiers do the brunt of the War. There are two Motives that lead you to Revenge; the one is Honour to our Nation, the other a general and particular Security to your selves and Country: The Affront done you is often repeated, with the Qualities of the People that

that did it, which are such as can claim no Honour to themselves by the Rules of Christianity; which makes the Affront greater than from a King or Prince, who can distinguish concerning giving or taking Affronts. A Disgrace to few, is born by a few: but when it is done to a Country, all Men of that Country ought to have a feeling of it, by the Law and Rule of *Solon*; and whereas a private Man's Reputation is as dear to him, as his Eyes, so ought (in a higher degree of Comparison) the Honour of our Prince and Country to be, as the Noble Acts and Deeds of the *Romans* have taught by sundry Examples.

Let not the Meanness, the Baseness and the Situation of the *Hollanders* make us despise their Force and Abilities, to endanger us; for we want not Precedents, that all the flourishing and civil Commonwealths of the World, have been Subdu'd and Conquer'd by as mean and rude People as they are: *Brennus* was entic'd to the Conquest of *Italy*, by the sweet and delicious Wines that Country afforded, which neither he nor his Soldiers had ever tasted. The Air, the Soil and Plenty, drew the *Goths*, the *Huns* and the *Vandals*, from out of the Habitations of Snow and Ice, to People the delightful Southern Parts, where the Sun spreads forth his Beams and Heat. All goodness that is comprehended in these Southern Countries, abounds in *England*, and is much desir'd by the *Hollanders*, who well know the State of it and us.

You are not Ignorant what will ensue by their labouring to exceed us in Shipping; for if they prevail, you shall find our Laws and Government obnoxious to them: Your fair Buildings without, and Ornaments within, will give better Accommodation to *Haunce*, than a mean Cabbin in a Filtherboat, which is their ordinary abode. There is nothing so Unjust or Cruel, which they will not find a Text of Scripture to execute upon you, they are so perfect in the Interpretation of it. Our Danger is the greater by our Neighbour, having, as it were, but a Pond betwixt us; but especially through the Ignorance of our vulgar People, infatuated with their Republican Government, with their ridiculous and phantastical Religion, and with

their imagin'd Integrity and Sincerity; but principally out of Faction and Discontent against the time we live in, not having sense to consider the Benefit they receive, nor ever ceasing to slander the Actions of others. But let them beware, for it is better for the Moule and Frog to agree, than for the Kite to be Umpire: It will be better for you to contribute now whilst you have something, than to be bereav'd of all you have; He that hath Nothing adventures Nothing, and is as ready to make havock of you, as an Enemy.

The Question will be, Whether Fear or Covetousness shall prevail? Fear makes you prevent the worst, but Covetousness keeps you from preventing it, when Modest is requir'd. Fear is not so grievous to a miserable Man that only hears of it, but does not see it, because he presumeth his Wealth will defend him: But let him beware, for where Law serves not, Weapons have Power over him and his Wealth; and then he will have cause to say, That Poverty was bad, but Riches much worse, when it brings him into that Thralldom which he will be forc'd to confess was not caus'd by Poverty, but by too much Plenty, and want of Discretion and Grace to employ it.

You are like a Covetous Man, who, out of Avarice, will not be at the Charge of mending his Chimney to avoid the Hazard of burning his House, or the stopping of an Inundation of Water, with the Cost of casting up of a Bank: But here you will meet with worse than Fire or Water, that is, with a merciless unavoidable War, where all Comfort shall be taken away, but only that you shall see your Enemies in as ill case as your selves. Do like the Matrons of *Rome* in case of Necessity, who wanting a Cup of Gold to present to *Apollo*, contributed towards it with their Jewels and Bracelets, for which they receiv'd the Reward of Virtue, Honour and Fame. And to conclude, these Changes will make you confess and find, That Man is the Pattern of Frailty; the Spoil of Time; the Game of Fortune; the Image of Inconstancy, and the Tryal of Envy: Therefore trust not the World, for it pays not what it seems to promise.



*The Author's Reasons, Why the King did not sooner resent the Wrongs offer'd him by the Dutch, and for his setting out the Fleet in 1635.*

THE King, out of his great Providence and Wisdom, weighing the State of Things, as they then stood abroad, thought not good by Force and Strength to right himself upon the *Hollanders*, for their Insolencies committed in the Narrow Seas, tho' all the World knew he had a Power by the force of his Navy, to revenge himself on them; but his Majesty graciously rather imputed the *Hollanders* Carriage to the rude, rustical and unmannerly Behaviour of some of their Captains, who were never taught Morality, Civility, Humanity, or Honesty: Wherefore his Majesty held it fitter in this case, that their Masters the States should know their Errors, by a sharp Reprehension, declar'd by his Majesty's Resident there abiding, than by any way at present to chastize them. He also saw, that his Neighbour Princes were distracted, and strove underhand to join in League one with another, for the best Advantage of their State, wherein he was to behold and expect the Success and Event of things then in hand, and to be no more assur'd of one's Friendship than of another's, till this Year 1635. his Majesty had tryal of the *Hollanders* Inconstancy and Unthankful Proceedings; for, contrary to the rules of common Honesty, they neglected his Majesty's repeated Offers of Peace, to make an end of those long and intestine Wars, both themselves and their Predecessors had long suffer'd under: But I say they little regarding or esteeming his Favours in that kind, rather cast themselves upon *France*, that offer'd to support and maintain their ancient and unlawful Divisions.

After much working, and Ambassadors often passing between them and *France*, at last they concluded on an Offensive and Defensive League, by which *France* was to declare War against *Spain*. The Consequences of such a League being dangerous, and an unlimited Ambition never with safety to be trusted, his Majesty had just cause to be suspicious of these Innovations: He had reason to weigh these

things, and to consider why *Holland* and *France* should so strictly Combine and League together, both of them being Neighbours to him; and why it should be now hastned more than in former times, when *France* and *England*, gave an indifferent and a sufficient Relief to *Holland* by consent.

The King also seeing the ambitious Enterprizes of *France*; assisted and animated by *Holland*, to disturb the Christian and Peaceable Common-Wealth of *Europe*, and unjustly to seize upon his Neighbouring Territories, without Cause given, yea, not sparing by Treachery and Force to enjoy the Countries of his weakest and nearest Friend, the ancient State of *Lorraine*, which lay in his way, to hinder his unlawful Designs; these were sufficient Motives and Reasons, for the King's Majesty to behold his own case with an Eye of Prevention. But especially finding a Combination betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to divide and devour the Provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to possess the Maritime Towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others opposite to *England*, this made his Majesty to think how to quench the Fire that might flame into his own House: And having Intelligence that they were both of them to join in one Fleet, a thing not usually done by the *French*; and they making no publick Declaration of the Design of their Ships, as commonly Princes use to do in such Cases, his Majesty could make no less construction, than that they intended to deprive him of his ancient and allow'd Prerogative of the Narrow Seas, which behoved him as much to defend as his Kingdom; for he that covets the one, will do as much by the other if it were in his power to effect it: Wherefore his Majesty arm'd these Ships following to Sea, to enquire Reason at their hands; not intending to Injure any Nation, but to keep himself and Subjects from being Injur'd, and to curb the Insolency and Pride of any People that should go about to infringe his Royal Prerogative.



## A Navy set out by his Majesty in the Year 1635.

## Ships.

*The Mere-honour, a Ship Royal,*  
*The James,*  
*The Swiftsure*  
*The George,*  
*The St. Andrew,*  
*The Henrietta Maria,*  
*The Vanguard,*  
*The Rainbow,*  
*The Lyon,*  
*The Reformation,*  
*The Leopard,*  
*The Mary Rose,*  
*The Adventure,*  
*The Swallow,*  
*The Antelope,*  
*The Lyon's Second Whelp,*  
*The Lyon's Third Whelp,*  
*The Lyon's Eighth Whelp,*  
*The Lyon's Tenth Whelp,*

## Commanders.

*Robert Earl of Lindsey, Admiral.*  
*Sir William Monson, Vice Admiral.*  
*Sir John Penington, Rear Admiral.*  
*Capt. James Mountague,*  
*Capt. Walter Stenart,*  
*Capt. Thomas Porter,*  
*Sir Francis Siddensham,*  
*Capt. Thomas Povey,*  
*Capt. John Mennis,*  
*The Lord Pawlett,*  
*Capt. Lewis Kirke,*  
*Capt. George Cartwright,*  
*Capt. Parramore,*  
*Capt. Henry Stradling,*  
*Capt. Richard Fogg,*  
*Capt. Anthony Penruddock,*  
*Capt. Peter Lindsey,*  
*Capt. Thomas Price,*  
*Capt. William Smith.*

## Merchant Ships.

*The Sampson,*  
*The Royal Exchange,*  
*The Freeman,*  
*The Pleiades,*  
*The William and Thomas,*  
*The Minikin Catch,*

## Commanders.

*Capt. Thomas Kirke,*  
*Capt. John Hyde,*  
*Capt. Richard Feilding,*  
*Capt. David Purvey,*  
*Capt. John Fletcher,*  
*John Barton Master.*

This glorious and victorious Fleet departed from *Tilbury-Hope* the 26th of *May*, with Direction and Resolution to give no occasion of Hostility, or to make any Nation Enemy to his Majesty; only to defend his and his Kingdom's Honour, that had been lately and lavishly tax'd by the vain boasting of a Fleet of *French* and *Hollanders*, which join'd off *Portland* the last of *May*: Their bragging Pretence was to question his Majesty's Prerogative on the Narrow Seas; and they stuck not to proclaim wherefore they came; but it is to be observ'd, that the greatest Threatners are the least Fighters, and so far'd it with them; for they no sooner heard of our readines to find them, but they pluck'd in their Horns, and quitted our Coast, never more repairing upon it, which gave great Satisfaction to the Shires we pais'd, that before were struck with a Terror. And because we would be the better inform'd where the Fleet was, and what it did, we sent a Bark upon the Coast of *Britany*, whither we knew they were retir'd, and by it understood their Designs, the weak condition of their Ships, Heart,

and Abilities any more to look upon the *English* Coast.

From the time of the Return of this Bark till the First of *October*, we made good our Seas and Shores, gave Laws to our Neighbour Nations, and restor'd the ancient Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas to our Gracious King, as was ever due to his Majesty's Progenitors.

Whilst this Fleet was preparing, and Money raising to furnish it, there were many idle, factious and scandalous Reports invented, and spread abroad by disaffected People. Their Speeches tended to the Dishonour of the King, and no less to the Reproach of his Ministers of State, saying, That the fitting out of such a Fleet, was but a Colour to draw Money from the Multitude, to be otherwise employ'd than was pretended: But when they saw the end in Arming such a Royal Navy, and the Necessity of it, to give Terror to the World, after so many imputations cast upon our Nation, by our former unfortunate Actions at Sea, it bred a great Alteration in the Disposition of People, as well at home as abroad.

It appear'd at home by the readines and willingness of those that before seem'd to oppose it, and were most averse unto it, who now being satisfy'd as to the mistrust they had, shew'd themselves more ready and willing to contribute to it than others, being satisfy'd it so nearly concern'd the Honour of their King and Country.

We may say it had the like Success abroad, where, at the beginning of our Preparations, the Gazetteers stuck not to divulge in all Languages many false invented Reports, which no doubt they receiv'd out of *England*, as namely, the Discontent of the Subjects, and their general Denial to contribute towards it with Moneys; besides many other invented Calumniation, which now they find themselves abus'd and deceiv'd in; for whosoever will speak with Travellers lately come from beyond Sea, or confer with Merchants and others, that have weekly Intelligence and Correspondence by Letters from all parts of *Europe*, will find what the World conceives of this Fleet, and the Fear all Nations apprehend of it, not knowing which of them it may bring into danger. They now acknowledge what wise Men in *England* knew before, that the King and his Kingdom could not be more Honour'd, than by this Noble Expedition: The Terror of it has made them that did not Love us, at least to Fear us. It has stopp'd the Mouths of Detractors, who now impute our former ill govern'd Actions to the true and infallible Causes, when witless Partiality, want of Experience, and the vain Ambition of Men in Authority, more than Reason, had the Disposing of them.

The *Hollanders* by this time, I doubt not, find, That this Royal Fleet of ours is able to make the Seas quake under us where we pass, and themselves to tremble when they call to mind the intollerable Affronts they have put upon us, fearing they may require revenge; for there is no Nation naturally so base, so soon elevated with good Fortune, and dejected when they see themselves over-mast'd: They are rash and mad in their Fury and Drink, but want Valour or Courage to justify their Actions, when they are Sober and call'd to an account for them.

But if the threatening Shew will not abate their insufferable Insolencies, then let us consider the State of their Country, their Harbour, their Depths, or what advantage else we can take of them, by Stratagems, or otherwise, if they offend us. I will begin with the North part of *Holland*,

and take *Zeland* and the Ports of *Flanders* in my way, till I arrive at *Calais* in *Picardy*, in the Dominions of *France*.

I will not speak of the Port of *Embsen*, because it cannot be accounted *Holland*, for properly it belongs to the Earl of that Name, call'd the Count of *Embsen*; but this Town imitating the Precedent of *Rebellious Holland*, whose Doctrine is to cast off the Yoke of Monarchy, and to live under the Rule and Government they have begun and taught; the Subjects of the said Earl have depriv'd him, not only of his Estate, but of his Life also.

But God, who is the Revenger of all evil Actions, and commonly inflicts the same Punishment on the Actors, they offend in, has made an Example of that City and Country, since they practis'd their foul Treachery against their Prince, inasmuch as they are now become most slavish to the *Hollanders*, who Tyrannize over them with an irresistible Garison; and thus they are oppress'd without any hope of Redemption.

There is no Comparison for goodness, between this Harbour of *Embsen* in the East of *Friseland*, and all others from *Brest* in *Britanny*, till you come to it. Next to it to the Southward is the *Texel* in *Holland*; it lies North East and South-West 47 Leagues from the Foreland in *Kent*, and from *Tarmouth* in *Norfolk* 32 Leagues; not to speak of the Chanel of the *Fly*, nor another Chanel betwixt the *Spanish* Chanel and the *Land-Deep*, which are for small Shipping. I will describe the two main Channels, that is to say, the *Spanish Gut* and the *Land-Deep* aforesaid; they are both of one sort and goodness, tho' not for all Winds; they Flow at a Spring-Tide Twenty four foot, and fall Sixteen at an Ebb; they lead at a Road under the Island of *Texel*, which defends them from the Sea. This Island is poorly Inhabited, and of small Strength, as it is us'd; but he that has it, has the Command of all the Towns in that part of *Holland*, *Gelderland* and *Friseland*, who can neither pass in or out, without the Permission of the Island: And this is my first Observation of the Advantage we can take of *Holland*.

The next Port of Importance to *Texel* is the *Nass* in West *Holland*, Twenty four Leagues South-West and by South from thence, and to the Foreland West and by South Twenty four Leagues. The *Nass* has three Channels, two better, and the third like the *Texel*; all three meeting at the *Bril*, which commands all Ships of *Skedam*, *Roterdam*, *Delph Haven*, *Dort*, and all other Creeks thereabouts. My

second Observation for our Advantage, is, to get Possession of the *Bril*, as formerly we had. Two Leagues from the *Maese*, South-west, lies the *Goree*, the same Course and Distance from the *Foreland* in *England*, that the other is. This Harbour exceeds all the rest before nam'd, having 18 Foot at Low-Water, with a large and broad Channel, but not frequented by great Ships but out of Necessity, when they have not Water sufficient to go into the *Maese*, till they have unladen part of their Goods at *Goree*.

The Cause why this Harbour is no more in request, is, by reason that *Rotterdam*, and the other Towns before nam'd, are far distant from thence; and such Merchandize as is brought in great Ships to the *Goree*, must be Transported in smaller Vessels through a Creek call'd the *Spy*, which is a great Delay, Trouble and Expence to the Merchant.

Six Leagues West from thence lies the Island of *Waterland* in *Zealand*, where *Flushing* is seated. There are three Channels like-wise, better than the rest, except the *Goree*: The Inconveniency of these Channels is, that they are long and narrow, and yet I have known at several times most part of the King's Ships turn in at the *Weelings*. This is so well known to the

*English*, that there needs no other Repetition of it.

The next good Harbour to *Flushing*, laying aside *Sluce*, which is not worth naming, is *Ostend*, twelve Leagues West-South-West from thence; and eight Leagues farther is *Dunkirk*.

The King of *Spain* makes great use of these Two Towns for annoying the *Hollanders* by Sea; but a League and a half from *Dunkirk*, there is lately another Harbour erected call'd *Mardike*, that will entertain a whole Fleet of the greatest Ships that sails on the Seas, and lies more to the hurt and damage of *England*, than all the rest of the Harbours aforesaid; And therefore if ever Wars should happen betwixt us and *Spain*, it would behove us to get Possession of it, for we have had a late Trial of the Mischief it hath done us by our late short War with *Spain*.

I confess it will be a hard thing for us to effect it, because of the extraordinary Fortifications to Seaward; and to think to keep in their Ships by sinking Vessels in the mouth of the Channel, is a folly, for the Quicklands are such upon that Coast, that as often as a Ship shall be sunk, she will be suddenly swallow'd up in the Sand; so that this Stratagem will not serve.

### *An Introduction to the Earl of Northumberland's Voyage, in the Year 1636.*

HIS Majesty finding that the last years Fleet of 1635, produc'd both Fame and Safety to himself and Realm, as is apparent by the Voyage of that year; he resolv'd to persevere in his former Resolutions, that it should not be look'd upon by other Nations, as a sudden unpremeditated Determination, or a vain, needless Ostentation, to shew what he could do, if put to it by an Enemy. Therefore he prepar'd this year 1636, a Fleet nothing inferior to the others, to make good what he had declar'd before, (*viz.*) To Maintain the Sovereignty of the Seas, due to the Crown of *England* in all Ages, and left him by his Progenitors: As also to defend the Peaceable Commerce and Traffique that had evermore belonged and continued to his Jurisdiction, but had lately been disturb'd by the *Dutch*, committing Hostilities upon the *Dunkirkers* under his Majesty's Protection.

But as this Fleet could not be furnish'd and prepar'd without great Expence, it was thought convenient to carry it equally

betwixt the King and his Subjects, in regard the Expedition was for their Good, Safety, and Reputation, as well as for the Honour of the King; for as the Office of a King is to be careful of all his Provinces, Countreys, and Subjects, to be Partial to none, but a Father to all with indifferency; so the Part of Subjects is to pay a Dutiful Obedience when they shall be call'd upon, for the Reasons aforesaid; Whereupon his Majesty directed his Letters to every Shire, to levy such a proportion of Money as would suffice for the furnishing of the intended Navy.

But as general Demands and Contributions of Money are commonly distasteful to the Multitude, who are divided in Opinions, every one pretending a seeming Reason and Excuse; so did it make as great a difference in Men's Minds and Humours, some complaining of their Want and Poverty, some excepting against it as a needless and unnecessary Charge, disapproving the Design: And others excepting against the Unexperienc'd

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Commanders, who they said were fit to make a good Design miscary.

But if the Detractors will but weigh, and with indifference consider their suppos'd Objections, it will appear rather a Refractory Disposition, that desires to possess others with the like Perverseness, than any just Cause they have to complain against it.

If these Demands seem too heavy a Burthen for all the Subjects in general to undergo, let them look back, and with indifference compare the times of Queen *Elizabeth*, with these, and they will find what daily Demands of Money were then made at their hands, and how willingly they were granted, for the Maintenance of a War against so mighty a Prince as the King of *Spain* upon his own Coast, for the Relief of *Holland*, and to assist the King of *France*; besides the Domestique dangerous Rebellious War in *Ireland*; which Expences they will perceive, were beyond comparison greater than the present, as appears by what follows.

In 88. the City of *London* being required to furnish 5000 Soldiers, and 15 Ships of War; of their own accord they granted 10000 Soldiers and 30 Ships, and by their example other Towns within the Realm furnish'd in Ships and Pinnaces 50, besides what the Nobility and Country sent in Horse and Foot.

In the Expedition to *Portugal* in 1589. Her Majesty furnish'd only six Ships of Her own; whereof two were of the smallest rank, and adventur'd in that Expedition 60000 *l.* the whole number of Vessels being 146. with 14000 Soldiers, and 4000 Sailors.

That same Year *London* sent 1000 Soldiers to the aid of the King of *France*, and several Shires sent the like aid upon the same occasion into *France* under my Lord *Willoughby*.

The City of *London* in the Year 1594. furnish'd Six Ships, Two Pinnaces, and 450 Soldiers, for Three Months, and the following Year 1595. *London* furnish'd 1000 Soldiers with all sorts of Provision, and sent them to *Dover* to the relief of *Calais*, when it was taken by the Cardinal. Many other Forces were sent out of the Country upon that Service.

The following Year 1596. was the Expedition to *Cadix*, and the year after the *Iland Voyage*; to which two Exploits, not only *London*, but all *England* contributed very largely.

In *January* 1598. a great Tax was laid upon *London*, for *Holland*; and our Soldiers there were sent into *Ireland*. The like

was done in *February* following. The same year *London* furnish'd 16 Ships and 6000 Men, besides a great number of Horse and Foot, that were sent out of the Country, at the time that my Lord of *Essex* was in *Ireland*: And in the year of 1600. *London* sent 500 Men into *Ireland*, and furnish'd them, besides great numbers sent out of the Country.

That same year the City of *London* built and furnish'd five Gallies to Sea, and was at a great Charge for the Earl of *Essex's* Entry into *London*.

One thousand Soldiers were sent into *Holland*, and every one allow'd them 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per Man, besides those that were sent out of the Country. Moreover, there were 400 Soldiers sent in *October* out of *London*; and in *May* following there was a great Press in *London* for *Osland*: And in the last year of Queen *Elizabeth*, *London* sent and furnish'd 2000 Soldiers into *Ireland*, and two Ships and a Pinnace, which flood them in 5000 *l.*

If these Benevolencies were granted so willingly, and without repining or gain-saying of the Subjects, as well appears; Let us consider of Times, and judge what of the Estate of Men in those Days, compar'd with the present. First, in the Mens forwardness to serve their Prince and Country, which their Hearts and Minds, are now alienated from. Secondly, it is to be consider'd, how much more able Men are now to contribute, than at that time they were, by their Encrease of Wealth and Riches, which they have gain'd, by King *James* his bringing Peace with him into this Realm, as shall appear by these particulars following, that shall be by the way of Queries.

Query, Of the State of *London*, in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, compar'd with these present; As namely the Buildings, with the number of Inhabitants in them, and by consequence the Riches encreas'd.

Query, Of our Trade and Commerce betwixt the time I speak of, and now in being; as namely the Traffique with *Spain*, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging, which we were then debarred of, by reason of our Wars with *Spain*; the profit whereof may be in Value to the Subject Ten times as much as the King's Custom comes to, as may be apparently made out by the Custom Books.

Query, Of our Trade to the *East-Indies*, and the Gain thereof, begun and follow'd since King *James* came to his Crown; as also a late Trade we have found into *Gruica* for Gold.

*Quere,* the State of *Greenland*, and the Whale fishing there, that hath been discovered and profecured, with little Charge and great Profit to the Merchant, since King *James* possesseth this Kingdom.

*Quere,* Of the several Plantations and Colonies since that time, with the employment of People which otherwise would have been a burthen, and a consuming of Viſuals to this Commonwealth.

*Quere,* Of the abundance of Shipping that hath been employed in that Navigation; as also of the increase of Ships since the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, which is no hard thing to know; for when she dyed, there were not above four Merchants Ships in *England* of 400 Tuns each.

And reckoning but the increase of Ships since then, it would cause Admiration, and be a reason for Men to contribute to Ship-money, when they shall consider the Wealth increas'd by the Trade of those Ships that are never idle, but continually sailing from place to place.

*Quere,* Of the peaceable State of *Ireland*, and the long continuance of War before King *James* came to the Crown; as also of the excessive Charge *England* was continually at to maintain that Kingdom that now is not only able to uphold itself, but to afford great Profit to His Majesty.

But whereas our refractory Men alledge for their excuse, in denying His Majesty's Demands of Money, and comparing the times together, say, they were forc'd to it in the Queens time, out of necessity, being drawn to it by a dangerous War with *Spain*; not weighing with themselves that His Majesty's Actions have been to anticipate and prevent a War, as is to be seen in my next Narrative: And no Man can be so ignorant, but he must confess it is less hazard to prevent a War before it is begun, than with Valour and Courage to resist it, after it is begun.

Wherefore are our Castles seated on the Sea-coast, but to prevent the Invasion of an Enemy, or other Insolencies offer'd by Strangers? Or why are People train'd in several Shires, but to be in readines to prevent Foreign and Domestique Attempts? Whereas, if Castles were to be built, and Soldiers Trained, for the time the Enemy shall appear upon the Coast, in what estate were *England* to make a Defence? And this Implores His Majesty now has by Sea may be paralleled with the other two Comparisons: And I will therefore conclude, that the Wit

of Man doth not consist so much in seeing, as in foreseeing and preventing Perill and Danger that may fall upon him.

But whereas Poverty is made the Excuse for Peoples not giving what His Majesty requires; the true Cause shall appear, that hath bred your Want, as you shall confess; and that it is in your Powers to redress it: As namely your Pride, and other needless and unnecessary Expences, that depend on it. The Second is your Gormandizing and excessive Feasting, lately crept in amongst you, not formerly used. The Third is the hateful and loathsome Custom of Drinking, which begets all Disorders, and is the Encreaser of all Vices. The Fourth is a vain and ambitious Desire of Titles, which after they are purchas'd with Money, draws on a greater Expence upon their Estates, to maintain that Port so dearly bought. The Fifth is the sumptuous Buildings and Ornaments of Houses, all Men striving for Ostentation to out-do their Neighbours, with whom they are in Faction and Emulation. The Sixth is the miserable Covetousness of some, and the lavish Prodigality of others. The Seventh is the want of Care to have things sold according to their just Value, in equity of Law; but that every Man rates his own Commodity according to the necessity of the Buyer. The Eighth is the Extortion taken by griping Usurers, from People that are necessitated. But above all, the number of base Lawyers that cause Suits, not with a Charitable Intent, to end, but Knavishly to multiply them; and with that Expence to the Client, as no Question can rise, of what value soever, but a Bill, Answer and Order will be of more Charge, both to the Plaintiff and Defendant, than what is demanded of most of you, towards the furnishing his Majesty's Royal Navy. These are the true Causes of Want in Commonwealths, which proceeds from your own Superfluities, Vanities, and your revengeful Humours.

Most of these Abuses were foreseen by *Licurgus*, the Great Law-maker, who made Decrees against them: He also forbade pompous Burials, and banish'd the use of Silver and Gold, as things most prejudicial to Commonwealths; which Law of his continu'd 500 Years, and no Man found himself agrieved for want of Money; for it made Love, increas'd Goodness, and banish'd Vices.

But that which you term Want, proceeds not from Poverty, but from Plenty for he that hath much, desires more, Covetous



Covetousness being never satisfy'd. The true use of Riches is in him that hath most and desires least; and the best Riches is to abstain from Covetousness.

In old times, he was esteem'd Rich that was of a fair, upright and good Behaviour. He that shall except against the Honourable Design of this Fleet, may be accounted an Arrogant and Ignorant Person, and a Contemner of the King's Propositions; excusing it under colour of Want, and with little Reason. Those that repine at Princes Actions out of Stubbornness, or Refractoriness, are within a Degree of Impugning the Sovereignty; and in such a Case they want nothing but Power to carry on their conceiv'd Treason. They do not consider that Princes are born not to obey any but their own Laws, and the Subjects are born to submit to the Wills of Princes, where Reason shall be required at their hands, for the good of the Common-wealth; and that nothing deserves such severe Chastisement from Kings, as such Contempt as opposes them or their Authority. *Marcus Peto* says, That Common-wealth is everlasting, where the King seeks Obedience, and People labour to get his Love by their Carriage.

Later times have taught us a most woful and lamentable President, in the like Case, to parallel with this: *Lewis* the Second, King of *Hungary*, being threaten'd with the Power of *Soliman*, the Great and Magnificent *Turk*, requir'd Aid of his Subjects to withstand so puissant an Enemy, that was like an Inundation of Water to overflow him, them and their Country; but most of his Subjects, whom you too nearly imitate in Obstinacy, refus'd to contribute to his Demands, standing upon the Privileges of the Law so long, till it was too late to give Succour; and in conclusion, the King and his Army were destroy'd, and his People and Country became Slaves to the *Turkish* Government, under which they now live.

Herein appear'd the Ingratitude of the vulgar sort to their King; and how easily they might have met with this danger, before it light so heavily upon them: They regarded not the benefit they had received, or might receive at their Princes Hands, if they had been willing to have yielded to his Desires; for that Subject that will not yield to Obedience, may as well renounce the name of King and his Authority, and by consequence resist Laws, Justice, and Peace, and then follows a continual War, without hope of Reconciliation, and the Common-wealth is destroy'd.

I observe, That nothing breeds this wilfulness in Subjects so much as Jealousie, that thinks Princes have other ends than they pretend; not considering that Kings Affairs must be kept secret, for their Designs being discover'd, are disappointed and ruin'd.

The *Romans* Success was imputed to nothing so much as Secrecy in their Expeditions: They were wont to say, That when they discover'd their Secrets, they gave away their Liberty, accounting Secrecy as the Guardian of their Affairs; and it is an old Saying, That a Secret is hard for One to keep, enough for Two, and too much for Three. Of all things, a Subject should not desire to know the Secrets of Princes; for *Philip of Macedon* bid a Philosopher to demand any thing at his hands, and it should be granted: The Philosopher humbly besought him, as his greatest Suit, That he would not discover to him his Secrets; and yet you would be wiser than Philosophers, to murmur at Kings Actions, when you should with Obedience seek to gain their Love; for no King can be so unnatural to himself, or such an Enemy to his People, as not to Govern to the Profit of both, because he receives equal Gain or Loss with his Subjects.

Nothing deceives Men more than a false Concept of themselves, which makes them run into unavoidable Dangers; but let such Men learn, that Wisdom is Life, and Ignorance is Death; the one understands what it does, as the other is dead for want of Understanding; much Danger ensues for want of Reason, and much Good is left undone by too much Folly.

If this refractory Council you embrace, proceed from others, and not from your selves, despite it; for it has another design, than they think fit to let you know, which may ensnare you; like a Bee that is often hung in his own Honey: therefore be not enticed with fair Words, doubtful Hopes, or seeming Probabilities, but remember that a Man has power over Himself and Tongue, before he Speak or Promise, but after his words are out of his Mouth, they have Power of him, and you will find that perverse and desperate Council, is full of Perturbation, where Men are embracers of evil Advice; and therefore think an Hour before you answer to their Propositions, and a Day before you yield to uncertain things that may bring Danger.

You must likewise think and consider of the Condition of them that counsel you, the



the occasion of their Counsel, and the Probability of what they Counsel; for if it be out of private Ends, out of Anger, out of Discontent, out of Revenge, or to the Prejudice of Kings Designs, conclude such to be evil Counsellors, and shun them as you will a Serpent, that never stings so deadly as when she bites not.

If you suspect their Counsel proceeds from Ambition, beware of it; for Ambition reaches one to become disloyal, and he desires to draw others to consent to him in his ill Purposes: If you be young, to whom this Seditious Counsel shall be given, follow the Advice of *Solomon*, who says, *That Envy is ty'd in the Hearts of young Men, and cannot be unt'y'd but by good Instruction*; for indeed young Men want Experience; they are incredulous of good Advice, wanting years to judge, and as poor in their Judgment, being apt to delight in the Mulick of their own Praise.

Let the Warning of our late Parliament admonish you, for there cannot be a more perfect Precedent than by Things lately done, and in your own Remembrance; then you shall see the fruit of Self-conceited Subjects, that oppose the King in his Demands, and the Reward they have reap'd by it; you have beheld the Imprisonment of some, and the Disgrace of others, which still lies as a heavy Burthen upon their Shoulders, and cannot be discharged without Submission, and acknowledging their Errors, which some have done; and yet for all their Obstinacy they have produc'd no good to the Commonwealth; for the wiser sort censure them as giddy, rash, and inconsiderate, to offend so highly with their Tongues, or to meddle with Affairs above their reach, or what they could pretend to as Members of Parliament; for Parliaments are called by Authority of the King, who has Power to dissolve them as he pleases, which puts an end to all they can say: Wherefore a Man should be silent, unless Silence hurt him, or his Speech be profitable to others.

Your part in a Parliament is to give way, and obey such Laws as shall be made by Consent of the House; which Laws have no Authority till the King confirm them; neither can you challenge any Privilege after the Confirmation, till it be warrant'd by Commission from the King, either in Office or Employment; for it is the King that Rewards or Punishes at his Discretion, and by Proof you have found, and will ever find, that after your Rangling and Jangling, nothing will get more

Favour than Obedient Diligence; for Kings are not drawn by Violence, but by Humility and Meekness. The Scripture tells us, That the way to get Love of our Princes is by suffering, and not forcing; for so they may taste of his Goodness and Mercy. It is a great Virtue and Wisdom in Man, not rashly to enterprize a thing above his reach, or to be led by Persuasion of fair Words, soft Speeches, or inward Threats, that deceive none but Fools: And if you rely upon the Infligation of others, that are of your Fraternity and Familiarity in Parliament, who have nothing but Words for their best Witness, it is insolent Madnes; for what can they do but shew Passion, like silly Women, whose Tongues are their best Weapons.

All you can do for the present, is, to challenge the Privilege of the Parliament, of which you are Members; but when that is over, you are brought to Account for the Indiscretion of your Tongue, which is the best or worst Member in a Man's Body, but not to be so much us'd as the Ear or Mind, which in Reason should rule the Tongue.

Another Observation I collect, that wise Men impute to your inconsiderate Folly, That your Words have produc'd no Profit to the Commonwealth, but great Prejudice to all; for thereby you have incens'd the King, and given him occasion to stretch out his Prerogative to the uttermost; as also to awaken Laws that have been many years sleeping, to his Advantage, and Inconvenience to the Subject; for Laws are establish'd to bridle the Haughtiness of Men's Minds, and the Stubbornness of their Conditions; and therefore it is dangerous to vex and anger Princes upon such Occasions.

The best thing Subjects can do, is to live peaceably; for by Concord small Things encrease to the good of all; whereas by Discord all is lessen'd, and in the end nothing comes but Repentance.

The Third Exception against those Two Fleets, generally spread abroad, is, the Unfufficiency of the Captains and Commanders wanting Experience, as they suppose, which I suppose rather to be divulg'd without Truth or Proof, than on any good Ground they have for it, and to be a mere Scandal, proceeding from Discontent and ill Nature; and after that rate any Man may be slander'd, if Calumny pass for Truth.

But if there were any such Cause of Exception to their Sufficiency, there were none so like to know or find, it as the King

King himself, or his Lords, that have trial of their Abilities; and therefore it is a great Malipertness to insist upon this.

The Ground they have to confirm their Belief may be our long Peace, which has given no occasion of War, and no Means to gain Experience; and the Death of so many Commanders, who liv'd and were employ'd in the Queen's Expeditions, a time when they fail'd with Victory.

The common fort of People, who are led by Shew and Ignorance, esteem no Man Valiant but such as can shew Scars and Hurts, as Tokens of their Courage, like lewd Bullies or quarrellsome Roisters, who never regard the Justice of the Quarrel, Honour, wise Conduct, or value Victory obtain'd without Blood, or the Discreet Management of a Warlike Action: And if a Man go about to convince them of their Errors, he had as good speak to the Deaf, for he shall neither be heard or believed.

The last year's Fleet was set out on account of the French and Hollanders, vying with his Majesty as to Prerogative and Power, which in a short time would have blaz'd out into open War, had it not been prevented by a speedy Fleet, which some of our refractory Men repine at; not considering that it was better and less Chargeable to meet Danger before it fell upon them, than to expect the coming of it; for the first Enterprize in War gains the best Reputation, especially when our Enemy sees he is neither fear'd nor dally'd with, which will make him think how to escape Danger, rather than to go forward with Force and Courage; and we must account that Victory most Honourable that is obtain'd with least Loss and effusion of Blood.

The Saxon King Edgar left a brave Reputation to all Posterity, and to this day we look upon it as an Act of Renown and Fame, that he sail'd about England, Scotland and Ireland, with Thoulands of Ships, not once, but often; and yet no History makes mention of any Conflicts or Encounters he met with, but only did it for the Safety and Reputation of his Kingdoms, and to daunt his Enemies, if they had appeared: Which case may be parallel'd with his Majesty in these our days, who is Lord of the same Seas, enjoys the same Right King Edgar did, and has a greater Strength and Force than he to maintain it.

If it were not for the Honour and Sovereignty of the Seas due to the King, who knows not but that it is more Safety and Ease to pass out of the Kingdom in

a small Vessel, than in a Royal Ship of the King's; for every Harbour is able to entertain a Bark of little Draught; but it is not for his Majesty's Reputation to accommodate a Prince or Ambassador in such a Vessel, who comes courteously to visit him, which every Man may hire, and lies open to all Dangers of Enemies and Pyrates.

We have many Precedents of Emperors, Kings and Queens, passing our Seas, that have been honour'd and accompany'd with the Fleets of England, for their Security, and to shew the King's Magnificency on the Seas, and yet no Hostile Act appear'd: I would ask the Detractors in this case, Whether in Reason or Reputation the King should not have shew'd his Greatness for the Guard of the Seas, and the Subjects should not contribute to that extraordinary Expence, since they are interested in the Dignity of it? For all succeeding Ages, when they shall read of it, will look upon it as an Honourable and Noble Action; and tho' the King and Subjects be all dead, their Honour will never be forgotten.

In 88. when the Spaniards threaten'd a Conquest of England, if they had happen'd to have been diverted, as it was once thought they would, can you believe it had been safe or prudent for us, upon a bare Supposition, to have stop'd and stay'd our Fleet from going to Sea, or to have call'd it back when at Sea? Or do you imagine the Subjects at that time would have thought it Discretion to have sav'd their Moneys laid out in fitting our Navy, and have made Excuses of want, or dislike of the Designs, or the lack of experienced Commanders, who I will undertake were fewer, and knew less than they now do.

In the year 1595. the Queen, with Admiralty to all her Neighbours that beheld it, Rig'd, Victual'd, and set to Sea, the most part of her Ships, in fewer days than any of her Progenitors had ever done, expecting an Invasion from Spain; the rather believed, because the Spanish Preparation was at the Groyne, the next Harbour to her; which Fleet of the Spaniards was the same year diverted by the Pursuit of a Fleet of Holland, that had lately surpris'd the Island of Canaria: And tho' the Queen was made secure by this Accident, and that her Fleet returned from the *Dowries* without seeing the Enemy, yet did not a Man in the Realm repine at the Expence demanded towards the furnishing of it. By this you may see the difference of Times, and the difference of Men's Conditions, and how Pro-

vidence and Foresight in War are as much to be approv'd and esteem'd, as the active part when Men shew their Valour in Fight.

If you were as willing to know, as you are apt to judge the difference of Times, you would find, That the great and fortunate Victories in the days of Queen *Elizabeth* were not achiev'd so much by Force and Fighting, as by Fortune and Providence, and the Fear the *Spaniards* conceiv'd of us; for unless it were in the year 1687. when Sir *Francis Drake* made an Attempt upon *Cadiz Road*, and quell'd the Enemy that was preparing for an Invasion of *England*; in 88. when we were put upon our own Defence; in 96. when my Lord of *Essex* and my Lord Admiral took *Cadiz*, and defeated 59 Ships of great Value and Burden; and in 1601. when Sir *Richard Lewson* and Sir *William Monson* took a Carrack, destroy'd and seiz'd upon certain Gallies, defended by the Castle, the rest of the Fleet employ'd by the Queen had never cause nor opportunity to shew their Valour or Force in a Naval Battel; tho' I confess there were many other famous and fortunate Voyages with Wealth and Reputation to our Nation: As namely, and in my first Book I have treated, *Drake* to the *West-Indies* in 85. *Portugal Expedition* in 89. the Earl of *Cumberland* the same year to the *Tercera*, where he met with many Encounters by Land, and prevail'd, and what Ships fell into his hands was without Resistance: Many other Voyages were worthily performed by him; the Lord *Thomas Howard* in 91. the taking of a Carrack by private Ships in 92. being a Ship of great value; *Drake* and *Hawkins* to the *Indies* in 95. where they both died; Sir *Martin Forbush* to *Brest* in 94. the Earl of *Essex* to the *Islands* in 97.

And to make a short Repetition of the *Hollanders* Actions, so unworthily boasted and brag'd of, it cannot be found that they ever made a Fight with Six Ships to Six, since their Wars with *Spain*, which is nigh 70 years; tho' it is not to be doubted but that they have many able and sufficient Captains amongst them, bred from their Youth in Sea Affairs, that would have shew'd themselves sufficient Commanders, if there had been occasion; and in the same manner would those of ours, you call unable Captains, have done the like; for they are of the Condition of the *Hollanders* I speak of; they know as much in Ships, and how to Govern or Fight, as the longest experienc'd Captain that has had the Fortune to ex-

change most Bullets, with the loss of their Blood.

I wonder that this can be an Exception to our Captains; but that such envious Persons will seek all Pretences to slander them; for how can you think that without Practice of War Men can become experienc'd Captains? And their Purfes will tell them they have not so much further'd their Employment since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, which shews not only an evil Disposition, but a dangerous Consequence that may light upon this Kingdom, by refusing their reasonable and convenient Payments; for they mean thereby that we shall not only live in Ignorance, but to take away all Occasions to breed Soldiers and Commanders; for War is not to be follow'd for Pleasure, if Men see not the Means to maintain it, or Hopes of Preferment.

Let them consider, that in natural Bodies the longer one lives in Health, Sickness is the more dangerous when it comes; and so it is in War falling upon a fruitful Country, that has long enjoy'd Tranquillity: And therefore, tho' no likelihood of War appear, yet do you like a skilful Physician, who prevents a Disease before it seizes his Patient, rather than struggle with it when it has taken Possession of him, and his Remedies come too late; for Dangers by wise Men may be sooner avoided than overcome by Force and Courage, so they be prevented in time.

Let these People I have spoke of pretend what they list, or frame Notions to please their Fancies, yet I am perswaded all ancient *English* Men of Honour, Blood and Name, will contribute to the Preservation of the Narrow Seas, from the Violence of Oppressors, who seek unjustly and outrageously to commit Disorders, which cannot be resisted but by Numbers of Ships to equal their Forces; and if People out of Perverseness deny to contribute to a Design so Just, Noble, and of such Reputation, when the Matrons of *Rome* voluntarily offered their Jewels and Bracelets, which obtain'd great Privileges, what Shame will it be in you to deny it, upon such slender and ill-grounded Reasons?

Let us compare our Seas with our flourishing Cities in *England*, that are orderly and carefully governed: Think you it were well done of People to repine at the Charge of their Watches, as a needless Expence in our peaceable Commonwealth, where our Laws give Authority to punish Offenders? We may well believe, that Murders, Thefts and Disorders, will

fol-

follow, if such Warches should be taken away and abolish'd. And the like, or greater, would ensue, if the same Providence and Care were not had in the Go-

vernment of our Seas. Now will I proceed to the Management of the Expedition in 1635. where the Earl of Northumberland commanded in Chief.

### The Voyage it self.

#### Ships.

*The Triumph,*  
*The St. Andrew,*  
*The James,*  
*The Victory,*  
*The Repulse,*  
*The Nonjuch, &c.*

#### Commanders.

The Earl of Northumberland, Admiral.  
Sir John Pennington, Vice-Admiral.  
Sir Henry Maron, Rear-Admiral.  
Capt. Walter Steward.  
Capt. Lewis Kirk.  
Capt. Pory.

Under Correction, I must crave Leave and Liberty to examine the Errors and Oversight committed in this Voyage, if any shall appear, as I did in the beginning of my First Book, and have continu'd till my Last; wherein I took upon me, a Freedom to except against the ill carry'd Actions of that time, and shew the way how they might be amended, and better order'd; for small Faults at the beginning, may be easily prevented by Admonition, if it be well follow'd.

What I did was not out of Fear or Flattery; and as I have said before, I walk'd so uprightly, that if the Commanders deserv'd well, I gave them their due; if ill, no Man can lay I spar'd them; nay, I was so bold, that if there were any Error or Fault committed by the State in their Directions, with modesty I reprov'd it, and shew'd my Reasons for so doing, to give the better light to succeeding Enterprizes: For Experience is the Mother of Knowledge, and to be valu'd above Authority or Opinion.

This Royal Fleet being all furnish'd and ready for the Sea, but not without some defect in the Ships, as appear'd by the Disasters that betel many of them, his Majesty made choice of the Earl of Northumberland, a gallant and hopeful young Gentleman, to command as General; tho' there could be no Exception to the Lord of *Lindsey*, the former Commander, his Carriage giving no Dislike to the King, that ever I could hear of, as appear'd by his Majesty's own Words, declaring, That the Reason of Electing him was, because he desir'd to breed up his Nobility, to give them Encouragement to take a liking to the Sea, by former Precedents, as Men principally to be chosen for great Employments; and that he meant to make it a Yearly Custom to keep a Fleet to Guard and Defend the Seas.

The Ship appointed for Vice-Admiral, was the *Ann Royal*, equal in greatness and goodness with any of his Majesty's Ships, and one that had made tryal of herundry Fortunes; the First in the Year 1588. where she was honour'd as Admiral, and carry'd the Arms of *England*, as due to the Lord Admiral; and this was the first time of her appearing at Sea.

The next Action of hers, was in the Enterprize upon *Cadiz*, in 96. where my Lord Admiral commanded in her, with no less victorious and honourable Success than the first. She was chosen as much for her Goodness, as for my Lord's Affection to the Ship, for in truth she was worthy of all Honour.

But as Fortune is of that perverse and uncertain Temper, that she never sheweth her self constant but mutable, and what she gives is not to continue long, but only lent. She has that Power of her self, that no body can hold her against her Will; so this Paragon of Ships was attended with the worst Fate that ever betel Ship belonging to the Crown of *England*, and far unworthy her former Exploits; for in her way from *Chatburn* to *Tilbury*, *Hope*, (a thing not to be believ'd, if the lamentable Truth did not put it out of doubt) whether through the Negligence of the Officers of the Navy, or their Indiscretion? Or of the Master? Or the Unskillfulness of the Pilate? (for in such Cases every one will lay it upon another, to excuse himself) she run aground and was lost: An Accident so rare, that it made many Ignorant and Superstitious People, divine and fear, that some ill Fortune would attend the Voyage.

It was the more wonder'd at, because in the Eighteen years War, under Queen *Elizabeth* no such Disaster betel any of her Ships, who had gone through more Dangers and Hazards in the open and

spacious Ocean, where their Business was, than ever happen'd since; but I thank God, (excepting the Loss of her, which with the Charge of another Ship will be recover'd, and that of a *Whelp* that miscarried by the Insufficiency of the Pilot) the rest of the Ships return'd safe, tho not without some Peril, which is naturally incident to Sea Affairs, and the rather in this, because some Men imputed it to Carelessness, others, to the Insufficiency of Officers, and some to Destiny.

My Lord arriving in the *Dowry*, expected his Vice Admiral, the *Ann Royal*, who you have heard unluckily miscarry'd;

However, he set sail with the rest of his Fleet, for the West Country, and the *St. Andrew* was appointed by the King to supply the want of the *Ann Royal*.

As there was occasion, my Lord employ'd sundry of his Ships, in several Services; and the *Victory*, one of the Principllest, was sent into *Spain*, and return'd an Ambassador from that King into *England*, he being forbidden the Passage through *France*, because of the Wars betwixt the two Kingdoms; and not then adventuring to send him by Sea, unless it were under the Guard of one of his Majesty's Ships.

### The Errors committed in this Voyage.

NOW to proceed to the Exceptions of this Voyage, with which I will end this Second Book, and collect such Errors, Mistakes and Oversight, as seem worthy of reprehension, hoping it will give no more Offence, or be imputed to Presumption in me, any more than those I have excepted against in my First Book, and part of this Second; with whom I have been free, not out of design to discourage, but as a Friend to warn them; for, according to the old saying, He that is Warn'd is half Arm'd, and Prevention is as much to be commended as Valour in Execution. It is held far greater Wisdom to foresee, than to see the one being natural to all Eyes to behold, the other proceeding from Judgment, Care and Discretion.

*Callicratides*, General of the *Lacedemonians*, might have sav'd himself and his Army, had he hearkned to Advice, in forbearing to Charge the *Athenians*, but by his Improvidence he was overcome. *Quintus Fabius* the Roman, through his Foresight and Carefulness, did the contrary, and retir'd for his Advantage: Here appear'd the Wisdom of *Fabius*, and the headstrong Willfulness of *Callicratides*, the one lost Life and Honour, the other purchas'd the Name of *Maximus*, given him by his Country.

Nothing can be a better Instructor to a General than Admonition by President, for which cause I bring these Examples, to give light to succeeding Times and succeeding Commanders. The first Exception against this Expedition, I observ'd, was, as I have said, the loss of the *Ann Royal*, which was neither blemish nor blame to my Lord General; for he follow'd the Directions of others, before he came under the Command of him: The Officers

of his Majesty's Navy are the Men only worthy to bear the Rebuke of it, who, for want of Experience in Sea Affairs, are led principally by Precedents of former times, too lamentable to behold, that their Government must depend upon the Example of times; and yet, if they had but walk'd the Paths of them that went before them, they should not have introduc'd this Innovation, to direct our Fleets to *Tilbury-Hope*, there to press Men out of Colliers, and other Merchant Ships; when two small Pinnaces might have done the same Service, and as they were press'd, have put them presently on Shore, where they were to Travel but three or four Miles by Land to *Chatham*, there to be Entertain'd and Enter'd into Pay.

And whereas in going from *Chatham* to *Tilbury-Hope*, we pass'd by the *Nesse*, which we must also do in going directly to Sea, with the same Wind that carries us out, we may be sooner at Sea from the *Nesse*, than at the *Hope*, whether we must go. Thus you see, People that Govern'd by Precedent, fail'd in not following Precedents; and this unhappy Mishap that fell upon the *Ann Royal*, came by a Precedent of their own, which otherwise had not happen'd. This new Precedent, I will undertake was never with Advice or Consent of any Captain, for they were put to an extraordinary Expence by it, being a Means to draw their Friends and Acquaintance aboard, whom they entertain with costly Banquets, which proves a greater Charge to them than the whole Voyage; and till of late his Majesty did strictly prohibit it, more Powder was wasted by their vain Ostentation in shooting, than they spent otherwise.



My Lord of *Northumberland* being now at Sea, and having rang'd and scour'd the Shores of *France*, where it is most likely that Fleet would have appear'd, if there had been any to have oppos'd him, he return'd to the Sound of *Plimouth*, to be further inform'd of the State of Things thereabouts; and finding no Ships, nor shew of Opposition to his Design, he left the Shore, having received Intelligence of certain *Turkish* Pyrates that lay hovering thereabouts, and had committed some Spoils upon his Majesty's Subjects.

My Lord lost no time to hasten the pursuit of those Pyrates, as he could be inform'd of them at Sea; for in truth, both his Care and Celerity were to be commended, tho' his Haste had little avail'd to have subdu'd the Pyrates if he had met them; for, by reason of their swift sailing, they have the Advantage of all other Ships they meet in the spacious and open Sea. This may seem strange to them that know it not, that Ships can be built to such advantage in sailing, all of them being built with one kind of iron and Timber: But what follows will demonstrate it to any that doubt of it.

You must understand, that all the *Turkish* Pirate Ships are Vessels of Christians, taken from them by Violence, which when the *Turks* are possess'd of, they use all Art and Industry to make better Sailers than all other Ships, and to this purpose they first cut down their Masts, and all other weighty Things over-head, which makes them wind Tied and Burthenome; They take out most part of their Knees and Binding-works, to make them Nimble and Swift, like a Man that is right Truss'd, and has his Doublet button'd, that by loosning it he is able to run the faster. They never regard the Strength of their Ships more than for one Voyage, for they want not continual Prizes, which they take of Christians and thus use. Every Fortnight or Three Weeks they grave their Ships, and make them clean, to go the better; they carry no weight over Head, or in Hold, but Victuals, by means whereof, and all these things consider'd, no Ship is able to equal them in going.

The only hope I confess my Lord had, if they had met them, which in truth was very uncertain, was in over-bearing them with Sail, and the others would have been forc'd to take in their Sails: The Second, if there happen'd a Calm, and the Pyrates scatter'd, that they could not help one another, with the number of his Long boats he might Board and Master them with the multitude of his small

Shots. The Third was to Surprize them in Harbour, where they could not get out and escape: The Fourth, that with less and nimble Ships they might have the hap to board some of them, and so keep them employ'd to hinder their way till greater Ships could come to relieve them: But all these are uncertain.

My Lord being now at Sea with his Fleet, and looking out diligently for Pyrates, he met with an *Irish* Ship, lately come from *France*; and being ask'd by News of that Coast, he did assure him, That the *French* Fleet, which made so great a Noise, was fitted, and gone to the Eastward of the Channel, and that 'twas generally suppos'd they meant to beleague *Dunkirk* by Sea. This Intelligence made my Lord immediately bear up, and take that Wind to follow them; But arriving at the *Downes* within few days after, he found himself impos'd upon and abus'd by this false Information; for neither was there any such Fleet arriv'd, nor any likelihood of their coming: At this time the Wind continu'd so long Westerly and Southerly, that my Lord was not able to recover the Western Parts again, by which means the Pyrates committed great Insolencies and Spoils upon the Coasts.

The Errour and Oversight of the Carriage of this Business, was in giving over much Credit to the Report of the *Irish* Man, it being the Ground my Lord was to proceed upon afterwards: And had he waited but a few Hours before he stood to Eastward, he might have been inform'd of the Truth thereof, by Ships that continually pass'd the Channel, or whether the *Irish* Man might not have been corrupted by the *French* to give false Intelligence, to divert my Lord's purposes, could not speedily be determin'd by only asking Questions: For the like happen'd heretofore in our War with *Spain*; the *Spaniards* subtilly causing a Carvel of Advice to be taken with Counterfeit Letters, directed to the General of the *West-India* Fleet, requiring him to come home in 35 Degrees, which we finding by the Letters, hasten'd into that height to expect them; but the true and former Directions to the General was, to Hayl in 35 Degrees and 20 Leagues to the Northward of it, whereby he avoided us so many Leagues.

It should have been likewise consider'd, and Men of greater Experience, than my Lord should have made it known to him, that there was no great occasion to pursue the *French* with that unadvis'd haste; for their Anchoring before *Dunkirk*, to beleague it at Sea, is no more to the ta-



king of the Town, than if they had kept their Ships in the Ports of France; for the Coast gives no liberty to Land, being a plain flat, and sandy Shore. Besides, they run a great hazard, both to Ships and Men, being there at an Anchor: For if a Northerly, or North-west Wind take them with a Storm, they cannot avoid both Shipwrack, and death of Men. Besides, Why should the King of France put an Army in peril to invade Flanders by Sea, when his Territories lie within Nine Miles of *Dunkirke* by Land? And to prove the danger the Ships were to undergo, had they brought themselves to an Anchor on that Coast, I will shew, as it were in a Glass, an Accident that happen'd on the like case, wherein their Folly would have appear'd.

When our Wars of 1525 began with Spain, some Men, out of singularity to get Fame, which prov'd but their Shame, with certain Ships of War, undertook to surprize the Enemies Vessels lying at *Mardike*, a new Harbour near *Dunkirke*; and tho' this overture was much oppos'd, by experienc'd Seamen, who alledg'd unanswerable Reasons against the Enterprize, yet Willfulness had that predominate Power over Wit and Reason, that the Contriver of this Stratagem attempted his idle Project, and Commanded the Ships to Anchor where they were directed; but before they had lain there long, they were surpriz'd with a Storm at North-west, so that they could not claw off the Shore; and in short, Three of the Ships with all the Men wilfully peris'd, the Enemy on Land beholding it; which made a doleful Cry and Complaint in the Port of *Dover* and *Sandwich*, for there appear'd flocks of Widows bewailing their Miseries, through the mad and silly Undertaking of ignorant Directors.

If the French had thought that the Beleaguering of *Dunkirke* with Ships, would have cut off Relief and Succour from Sea, their weakness and want of knowledge in Sea Affairs, had appear'd, not in Words but by Example, President and Proof of the 100 Spaniards at *Dover* before spoken of, who notwithstanding there were 40 or 50 Ships of War of *Holland*, plac'd to intercept them, some in the Road of *Dover*, others in the Road of *Graveling* and *Dunkirke*, yet by my Advice and Counsel aforesaid, arriv'd safe in the Port of *Dunkirke*, the Hour and Tide assign'd by me, for the Town to bid them welcome.

And because this shall be a light to after times (if there be the like occasion) this knowledge they shall receive from me:

That with a Leeward Wind and a Leeward Tide, Ships may pass into the Ports of *Flanders*, in despite of any Force that shall forbid them.

My Lord lying at the Downs waiting a North east Wind to carry him to the place where the South west Wind first took him; in the mean time his Majesty resolv'd upon an Employment for his Lordship of greater importance than this was, (*viz.*) To send him to the Northward amongst the Fishermen that Fish'd there, to make good his Majesty's Proclamation not long before divulg'd, to prohibit and forbid any such Fishing upon his Coast of *England* and *Scotland*, by all Foreign Nations, that would not acknowledge his Majesty's Prerogative on those Seas.

My Lord was as ready to perform that Service, as his Commission gave him Authority to do it, and with speed repaired to the places of Fishing aforesaid; where he met many Busses of *Holland*, which he took, and caus'd them to deliver by the way of Tribute, (acknowledging His Majesty's Regality) a certain Sum of Money from each of them; but some other Fishing Vessels escap'd by flight, fearing they should have been worse us'd than the rest of their Fellows were; but neither do I hear that the States of *Holland* do approve this Act, as allow'd, or allowable by them; such is the Pride and Ingratitude of popular States.

But if I may speak without offence to this point, or that my Opinion had been demanded what to have done herein; I should have advis'd, that my Lord should have repair'd to *Braford* in *Shutland*, an Island belonging to His Majesty by His Kingdom of *Scotland*, there to have arriv'd the Two or Three and Twentieth of June, a time limited by the *Hollanders* to make their abode in that Port; and in the day following, the Four and twentieth, they have liberty by their own Laws, to put out of Harbour to cast their Nets, and to prosecute their Fishing.

Thus had His Majesty brought the *Hollanders* to His Mercy, possess'd their Strength, their Wealth, and indeed their whole Provinces, which he might have releas'd and restor'd afterwards, if he had pleas'd, upon acknowledging a Sovereignty, and obliging them to pay a yearly Acknowledgment. This would have shew'd a Commanding Power over them, and yet directed by Goodness and Mercy. And thus much of the Voyage in 1636. I will now Address myself to Advise such great Persons as shall take upon them the Command of Generals by Sea.

*Advice to great Persons and unexperienc'd Generals at Sea.*

Commonly great Persons of Authority, Place and Blood, are elected and chosen Chief Commanders, in great Expeditions and Actions at Sea; to give the greater Honour and Reputation to such Enterprizes as they shall be employ'd in: And therefore, as a Servant to such great Persons, I will advise by way of caution some things, before they accept of so weighty and important a Charge, who cannot challenge it out of Experience, or other Deserts, more than their Prince's Favour, and their own Greatness: And many times perillous Dangers and uncertain Casualties depend upon such uncertain Employments.

Many Examples, both Antient and Modern, shew, That the best deserving Generals have bitterly tasted the displeasure of their Employments: For no Man's Carriage can be so clear without blot or blemish, or his Success prove so uncontrollable, but there may be found some cause of exception by evil and malignant Spirits they shall leave behind them, and who perhaps will be made Judges to censure their Actions; so dangerous a thing it is to come under the hands of Ire and Wrath: For that we call Ire, the *Grecians* term'd a desire of Revenge, which is sometimes encreased upon Provocation, and sometimes proceeds only from ill Nature. It has that evil and canker'd Disposition, that it believes not a Friend; it speaks with Malice, and will not admit of Reason; commonly the greater the Desert, the greater Malice attends it from such perverse Defamers; and the worst is, there is no Defence against such Envy, for we are all the Sons of Envy, we are Born, Live and Die with Envy; she spreads her self and poison against those that Fortune raiseth highest, and sets her Thoughts to dispraise Desert. There is an old Proverb amongst Good Men, that Good Will defend them from Wicked Persons, and the tumult of the common People.

The second Cause that makes Men covet Employment, is to shine above others in Authority, as a means to obtain their haughty ends; which may be truly term'd Ambition, for Ambition is of that nature, that it sees not what is before her Eyes, nor considers the state and uncertainty of Man's Life; for if he be of low Degree, he stands upon Brass, if high, he treads upon Glass; he climbs by steps and degrees, but falls suddainly when he least looks for it.

There are three things that make a Man's way dangerous to walk in, Ice, Glory, and Ambition: There is no Affection so great as Ambition, tho' naturally it is insatiable, like a hungry Dog, that will leave his first prey, and fall upon another; so is Ambition, not respecting what one hath got, but still seeking more: Nothing doth more nourish this humour of Ambition, than base Flattery; and a Man had better fall amongst Thieves, than Flatterers.

Your best Natures are observ'd to be aptest to embrace flattering Counsels; like worms that easily creep into soft and sweet Wood: But the difficulty is, how to know such Flatterers from others; for Wolves resemble Dogs, and Flatterers look like Friends. The Cunning of a Flatterer is how to entice good Natures with Hopes; for there is nothing more sweet to Man than Hope, nor any thing more displeasing than to be debar'd his Hope. Therefore Time will be the discoverer of such deceitful Sycophants; for when a Man shall suspect such a one, let him not connive with his Untruths or Delays, but tie him to a limited and perfix'd time, to perform what he gives hope of, for nothing but Delays gives him advantage to Deceive: Thus shall the Flatterer be taken in his own Snare, when he shall fail of performing what he promis'd; and the Party flatter'd shall own, that nothing is so vain as to be deluded with idle hopes of Glory. It is like a Soldier that is led by an ill Captain into Errour, and yet with a seeming Pleasure.

The Third thing an unexperienc'd Commander is to Fear, is the Doubtfulness and Deceitfulness of Fortune, in whose Ship he must Imbarque himself, to try the Unconstancy of the Sea; for the power of Fortune is so universal, that she rules Kingdoms, and overcomes Armies, she destroys Princes, and raises Tyrants; and indeed she is so obstinate and perverse, that no Art can prevail against her, or detain her by Force. The Evil she gives we see not, she pinches and we feel it not; what she says we hear not, and when we think we have her she is farthest from us: Her Property is to bereave us of Sense, that no Sight or Example shall help us, as we see by many Men that lose their Money at Play, and yet cannot forbear it; and tho' some Marry and Repent, yet they will not be warn'd by it; and tho' People

People be daily Drown'd, yet it will not terrifie others from adventuring to Sea, still hoping for better happy; like desperate Gamblers that put their Fortune upon a chance at Dice; whereas, if they would duly consider, the best hip at Play, is, not to Play at all; for tho' Fortune give the luck to win one day, she revokes it the next with double loss. Beware of her therefore, for she never truly favours, but flatters; she never promises what she intends to perform; she never raises one so high but she plucks him down as low again; she shews her self not so fickle or wavering in any thing as in Accidents of War, where Success is uncertain. *Hercules* who escap'd so many Dangers by Land and Sea, at last dy'd by the hands of his Friends. *Alexander* ended not his days in the War, but was suppos'd to be basely poison'd. *Julius Caesar*, who won 52 Battes, was kill'd Sitting in the peaceable Senate-house.

The way to revenge ones self of Fortune, and to avoid the evil in her, is rather to submit to Reason, than to relye on her. The *Carthaginians* would never judge of Fortune, Effect or Success, but according to Wisdom, Judgment, and Discretion; they would not be rais'd by good Fortune, or dejected by bad; but like a Tree well Rooted, that no Wind or Weather could move. For my part I think the Wisdom of Man is to be Temperate, Mild and Patient, and to take in good part what Fortune sends.

You may see by what is gone before, the property of Malice and Fortune; so that a great Commander is not to encounter with an Enemy alone to shew this Valour against; but the other two will have an Interest in him, which Wisdom cannot prevent: But the safest way in a General, is to observe the Admonitions following, for the best securing of himself

and Action. The First, is maturely to examine his own Ability, and whether he covers the Employment himself, or not, or that it was impos'd on him by the King. If desir'd by himself, it is the more dangerous, and what Errours he commits are the less excusable; and he put to rely on the Favour of the Prince: Let it be the one or the other, his securest way will be humbly to crave his Majesty that such a Vice-Admiral may be appointed, as is approv'd for his Sufficiency and Integrity; but not to give him that Authority and Command, as to derogate from his Honour. And for the better Convenience and Performance of the Service, it is necessary that the Vice-Admiral be aboard the General, and still ready and at hand to advise, and for him to appoint an able Man in his own Ship, till they come to Battel. This did *Philip King of Spain* to his Natural Brother Don *John of Austria*, in the famous Battel of *Lepanto*: Don *John* being Young, Valiant and Forward, it was thought convenient to temper him with a grave Adviser, which was Don *Lewis Reguezines*, Commander Major of Spain. In the Action in 88. for *England*, the same King employed the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* for General, but gave Authority to Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, a Man of great Experience to Advise and Counsel him; which prov'd a Happiness to the Duke, for the Enterprize failing by the Council of *Valdes*, as is to be seen in my First Book, the blame lighted on *Valdes*, which he worthily deserv'd; and the less fault was found with the Duke for it. I would not say thus much, if I were not a Friend and Servant to Nobility, and desir'd their Spirits might be nourish'd in such brave Employments; and will be ready with my best Edeavours to do them all the Honour that lies in my poor Power.

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### *How a King should Ele<sup>t</sup> a General by Land or Sea, a Counselor of State, and a Governor over his People and Provinces.*

**H**AVING Declar'd in my Third Book the Office of a General by Sea, and in this Second, admonish'd such Generals as take upon them so weighty and important a Charge, without experience first gain'd, to be cautious and wary before they accept of such a Command; now shall follow the Care a King ought to have in the Choice of a General, either by Land or Sea. And because General,

are commonly guided by Instructions from a King, resolv'd on by his Council of State, to which Consultation Generals are seldom call'd, till the Charge of the Expedition be committed to their Managment; I will now give my private Opinion what kind of Man a King should make Election of for a Councillor of State, to be assist. ing to him with his Advice. Of a General, who

who has the Rule and Government of his Forces and Actions: And of a Governor whom he sends into several Countries and Provinces to rule over his Subjects. For the Prosperity of his Kingdoms depends upon their Sufficiency, viz. A Councillor to Advise, a General to Execute, and a Governor to Rule.

I will begin with the Councillor of State, as the first considerable thing a Prince ought to think of. A King's Election must be according to the Profession the Party is bred in, as Artificers Tools are chosen to do their Office and Labour; for a King is abus'd, and his Judgment question'd, that shall be made believe all Men are capable of all Places and Employments, when indeed some of them are of no more use than an Ax to an Auger, or a Knife to a Sickle; and it is as unseemly a thing to prefer such a Councillor, as to present Armour to a Woman, Books to a Clown, or Nets to a Scholar. Kings therefore must have a care to whom they commit the Affairs of the Realm, either Domestick or Foreign, Civil or Ecclesiastical, and not refer all to one Man; for they are distinct Things, that require several Councillors, and not to be executed by him that thinks a King's Favour adds Knowledge to his conceiv'd Understanding.

Kings and Princes ought to have Two especial Cares in their Government; the one how to rule in Peace; the other how to carry their Affairs in War; both which must depend upon the Choice of Councillors, who must be provident what they advise, and assur'd, that what they say is honest, necessary, profitable, and possible: They must not quickly determine, lest they repent at leisure; they must advise slowly, but execute speedily; they must not rely on the Name and false Word of Fortune; for to great Persons she is deceitful, to good Men unstable, and to all unsure.

A good Councillor ought to have these Properties, to be good and just; for such have weight in their Words; to be Virtuous and speak Truth, as well in Absence as in Presence; they must be plain in Business, and reprehend with Love; they must praise the Good, and admonish the Bad; they ought not to speak much, and when they do, to let it be to purpose; for what they have in their Mouths must be the Picture of their Hearts.

If their Opinion be ask'd in Point of War, they must be cautious what to answer; for the Security, Honour, and good Hap of their Master, depends on

it, and the Man's Reputation of Wisdom will appear by it; which, when it shall be known to his Enemy, will breed Terror: For when King David had War with Absolon, he pray'd, That God would blind the Understanding of his principal Councillor Achitophel, whom he more fear'd than the Force of Absolon's Host.

A Councillor cannot give a better Answer to his Master's Demand in point of War, than Augustus Cæsar did in the like Case, who said, *That a War ought to be Commanded by Gods, Justify'd by Philosophers, Maintain'd by Princes, and Executed by Wise Captains and Courageous Soldiers*: And moreover he advis'd, That neither Battel nor War be undertaken, unless there evidently appear more hope of Gain than fear of Danger: He compares it to him that angles with a Golden Hook, which if it be snatch'd away, the Fish that is taken cannot countervail the Loss.

Cæsar would not so much rely upon himself as upon the Opinion of Virgil, how a Commonwealth should be best governed, who answer'd, *If wise Men hold the Helm, and good Men be seated in place over the bad; If the best Men have due Honour, and the rest be not injuriously dealt with; If Judges and Men in Authority will not be led by Malice, Friendship, Anger, or Love*: For nothing ruins Commonwealths but hypocritical and covetous Councillors, that support their deceitful Credit, and make a Prince believe he cannot err.

But a wise King will soon know such a Councillor, by observing his Words, which will discover his Intentions, and lay open his Conditions: and a just King will reward him that shall thus faithfully seduce and corrupt, as in reason he should be rewarded that Poisons a Publick Fountain or Spring, whereof all People drink; for both King and Subject have part of this pernicious Council.

A King therefore ought to be careful of Three Things; the First of himself, the Second of his Subjects, and the Third of his Councillors, Officers and Servants; for Cæsar in his time complain'd of the Miseries of Princes, saying, *They are subject to Perfidiousness, to Imaginations, to detestable Treason, deceitful Conspiracies, and destructive Poisons; some deceive, and others flatter and betray them*; so that they are made the Subject of all Discourse.

For the Honour of the Sex, I will mention Zenobia, a Queen in Asia, and will make her the Mistress of Council, for Councillors to imitate. They write of her, That she was constant in her Enterprises,

prizes, faithful in her Words, liberal and just, severe in Punishment, discreet in Speech, grave in Determining, and secret in her Doings.

The indifferent Man to make a Councillor to a Prince, is neither to be too old nor too young; for Youth shews Lightness; and if a Prince take absolute Power to himself, it shews a bold Rashness, and will be subject to be seduc'd by flattering Servants; that will make his Will their Authority; but with this Caution, That it be done with Honour, Duty, and Reverence to their Masters, and Security to themselves; for it is not the Name of a Councillor that gives Reputation, but the due Execution of his Place; he must be an equal Distributor of Justice to all People alike in the Commonwealth, lest, in Comparison of Land, by labouring to make one part too fertile, he leave the other part barren.

A Councillor ought to be wise, and cautious withal, what Advice he gives: For there are Two principal Things that make a Prince belov'd; the one is, Defending his People against Oppression; the other, To have Peace and Alliance with those Countries and Princes that afford them Trade and Commerce, which War seldom produces; and yet I confess, that War well made produces a more perfect and firm Peace, and the best time to make such a War is in Peace, that Moneys may be best rais'd. And tho' all War of it self is unjust, yet a good Cause may make it lawful, but not when it is out of Humour, out of Spleen, or out of private Respects; and yet let it come when it will, they cannot propose any War to a Prince, but it is better to accept of mean Conditions of Peace than endure the Fortune of it; for *Aristotle* says, *Fortune shows her self most favourable where there is least Hope.*

The *Athenians* hearing the Council was dishonest which *Atbistones* gave to *Themistocles*, tho' profitable, with one Voice cry'd, *If it be not Just, it cannot be Commendious nor Commendable*: Whereupon *Themistocles* commanded it should be no more talk'd of. Let this be a Caveat to Councillors, That they either hold their Peace, or speak Things that are probable and honourable to Kings and Kingdoms, and take it for a Maxim, *That Peace is the Nursery for Happiness.*

The solidest Advice a Councillor can give his Master, is, to win the Affections of his Subjects; for then he will have their Hands, their Hearts, and Purse, which is the Marrow and Sinews of War; and

yet as I have said, all Things consider'd, it is better to avoid War; for the Nature of it is to bring one into Bondage, and Peace makes him free; the one is a Tyrant's Will, the other a Prince's Decree: But if the Necessity of a War cannot be avoided, the first thing a Prince must provide is Plenty of Money; it will encourage Soldiers, terrifie Enemies, and embolden Alliances, when they shall see no likelihood of want thereof, to go forward with their Enterprizes. The next Consideration is, to have a grave Consultation for the Prosecution of the War, not once, but often; but let them beware they rely not upon passionate Advisers; for Choler is an Enemy to Council, and never to be allow'd of but in Extremity, when Desperateness is the last and best Remedy and Help; for great Actions ought to be resolv'd on at leisure, and executed with speed; and it is better to escape with Judgment, than to go forward with Courage, and to use Victory wisely, than to get it happily. The Victory *Hannibal* obtain'd was attributed to the Direction and Advice of his Council; and many who are brave in the Field, want Maturity to direct themselves or others; which shews all Men are born, as well in War as other Faculties, to support one another.

When Princes are provided of Council, Money, and all other Things for the War, let not them nor their Generals presume upon their Multitudes, Strength, or Power of Men; for God orders Battle, and bestows the Victory when he pleases to stretch forth his Arm, which is of greater Force than all Princes, Powers, and Armies; but commonly he does not use to do it but in Defence of Equity; for generally the Chance of War is like a Cast at Dice, either good or bad, and may be spoil'd by Oversight, or mended by Play.

Now shall follow the Sufficiency, and next the Election a Prince should make of a Councillor; for many Men fly with the Wings of others, and seem outwardly to be what inwardly they are not; and if he hearken to the Praise of others Reports, they are uncertain, because deliver'd out of Hate or Affection; for good Words deceive both the Wise and the Foolish.

It behoves a King therefore to enquire after such a Man's Birth, Education and Reputation; tho' I confess his Birth is the least Exception; for all Ages prefer Virtue before Blood: *Caius Marius*, a great Captain, was born of base Parentage; the Emperor *Valentinian* was the Son of a

Rope-



Ropemaker, and divers others little better.

The Philosophers did not account the Lives of Men by their Degrees and Callings, but by the Good they did, and the Virtuous Name, they held. Silence is a great Light to discover the Discretion of a Councillor; for Hastiness, Anger and Wrath, are the Properties of a Fool; the empty Vessel makes the greatest Sound; and the least Wits are the greatest Talkers: But the greatest Folly is to rely too much on a Man's own Sense, and to be proud when he is prais'd: Learning is a great help to Wisdom; it makes young Men sober; it is a Consolation to old Men; it enriches the Poor, and adorns the Rich: It is evil to disdain Learning, but worse to impugn it, and the want of it is the worst of all; for indeed there is as great a difference between the Learned and the Unlearned, as betwixt the Living and the Dead, or a Physician and his Patient; tho' Learning can no more help a dull Wit, than Labour make a barren Ground fertile.

There is a surer Method (for a King) to chuse a Councillor, than by his Birth, Education, or Hearsay; for a Man may have all, or most of these Parts, and yet

want Judgment, or be of a peevish Temper, that shall destroy the rest, for there are some who can give good Advice, and not follow it, like a Harp, that's pleasanter to others, than to him that plays on it; or a Bay-tree, that is ever green, but without Fruit. Therefore judge not of Gold by the colour, no more than of a Man at first sight, till you prove him: But the surest Rule for a King to try the Sufficiency of a Councillor, is, to examine him in private and suddenly, and to propose to him Things of the greatest Importance and Wildom, for the Government of a Commonwealth; then to command him immediately to write his Opinion to all the Particulars propos'd, in his own Presence, not suffering him to return, or have Conference with any others, which will be a Surprize upon him, and the King will see and discover his Abilities, and whether he be a worthy Minister for his Service, or no, or Commanded for Kindred, Friendship, Bribes, Faction, or other false Pretences, and esteem him accordingly that commands him. And thus much for the King's Knowledge how to elect a Councillor of State.

### How to Elect a Governor.

THE next that follows shall be the Choice of a Governor a King sends to rule over his Countries and Provinces. Let Plato be the Adviser in this Point, who says, *A Governor must be lov'd of many, and fear'd of all; He must endeavour to do good Actions, and deceive none with Words; He must be constant and pitiful; for the Clemency of a Governor makes a Man ashamed to commit Offences. Seneca says, That Clemency is a great Ornament in a Governor; and that Mercy, which is not accompanied with Justice, is a Fault reprehensible; and that Justice without Mercy is not Justice, but Cruelty.*

When Augustus Caesar sent his Governors into several Countries to Rule, he was wont to tell them, *I trust you with my Honour, and commit my Justice to you, that you envy not the Innocent, nor be a Butcher to Offenders, but that with one Hand you be a Help to the Good, and encourage the Evil to amend: My Meaning is, to send you to be a Tutor to the Fatherless, a Support to Widows, a Physician to the Sick, a Staff to the Blind, and a Father to all.*

Alexander found the Country of the Sidonians in much Disorder, and the Peo-

ple deserv'd a just and upright Governor to rule them; which being granted, the chief of the Nobility expected Preferment, and to be advanc'd in the Government; but Alexander decid'd all their Hopes, and appointed one *Abdonymus*, whose Vertues he was inform'd of, and who was a poor Labouring Man, tho' of Regal Descent.

A Governor in all his Actions must be secret, pleasant and liberal; he must fear nothing, but be ever fear'd; he must imitate Alexander and Adrian in Justice. A Man complaining to Alexander against another, he stopp'd his Ears, saying, *He must keep them for the Party accus'd.* Adrian the Emperor, upon an Information made to him, the Accuser brought his Complaint in Writing; the Emperor told him, *It was but Paper and Ink, and perhaps forg'd; therefore wish'd him to bring Witnesses.* A Philosopher advis'd Princes not to send Children, Fools, malicious or covetous Persons, or that are Revengeful, to govern.

He that is appointed Governor of a Country, is little less than Tutor of a Prince's Person, or Instructor in his Breeding;



ing; he is the Pilot of his Ship; the Standard of his Army; the Keeper of his People; the Guide of his Way; the Treasurer of all he has; because all is put into his Hands to govern. *Agesslam* exhorts his Deputies rather to study Justice, and to govern well, than to give way to the insatiable Desire of Riches; for a King loses much Love by others corrupt Dealing; and as Injustice provokes Despair, so Revenge is the Executioner of Injustice. An ambitious Governor, who covets and affects Greatness over the People he rules, is like a Rat, that would make himself Lord over Mice; but such High minded Men must know, That there is nothing so great as to tread false Greatness under foot.

Above all others, never chuse a melancholy Man Councillor to a Prince, Governor of a Country, or General of an Army; for commonly they are badly Minded, Vain, Enemies to Noble Thoughts, Malicious, Superstitious and Phantastical; as on the contrary, a Sanguin Complexion is Witty, has a good Memory and Judgment, can discourse well, is loving, affable, loyal, liberal, and of great Courage; and yet all these Parts and Properties are nothing without Secrecy, which is the Guardian of great Affairs: Secrecy was wont in ancient time to be Pictur'd as a Goddess, with her Hand stopping her Mouth. I confess it is a difficult thing to keep Council, and dangerous to reveal the Secrets of a King. It is an old Saying, *That a Secret is hard for one to keep, enough for two, and too much for three.* *Plato* says, *Whoever reveals his Secrets, gives away his Liberty; and a Fool being secret, is held wise; an open Man is like a clear Glass, which can hide nothing that is put into it.* Council without Secrecy is like an Abortive, brought forth without Life, that was imprison'd in the Womb of secret Thoughts. Secrecy is the Key of the Cabinet where Council is enclos'd; and the Reward of Secrecy is, That it is without Danger. And thus much for the Election of a Governor; and to proceed to my Third Point, which is the Choice of a General for War.

It is necessary that a General have these Properties following; Knowledge, Valour, Authority, Fortune, and a ready Wit; for the fairest Tilter is not the best Soldier, nor a Favourite at Court more fit to make a General, than a Sheep to have the Leading of Lions.

The first Man that brought War into Discipline was *Belus*, King of *Egypt*,

who made not War to Conquer Countries, but to spread abroad Fame and Renown. The Person of a General is as much to be fear'd by his Soldiers as his Enemies; for too much Clemency and Familiarity towards his Soldiers, breeds a Neglect and Contempt.

The Romans were ever strict and severe in their Commanders; they never entertain'd Soldiers they could not maintain and govern; for a great Army has more Weight than Force; they are ill to rule, and worse to trust: Neither would they entertain an Army of Strangers, saying, *They took a Wolf by the Ear*; for as it was dangerous to detain them, so it was worse to let them go. They chose young and generous Men for Soldiers, that were virtuously inclin'd; they gave them an Oath, not to fly from Battel, or leave their Stations, unless it were to take up a Dart and throw at an Enemy, or to save a Friend. *Alexander* rather chose expert Soldiers than Multitudes; for brave Soldiers make glorious Captains, that will exchange their Life for Honour: They know their Bodies are subject to Death, but their Deeds remain to the World's end: And the greatest Honour a Soldier can obtain, is, That a King will confess that he has gain'd by his Merit, what he granted him out of Liberality.

The Qualities of a Soldier must be these, to have a good Heart and brave Spirit; he must not be idle or ill employ'd; he must not give nor take Wrong; he must serve God, and despise the Devil; he must observe the Wife, and love the Good; he must let the Enemy see his Face, and not his Back; and give God the Glory of all his Actions.

Valour is not all that is requir'd in a Soldier; it must be mixed with Discretion and Conduct; for Rashness is hot in the hand, and slow in the end, that will adventure without Fear or Hope of prevailing; for Success is but a Tutor of Fools, as Conduct proceeds from Judgment. There are many Things in the War which give better Council to Men, than Men to Things; and therefore a General ought to be no more limited than a Pilot at Sea, that has the Conduct of a Ship.

The greatest Honour and Esteem a Captain can purchase, is, to overthrow his Enemy by Stratagems rather than by hazarding; by Counselling rather than by Combat; and that Captain who has perform'd any Exploit by Policy, enjoys more in the Fame of it, than in the Salary or Reward given him.

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Let Generals, Captains and Soldiers beware their War be not against their King or Prince; for that is Unjust, tho' there were Provocation: For no Provocation can give lawful Power to begin such a War, and purchase the name of Rebels, whose Circumstances are such, they are follow'd with Threats, and kept up with Intreaties: They feed upon Promises, and attempt with Fear; they are very Suspicious and Live upon Hope; they are not Content with Little, nor Pleas'd with Reward; because they leave not the King to follow the best Cause, but out of hope of Benefit by Robbing and Spoiling; and indeed a Rebel knows not what he Desires, nor has a Feeling what he doth; for their Fury is such, as not to admit of Council, which makes their Minds full of Perturbation, because they are Embracers of their own Will.

An Heroical Captain will oblige his Enemy by good Deeds, rather than by Fear; for so did *Leo Africanus* to those of *Carthage* he took Prisoners, for Humility and Clemency are of Noble Extraction: A Country Conquer'd is better preserv'd by Love than Force, or Cruelty; for a Soldier ought as well to relieve the Oppress'd as to overcome his Enemy. It is written of *Cæsar*, That he never left Man unrewarded, nor Offence unpardon'd; whereby he grew popular: He told the Council of *Rome*, That nothing was so glorious, nor pleasant in this World, as to pardon an Injury done; and indeed no Man is Victorious and Conquerour, but he that uses Victory with Clemency. The Emperor *Titus* pardon'd one that would have slain him, which got him much Love and Esteem amongst the *Romans*. *Adrian* treated with those Men that had been his Enemies before he was Emperor, which got him no less Love and Respect. *Soliman* the great Turk, call'd the *Magnificent*, reprov'd *John Sepisius*, the new rais'd King of *Hungary*, because he would not pardon the Archbishop of *Gran*, saying, there could not be a greater Felicity than to pardon our Enemies; and tho' they should prove unthankful, yet it were better to be requited with Ingratitude, than fail of the Glory of showing Mercy. This Act made his Actions more favour'd in *Hungary*.

*Augustus Cæsar* Proclaim'd 25000 Crowns Reward to him that should Apprehend *Corocota*, a great Robber. *Corocota* hearing of it, went secretly and submitted himself to *Cæsar*, which so much mov'd him, that he pardon'd and receiv'd him into his Favour. When *Scipio* took *Carthage*,

he found a beautiful Woman betroth'd to a Gentleman, call'd *Indibilis*, and the being in *Scipio's* hands, he sent her to her Parents; in Recompence whereof they return'd a great quantity of Money, which *Scipio* refus'd to accept of, but commanded it to be given to the young Woman in Dower. This Courtesie so far prevail'd upon those People, that they submitted themselves to *Rome*. The same Temper *Pompey* us'd to many fair Ladies he took in his War against *Mithridates*, which wrought the same effect. *Selim* the great Turk, who was so cruel that he slew his Father and Brother, took many Beautiful Ladies, whom he us'd Honourably, and sent to their Parents; which avail'd him much in his Victories. *Josephus* writes, That the Covetousness of *Marcus Crassus*, who robb'd the Temple of *Jerusalem*, was the cause of his Punishment; he dying miserably in his Army, and in the hands of his Enemies. *Julius*, Uncle to *Julian* the Apostate robb'd the Church of *Antioch*, and was visibly punish'd; his Entrails rotting out, and Worms creeping out of them, and his Excrements coming out at his Mouth. *Alexander* to his Praise, would not suffer hurt to be done to the Temples, nor any thing within them, when he sack'd *Tyre* and *Thebes*.

Honour is the next Degree to Clemency and Mercy in a Soldier, and nothing accounted more dishonourable in him, than Breach of his Promise and Word given; it makes not only himself odious, but it leaves an everlasting Stain of Perfidiousness upon his Nation and Posterity. I could tax some of our Christian Kings with this abominable Vice, if I thought Example would restore them to better Grace, and wipe away their old Offences; for no body can seek Praise by his counterfeit Virtue: For Fame cannot profit, but Shame may hurt him in the end.

A Soldier must not be stain'd with Vice; his Care must be how to think well, and how to do well, for Death is a continual Watchman over him. A true Soldier is of so Heroical a Spirit, that he had rather perish in his Desires, than live in base Thoughts. He should not be mov'd with Adversity, nor elevated with Prosperity; for *Plato* says, That a Noble and brave minded Man, hath more trouble to tame his Heart, than to attempt great Matters; and will think it more pain to stoop to a Straw, than to reach to a Bough; he will scorn to desire Honour, and not to deserve it with Virtue and Valour, and will think it an unworthy Act to have his Thoughts upon base things.

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things. A Philosopher says, He Dies not who leaves a good Fame; nor he Lives not who hath not a good Esteem: They did not value Men by their Birth or Age, but for their Noble Deeds they did. The Triumphs that were so famous at *Rome*, were not esteem'd unless the Party had done some Act of Honour or Renown.

I will now distinguish betwixt such worthy Soldiers as I have spoken of, and the contrary, who make others Virtues their Vices. The Heathens had such regard to their Oaths, that they made it Death for a Man to forswear himself. *Hannibal* gave leave to Ten Prisoners he took, to go to *Rome*, with Promise to return; two of them failed, which they found afterwards to be an Act of so great Indignity, that they kill'd themselves. *Parmenio* advis'd *Alexander* to overcome his Enemies by Deceit and Treason; *Alexander* answer'd, If I were *Parmenio* I might do it, but being *Alexander* he would not offer it. The Physician of King *Pyrrhus* made overtures to *Fabritius* to poison his Master if he would reward him; but *Fabritius* was so far from consenting to so foul an Act, that he discover'd it to *Pyrrhus*, and writ to him, That it was not the custom of the *Romans* to overcome their Enemies by Treason. *Justinian* the Emperor being at War with the *Persians*, hir'd the *Hunnes* to serve him, but they falsly put themselves into the Pay of the *Persians*: *Justinian* inform'd the King of *Persia* of it, who justly Commanded the *Hunnes* to be Strangled for breaking their words, to the shameful Example of a *Christian* King. *Uladislaus*, King of *Hungary* being at War with *Amurat* the great *Turk*, he Swore the Articles of Peace made betwixt them, but falsly and perfidiously broke it: Hereupon the Battle follow'd; and *Amurat* took out of his Bosom the Articles sworn to by *Uladislaus*, and lifting his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, said, These are the Conditions Sworn to by the *Christians*, which falsly they have broken; but if thou best God, as the *Christians* do Esteem thee, revenge this Falseness they have done me: He had scarcely spoken these words, but *Uladislaus* was slain, the *Hungarians* routed, and *Amurat* got the Victory. Here *Uladislaus* perfidiously broke his Faith; and tho' he had lived, yet he had lost all by losing it.

But to redeem this Treachery by a *Christian* Emperor, of more Fame and Worth than the latter times have sent forth; I mean *Charles V.* He being in the Wars of *Tunis* in *Barbary*, the Baker of *Barbarossa* his Enemy, the titular King of

*Argiers*, repair'd to him, with offer to Poison his Master with a Loaf of Bread of his own Baking; which the Emperor worthily rejected, and told him it was an Act of a *Turk* and not of a *Christian*, and gave him leave to depart like a Villain as he came.

God is so angry with unjust Actions, that many times he punisheth the Intentions of those that desire to commit unnatural Cruelties. To instance in *Charles* King of *Sicily*, who after his Subjects had Rebell'd, and Massacred the *French* at the *Sicilian Vespers*, besieg'd the City of *Messina*, and put it to such Streights, that the People begg'd Mercy; but with great Anger and Passion he refus'd it: Upon which, they grew so desperate, that they made choice rather to Dye than Submit; and Courageously Sallied forth upon the King's Army, overcame him and became Free. This Rashness made the King afterwards subject to the Government of Don *Pedro* King of *Aragon*.

In the like manner *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders* was us'd at the City of *Ghent*: For being before it with 30000 Men, and it being put to a great Extremity, and pinch, the People of *Ghent* crav'd Mercy, as *Messina* had done; which the Earl refus'd, unless they submitted themselves to his Mercy, with Ropes about their Necks; but they finding his obstinacy and wilfulness so great, 6000 of the Citizens Sallied out of the Town, overcame the Earl, and made him Fly in Disguise, to a little Cottage near *Bruges*; and upon this Defeat, many other places Revolted from him.

Had these Princes had any Grace, or Sense of their Religion they outwardly profess'd, they would have known what a Father of the Church had taught them; That to Pardon many for the Merits of one, was Christianity, but to punish many for the Fault of one, was Tyranny. Out of Conscience one should be more fearful to injure a Poor Man than a Rich; for a Rich Man revenges himself, as those of *Ghent* and *Messina* did by Force; the others with Tears.

Let cruel and perverse Natures think what they please of themselves and Actions; they will find the Pleasures they do to a Friend, it will make him more friendly, and a Courtessie done to an Enemy will be a means to make him become a Friend; but the ground thereof must proceed from God. For *Cicero* says, That take away the Piety towards God, and you'll take away all Fidelity and Conjunction of Humane Society.

To conclude this Point I Treat of, I think that Prince most Happy who has the three sorts of People aforesaid to serve him. (*viz.*) Wise and Grave Senators to Counsel, Just and Upright Magistrates to Govern, and Valiant, young and Discreet Soldiers to Execute: The one Supports the other in convenient time, like Fruit which comes not altogether, or ends altogether, some Learning, others Obeying; or like Antient and Sage Fathers, that leave their tender Sons to succeed them in their Professions and Virtues. And now I will end with the Employment of the King's Ships, from the Year 1635. till this 1640. wherein you have seen the cause of their Employment; for then His Majesty began to have a feeling of the Infolencies committed on the Narrow Seas, which he redress'd by those Fleets aforesaid, and since has so quell'd his Neighbours, that they dare not but do Reason to His Majesty's Subjects; as appears by these particular Benefits following, it has produc'd.

The First, is an acknowledgement of

His Majesty's Sovereignty of the Seas, which of late years seem'd to be question'd: The Second, is the peaceable Trade we now enjoy into the Ports of *Flanders*, which the *Hollanders* were wont to forbid, tho' they were waranted by the Articles of Peace in 1604. which Trade of *Flanders* hath turn'd to great Profit to His Majesty in Customs, and ten times as much to His Subjects, by the Commerce of that Province; for I must confess with Grief, that our Nation was much injured till now of late, by those base People of *Holland*; for they stuck not to interrupt our Trade, seizing of our *English* Barques, at the very Instant they permitted Ships of their own to enter the Ports, without Impeachment; and tho' I have made often and sundry Complaints thereof, yet no Remedy could be obtain'd; and as I conceive, it was conniv'd at out of Policy, which these Fleets aforesaid have now order'd for the Liberty of the Subject, and Reputation of the King and Country.

The next that followeth, is,

### *How to make War upon Scotland, if they follow their Rebellious Courses.*

THo' this Discourse of *Scotland* is fitter for the Fifth Book, which contains Projects and Stratagems of War, yet because it is an Active time, and concerns the Sea, which is the chief drift of my Narrative, I have annexed it to those Actions that are gone before, and will proceed to make War against *Scotland*, with most Convenience, and least Expence and Charge.

The Proportion of His Majesty's Ships to be employed, I would not wish to be above Three, for these Reasons; The World should not think it a Service of that Importance, as to require a greater Force; and to these three Ships to have an addition of 10 or 12 Colliers of 2 or 300 Tuns burthen, that Trade to *Newcastle*.

It is not fit for above Three Ships of His Majesty's to be so far from the Narrow Seas; *France* and *Holland* fronting upon us, which want no Ships, nor readiness to Arm to Sea, whatsoever they would intend against us; but we shall prevent any such Design of theirs, when our Ships shall appear at Sea upon our own Coast.

In the Colliers Ships aforesaid, to Transport a Regiment of 14 or 1500 Soldiers,

and to ease the Charge, to allow every Ship but 30 Seafaring Men, which will not amount to the Third part of Charge of Victuals and Men, and yet do the same Service, as so many of the King's Ships would perform.

Besides the Colliers aforesaid, I would wish that as many Fisher Barques may be Press'd, to Arm them with small Guns, and every Man to have his Musquet and Pike, and to be furnish'd with all other Provisions, as Salt, and Hooks to Fish, that when they are not otherwise employ'd, they may continue their Fishing, and supply the Army, both by Sea and Land; we shall find these Vessels of great Importance, as well to send from Port to Port upon any occasion, as to Transport our Men from one Shore to another.

At our first Arrival, that we have care to Possess and Fortifie very strongly some Town near the Sea, on the North side, and the same on the South, and *Lowdon* side, and to put into them a sufficient Garrison out of the 1500 Men aforesaid, and the rest of the Soldiers to keep as a running Camp to Forage the Country; for by help of the Fishing vessels aforesaid, they may be speedily Transported from

the North side to the South, or from the South to the North, and havock and spoil the Country as they List, and the two Towns possessed and fortify'd will serve them for a Retreat: And the Country of *Scotland* thereabouts will be forced to maintain 4000 Men continually for its Defence, 2000 on the one side, and 2000 on the other; for the *Firth* so divides them, that one cannot succour another under 100 Miles march, by the Bridge of *Sterling*.

Besides, these Towns being Fortify'd and made Strong, will serve such *Scots* for Places of Rendezvous, as shall fly from the Covenanters, and submit themselves to his Majesty's Obedience, which no doubt many will do, if the former Proclamation be publish'd, which his Ma-

jesty set forth when he was in *Scotland*, for all Tenants to leave their Landlords upon the Condition expressed in that Proclamation; only I would have this added to it, That whosoever shall thus fly, bring with them their Arms to the Places of Rendezvous, where they shall receive ready Money for such Arms as they shall bring, to the uttermost Value; and this will be a ready way and means to disarm great Part of the Rebels.

The next care must be to supply the Army with Corn; for the Boats will be of great help to succour them with Fish, the Corn to be bak'd into Bisket, either in *Holy Island*, or at *Berwick*, and thence sent to the Army; which for want of Ovens, Mills, and perhaps of Wood to bake it, cannot be so well furnish'd with Bread.

### *How to carry the Action at Sea with least Expence to his Majesty.*

**I** *mprimis*, To take away the ancient Abuse of Purfers, commonly known, whereby neither King nor Subject shall be wrong'd: This I will make apparent, when there is occasion to treat of it by the Council of War.

*Item*, Whereas every Four Men are Melt'd with equal proportion of Victuals in the King's Service at Sea, we have often us'd in the Queen's time, in our Southern Expeditions, to make our Victuals go the further, to bring Five Men to the Allowance of Four, and so we have got a Week in every Month.

*Item*, The same Course we may now take, and with more content to the Company; for in those days, and those Voyages of the Queen's, we could never be supply'd with Victuals, no not so much as Water, till our Return, as here we shall have plenty of Fish and Water.

*Item*, That one of the best *Colliers* Ships be appointed for the Officers of the Ordinance, to carry such Provisions as properly belong to that Office, which will nothing hinder the Transportation of such Soldiers as the carries.

*Item*, To carry in her 10 or 12 Culve-

rins and Demy-Culverins; to fortifie the Island of *Eskiffe*, which is the Guard and Defence of the Harbour of *Lith*.

*Item*, Besides plenty of all kind of Ammunition, that they carry 1000 Arms to supply the King's Party if there be occasion; as also good store of season'd Deal-Boards, Spikes, all manner of Iron Tools for Carpenters and Smiths; Provision for Pioneers, and every Pioneer to have a Pike-staff to lie by him, whilst he is at work, that he may take himself to it, if he be assail'd by an Enemy; to carry good store of Fowlers, as of great Importance many ways; to carry twenty Pitch'd Pots of Iron, with all kind of Ingredients, to be us'd in a Stratagem to set on fire their Cole-pits; to be careful that the Mould for their Bullets, do fit the Bore of their Musket.

*Item*, Besides the Spoil the *English* Soldiers shall make in the Country, that they be careful to destroy their Corn, as the next way utterly to ruine them; for besides, that they will take away their Bread, they will utterly destroy their Straw, which is the Food of their Cattel and Horses, for Hay they have none.

*How*



## How to provide for the West Part of Scotland.

There must be as great a Provision made for the West Part of Scotland, as for the East I have spoken of; and how to do it with the least Charge and most Conveniency, I will here set down.

*Imprimis*, To furnish three Ships of 100 Tuns each, and to be provided and fitted in Barnstable in Devonshire, with 40 Mariners in each Ship; we shall save thereby 500 Miles sailing, by furnishing them at Barnstable, or that part of Devonshire, or Cornwall, and not at London; besides the shift of three several Winds, as from Barnstable a Southerly, Westerly, or an Easterly Wind will carry us directly to Ireland, or opposite to Ireland; so that there will be much Time gotten and great Expence sav'd.

*Item*, There must be the same Provision made of Fisherboats, Corn, Salt, Arms, and all other Necessaries, as is set down for the East part of Scotland.

*Item*, To command, upon pain of Death, That there be no manner of Trade betwixt Ireland and Scotland, or betwixt the Isle of Man, or any other Place whatsoever, and Scotland.

*Item*, That the three Ships and Boats aforesaid do seize upon all Barks and Vessels whatsoever, Great and Small, on that Western side of Scotland, and carry them into the Ports of Ireland, there to put them safe ashore, taking out of them their Sails, Masts, Ropes, Rudders, that they may not steal, or be stolen away: And if his Majesty have occasion to transport an Army from Ireland to Scotland, these Ships and Boats will be able to do it, which otherwise on a sudden all Ireland cannot furnish.

*Item*, That a discreet Gentleman be chosen to Command this Action to the West Part of Scotland, and so to order things, that there be one Ship in a Port of Ireland, and another in a Harbour of Scotland, to send and receive Intelligence of the State of the two Kingdoms, and what help and assistance is requir'd from one to another.

*Item*, That a Scout-Royal be built in the Island of Arran, and such a Place to be chosen where the Water and Chanel is deepest for Ships to ride and float; This Fort will be able to defend such Ships of ours, as we shall employ on that Coast, if it happen that France, or any other Nation shall give the Scots assistance by Sea.

*Item*, To make the Castle of Dunbarton impregnable, which may be easily done;

and there to keep a Magazine for all Provisions of War. Dunbarton is so seated, that it keeps all the Northern Parts of Scotland in awe; and that Frieb of Arran, where it lies, goes as far to the Eastward as Glasgow, and Westward to the Cape or Mull of Cantire; so that betwixt Glasgow and Cantire there will be no Passage over the Water, having no Provision of Boats.

And from Glasgow to Sterling is but 10 or 12 Miles, from whence the River runs into the East Frieb, and so into the Sea, in which space likewise there is no Passage for want of Boats and Bridges: Infomuch, that we shall have but 10 or 12 Miles to fortifie, viz. from Glasgow to Sterling, which if we do, we secure the South Part of Scotland to England from any Incurfions the Northern Parts, or Highlanders can make against either of us; and so we shall pale them in their own Bounds and Country, where it is not fit for Civil Men to live.

This being done, if his Majesty please, he may join that Southern Part of Scotland with England, and make it but one entire Kingdom, allowing the Inhabitants the same Privilege the English enjoy: And this is no more than has been in former times; for some while Northumberland and Cumberland, belong'd to Scotland, and some time to England.

If his Majesty shall please to do it, and make himself absolute Master of Scotland, let him raze the Castles and Fortifications of Edinburgh; for we may see by Example of all Ages, that the Castle of Edinburgh is the Place (in all Combuftions) that either King, Rebels, or Foreign Enemies covet to take; for whosoever possesses it, is not so quickly or easily beaten out of it; for, indeed, the Castle is the Defence of the whole Country, being supply'd with Victuals.

And instead of Edinburgh, which is the Supreme City, and now made the Head of Justice, whither all Men resort, as the only spring that Waters the rest of the Land within the Kingdom, I would wish his Majesty did Fortifie, Strengthen and make Impregnable the Town of Leith, and there to settle the Seat of Justice, with all other Privileges Edinburgh enjoys, reserving it to the Choice of the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, whether they will make their Dwelling where they do, or remove to Leith, where they shall enjoy the same Liberties they did at Edinburgh.



His Majesty may do it out of these Reasons; *Leith* is a Maritime Town, and will save a great Labour and Charge in Carrying and Conveying their Merchandize to *Edinburgh*, which no Man but will find a Conveniency in.

*Leith* is a Sea Town, whither Ships resort, and Mariners make their dwellings; and the *Trinity House* there settled, and is more convenient for Transportation and Importation, it being the Port Town of *Edinburgh*, and in time of War may cut off all Provisions betwixt the Sea and *Edinburgh*, and bring *Edinburgh* to the Mercy of it.

From *Leith* to *Mura-Frith*, and from *Mura-Frith* to the Islands of *Orkney*, there is never a Harbour in that Part of *Scotland*, that will entertain any Ship of great Burthen: Inasmuch, That if his Majesty fortifie the Town of *Leith*, and the Islands of *Inskiffe*, it will secure the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*; for by Sea no Enemy can attempt it, and by Land we shall be provided to defend. Famine, an Enemy can have no way to force them to yield, because we shall supply them by Sea; if the People within the Town prove Mutinous and Rebelious, with our Ordnance out of Ships we shall be able to beat their Houses about their Ears, and make them submit their Lives and Goods to our disposal. As I advise the Castle of *Edinburgh* to be absolutely raz'd, so would I in like manner wish that all the Castles in *Scotland* were so serv'd, except *Leith* and *Inskiffe*, as aforesaid, *Dunbarton*, the new erected Castle in the Island of *Arran*; and, if there be need, to continue fortifi'd the two Towns, the one of *Lowden* side, and the other on *Effe* side. These Places excepted, it were good there were a Law enacted, That it should not be Lawful for

any one Piece of Ordnance to remain in *Scotland*, under any Pretext whatsoever; then shall the Fortifications aforesaid be without danger, either by Siege, or otherwise, and of Strength sufficient to defend themselves against all Enemies, Domestic or Foreign, especially when the Sea lies open to us to be reliev'd with Fish or Food, and in our power to forbid others to take Benefit of the Sea.

For the Northern Part of *Scotland*, (which I have paled out from the rest of the Country, as unworthy to be reckon'd with these Southern Parts, both in respect of the Soil, as also for the brutishness of the People) I wish, considering their Qualifications, that they may be only taught so much Civility and Breeding, as to acknowledge his Majesty the true Sovereign King over them, without imposing any kind of Tax on them, for the Country cannot afford it. And because their Natures and Dispositions are turbulent, and never free from Quarrels and Tumults amongst themselves, I would wish that they should be encourag'd in that Factious way with one another, that their Thoughts may be employ'd otherwise than in plotting and contriving Mischief against the Southern and Civil Part of *Scotland*; this would in time either reduce them to Civility, or by Divisions quite extirpate them.

This Western Part of *Scotland*, I have treated of, is the most dangerous Place of all the Kingdom to receive Relief out of *France* by Shipping, and the more dangerous, because from many Parts of *France*, as namely *Brest*, *Roche*, and all that Coast thereabouts, one Wind will carry them out of their Harbours, without ever striking Sail, till they arrive in that Part of *Scotland*.

### *An Admonition to Gentlemen to beware how they Engage in Sea Voyages, or give Ear to Projectors that put them upon such Actions.*

MAN for hope of Gain is apt to be led into many Inconveniencies, when he has an Opinion of the Wisdom or Honesty of him that persuades; and this no where appears plainer than in Sea Adventures, into which such Impostors and Cheats have drawn Gentlemen, to the Ruine of themselves and Posterity.

I know some who have persuaded Gentlemen, that the *Indies* afforded nothing

but Gold, and that for fetching; and that they fill'd their own Purses with Gold, and those Gentlemen ran headlong to Destruction, without giving Ear to Advice, or believing any Friend that advis'd them to the contrary.

But that such Gentlemen may see their Mistake, I will touch upon the state of the *West-Indie* Trade, by which they may perceive what they are to expect by robbing

bing at Sea, for I have already made out what they are to get by pillaging ashore; and I wish this may come to the hands of those who are in danger of being drawn in by such unhappy Projectors.

He that will undertake a Voyage, either with Fleet, or private Ships, must consider, that in the *West-Indies* he is out of all hopes of Carracks, Ships from *Guinea*, or *Brazil*, and all other Trade, and must expect only such as are bound thither, or Trade from Place to Place.

They must also consider, their Ships will soon grow foul, and not be able to fetch up those that have been lately Careen'd. Fires made ashore will give warning of an Enemy being on the Coast, and so prevent him. And lastly, the Wind and Current sets with that Violence and Constancy, that it is impossible to keep to Windward of any Port, if we keep the Sea, or to recover a height if we are put to Leeward of it.

Therefore the Error of our Planters in *Virginia* and *Bermudas* shall appear, who were drawn principally into those Enterprizes, in hopes to annoy the *Spaniards* Trade in the *West-Indies*, not knowing that the Current sets with such force from Cape *Florida* to the Northward, that it is impossible to bear it up.

They were so ignorant as not to know, that if they go from those Places to the *West-Indies*, they must first fetch the *Cannaries* for a Wind, which is 1000 Leagues from them, and but 500 from *England*; so that they are 500 Leagues nearer the *West-Indies* going out of *England*, than out of *Virginia*.

Nor do they consider, that the Water does not rise so much in *Virginia* as to grave their Ships; or the final Convenience that Place yields to Careen them; or the sudden Gulfs that come from the Land, and will endanger them in their Careening.

But suppose *Virginia* to be nearer, and no Impediment for our Ships to sail from thence to the *Indies*: I would ask, what possibility there is, rather to meet a Fleet in the open Seas there, where I have shewn the force of Wind and Current will put them to Leeward, than on the Coast of *Spain*, whither they are bound and must repair, and where there are Capes and Head Lands, which they must make before they put into the Shore or Ports.

Reason will make any one confess, it is more likely to find a Man one looks for at the Door he must certainly go in at, than on a wild Heath, where he has many ways to go by; and so it is with Ships, it being better to wait for them at a Cape or Head Land, which they must make, than in the spacious and open Sea. And thus much for this Point.

But seeing I have run over the Casualties or Uncertainties, or rather the Impossibilities to annoy the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, I will shew the Inconstancy of Sea-Affairs, by Precedents of the *English* Fleets that were employ'd against *Spain* in time of War, wherein the Wealth taken in the Voyages will appear; and by it let us judge, what Profit we are to expect by such Actions, which are govern'd by unconstant Winds and Fortune.

*The Number of Voyages set out by her Majesty during the War, and the Profit they turn'd to.*

1585. **S**IR Francis Drake to the *Indies*, some few pieces of Ordnance.  
 1587. Sir Francis Drake to Cadix Road, after which he took a Carrack that had Winter'd at *Mozambique*.  
 1588. A Defensive, but a Victorious Action.  
 1589. The Expedition to *Portugal*, no Profit at all.  
 1589. My Lord of *Cumberland*, some Gain to himself, but nothing to Her Majesty.  
 1590. Sir Martin Forbush and Sir John Hawkins, no Profit at all.

1591. The Lord Thomas Howard, almost a saving Voyage.  
 1591. The Earl of *Cumberland*, no Profit at all.  
 1592. Sir Walter Rawleigh's Fleet, a Carrack taken; many Adventurers.  
 1593. The Earl of *Cumberland*, some Gain to himself, none to the Queen.  
 1594. A Defensive Fleet in *Britanny*, no Profit. Sir Martin Forbush slain.  
 1595. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins to the *Indies*, where they both Died; only some Ordnance.

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1596. Ca.

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| <p>1596. <i>Cadiz Expedition</i>, two Galleons with their Ordnance, the Galleons Sold for 300 <i>l</i>.</p> <p>1597. <i>The Island Voyage</i>, almost Saving.</p> <p>1599. <i>The Downs Action</i>, a Defensive Fleet.</p> <p>1600. <i>Sir Richard Lewson</i>, no Profit at all.</p> | <p>1601. <i>Sir Richard Lewson</i>, but with a Defensive Fleet in <i>Ireland</i>.</p> <p>1602. <i>Sir Richard Lewson</i> and <i>Sir William Monson</i> took a Carrack, a Ship of great Value.</p> <p>1602. <i>Sir William Monson</i>, no Profit at all.</p> <p>1603. A Defensive Fleet, when the Queen Died.</p> |
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# The Third Book.

*Containing the Office of the Lord High Admiral of England, and all Ministers and Inferior Officers under him; and what belongs to each Man's Office; with many other Particulars to that purpose.*

## THE E P I S T L E.

To all Captains of Ships, Masters, Pilots, Mariners and Common Sailors.

**I**N all Reason the Dedicating of this Third Book is more proper and due to you, than any of the others to whom they are commended: Forasmuch as what is contain'd in them, you and your Profession are the principallest Actors and Authors of; as the Wheel from whence the rest receives their Motion.

For what would it avail that all Boughs of Trees were Oaks, or every Stalk of Hemp a Faddom of Cable, or every Creature a perfect Artift, to frame and build a Ship? What were all these more than to the Eye, were it not for you, your Art and Skill, to conduct and guide her: She were like a sumptuous costly Palace nobly Furnish'd, and no body to Inhabit in it; or like a House in Athens Laertius writes of, in which all that were born prov'd Fools; and another in the Field of Mars near Rome, whose Owners ever dy'd suddenly; both which were commanded, the one by the Senators of Athens, the other by the Emperor Mark Anthony, not only to be pull'd down, but the Timber to be burnt.

How should we know that France, Italy and Spain produc'd Wine out of the Grape, or England other Commodities not heard of by them? How should we know the Indies, and

Wealth therein, or the Means to receive it from thence, were it not for your Skill and Labour? How should we know that all Nations differ from us in Language, or one from another, but by your Navigations? All Islands, how little soever, would be in the Error of the Chineeses, who thought there was no other World nor People but their own, till the Portugueses by their Travels and Mathematical Art and Learning made it apparent to them. All these Secrets must be attributed to your Art, Adventures, and painful Discoveries.

What Subjects can make their King and Country more happy than you, by the Offensive and Defensive Services you may do them at Sea? What Wealth is brought in or carry'd out of the Kingdom, but must pass through your Hands? What Honour has England of late years gain'd, and all by your Adventures and Valour, which has made you Excellent above all other Nations? Who knows not that your Parts and Profession deserve Favour of the State? Who knows not that the whole Kingdom has use for you; and that there is a Necessity to nourish you?

But whether it be the Sea that works contrary Effects to the Land, or whether it be a Liberty you feel afloat, after you have been penn'd

penn'd up in Ships, like Birds in a Cage, or untam'd Horses, when they are let loose; certain it is, neither Birds nor Horses can shew more extravagant Lewdness, more Disorder of Life, and less fear of God, than your Carriage discovers when you come ashore, and cast off the Command your Superior Officers had over you: For tho' in desperate Perils at Sea, you promise to your selves Amendment of Life, and perhaps now never to try that kind of Fortune more; as Women in Labour do, never to have to do with their Husbands; yet when they are past, they are soon forgot of both, and you return to your old accusom'd Vomit, without Sense of Promise, or Danger escap'd, but rather improve in your wicked Courses.

He that could as easily reduce the common Sailor to Civility and good Behaviour ashore, as to be under the Government of a discreet Commander at Sea, were more than Man; for the Nature of Sailors is to stand in more Awe of a mean Officer at Sea, whom they love and fear, than of a great Person on Land, whom they neither fear nor love; and therefore the way to reduce them to Goodness must proceed from the Commanders that govern them; their Words must be as well mix'd with Honey as Gall; they must tell Truth, and not please with Flattery; for a Man cannot be both a Friend and a Flatterer.

This Advising Office is only fit for Men that have been bred and train'd up in the School of Losses and Liberty, and recalled by Tears and Grace to Civility: They must teach them to embrace the Good, and eschew

the Evil, and must use the Terror of God's Justice, and the Reward of Repentance: They must shew the Hate God bears to Wickedness, to lying Tongues, to Hands that shed innocent Blood, and a Heart that desires Mischief: And on the contrary, the Love God has for Virtue and Goodness, advising them not only to be good, but to take away the occasion of being evil. This will be the Hope to make them leave Sinning, when they shall be asham'd and afraid to commit Sin; for Seneca says, That the Clemency of a Governor makes many asham'd to offer Offence.

But now let me apply my self to you, the Men of Command and Authority over these untaught and untam'd Creatures, to whom this Charge is committed. Beware that your Council be good, and that you follow it your selves; if not, you are like a Harp, that sounds pleasantly to others, and enjoys no part it self; or to Crispianus, a Servant of Trajan the Emperor, whose Words were sweet and effectual to persuade, but he never acted any thing but what was worthy of Reprehension and Punishment. Remember that Example is of greater Force than Persuasion with many Men; and when these Men shall see your Life concur with your Admonitions, it will be the strongest Force and Motive for their Conversion: For indeed he is not worthy to live, that takes no Care to live well; and Cicero says, He dies not who leaves a good Fame, and he lives not that hath an ill Reputation.

### The Office of the Admiralty of England.

THE Master of the Office is the Lord High Admiral of England, who holds his Court of Justice for Trials of all Sea Causes for Life and Goods, being assisted by the Doctor of the Civil Law under him, entitled, the Judge of the Admiralty, a Marshal, and other inferior Ministers of Justice, proceeding in all Affairs according to the Civil Law. The Advocates, Proctors, Civilians, in all great Causes and Trials of Pyrates, especially the Lieutenant of the Admiralty of England, and the Four principal Officers of the Navy, were wont to sit on the Bench as Assistants to the Judges; which Officers of the Navy us'd to commit such Offenders as imbezel'd the King's Goods, or had otherwise misbehaved themselves, to

the Prison belonging to the Court, to receive their Trial there, unless in the mean time they were released by the Lord Admiral.

Every Lord Admiral substitutes his Deputy or Vice-Admiral in every Maritime Shire in England, except in such Places where the Lords of Manors challenge a Right formerly granted by the Kings of England, as will appear by their Grants.

These Vice-Admirals are carefully to look that all Things be perform'd that are ordain'd by the Lord Admiral, and yearly to keep a Court in their several Countries, where every Man's Complaint may be publicly heard.

Another



Another Branch of this Office consists merely in the Government of his Majesty's Navy, which since the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time has been of great Consequence, and has divers fee'd Officers paid out of the Receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, being Patentees under

the Great Seal of England for Performance of the same, (besides many other inferior Officers, who hold their Places by the Lord Admiral's Warrant only) who are the present Subject of this Discourse. They are as follows.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| THE Lord High Admiral of England, the Grand Master of the Office, whose Fee is <i>per Annum</i>                                                                                                                                                             | 133       | 6         | 8         |
| The Lieutenant of the Admiralty, whose Fee is <i>per Annum</i> 100 <i>l.</i> his Diet 10 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> ; Two Clerks, one at 12 <i>d.</i> the other at 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> ; and 10 <i>l.</i> for his Boat-hire: In all <i>per Annum</i> | 325       | 19        | 2         |
| The Treasurer of the Navy's Fee, 100 Marks; Diet, 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> Two Clerks at 8 <i>d.</i> each <i>per Diem</i> ; and 8 <i>l.</i> Boat-hire                                                                                                        | 220       | 13        | 4         |
| The Comptroller's Fee 50 <i>l.</i> Diet 4 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> ; Two Clerks at 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and 8 <i>l.</i> Boat-hire                                                                                                                 | 155       | 6         | 8         |
| The Surveyor's Fee 40 <i>l.</i> Diet 4 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> ; Two Clerks at 8 <i>d.</i> a-piece <i>per Diem</i>                                                                                                                                        | 146       | 6         | 8         |
| The Clerks Fee 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> Diet 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and 8 <i>l.</i> Boat-hire                                                                                                                                | 102       | 3         | 4         |
| Three Assistants to the Principal Officers, at 20 <i>l.</i> Fee each of them <i>per Annum</i>                                                                                                                                                               | 60        | 0         | 0         |
| The Keeper of the great Store 26 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> Diet 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and 6 <i>l.</i> Boat-hire                                                                                                                | 76        | 5         | 10        |
| The Surveyor of the Victuals for his Fee 58 <i>l.</i> Diet 5 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and one Clerk 8 <i>d.</i>                                                                                                                                          | 161       | 8         | 4         |
| The King's Merchants Fee 30 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> , without any other Allowance                                                                                                                                                                        | 30        | 0         | 0         |
| The Grand Pilot's Fee 20 <i>l.</i> <i>per Ann.</i> Black Deep                                                                                                                                                                                               | 20        | 0         | 0         |
| The Master Shipwright at 12 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 18        | 5         | 0         |
| Allowance to a Master for his Attendance in Grounding of the Queen's great Ships at 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i>                                                                                                                                             | 9         | 2         | 6         |
| Captains of all Her Majesty's Gallies and Forts on the Sea-side, except the Cinque-Ports                                                                                                                                                                    |           |           |           |

These were the ancient Officers in Fee till the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; since which time there is added,

|                                                                                                          | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| A Store-keeper by Patent at <i>Portsmouth</i> , who is allow'd to his Fee <i>per Annum</i>               | 20        | 0         | 0         |
| Two other Master Shipwrights, allow'd each of them <i>per Annum</i> 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> | 66        | 13        | 4         |
| The Store-keeper at <i>Woolwich</i>                                                                      | 50        | 0         | 0         |

Memorandum, That there are many other inferior Officers and Ministers that are paid by the Treasurer of the Navy, whereof the Four Master Attendants and Clerks of the Checque hold their Places by Patent, without any Fee out of the Exchequer, being granted by King James, with the Lord Admiral's Consent, and the rest by immediate Warrant from the Lord Admiral to the Officers, viz.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| The Four Master Attendants, each at 61 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> Wages <i>per Annum</i> , besides their Victuals, and the King's Coat out of the Wardrobe                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 244       | 8         | 4         |
| The Clerk of the Checque at <i>Chatham</i> , who is allow'd on the Quarterly Books for his Wages <i>per Annum</i> 50 <i>l.</i> in Reward of his extraordinary Service, 47 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> and for Paper, Quills, Ink and Travelling Charges, coming Quarterly with the Books from <i>Chatham</i> to <i>London</i> , to deliver them to the Treasurer and other Officers, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> its all | 100       | 0         | 0         |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                          |      |    |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|----|
| The Clerk of the Survey for his Wages 12 l. 13 s. 4 d. and his Reward otherwise 30 l. in all                                                                                                             | 1042 | 13 | 00 |
| The Store-keeper for his Wages 12 d. per diem, and in Reward of his extraordinary Pains, 31 l. 15 s. in all                                                                                              | 050  | 00 | 00 |
| The Clerk of the Checque at Deptford, who is allow'd on the Quarter Books for his Wages per Annum                                                                                                        | 030  | 00 | 00 |
| The Clerk of the Checque at Woolwich, 12 d. per diem                                                                                                                                                     | 018  | 05 | 00 |
| The Clerk of the Checque at Portsmouth, who hath for his Fee per Annum 20 l. and for Paper 1 s. 8 d. also for extraordinary Pains by way of Reward by the Lord Admiral's Warrant of late 20 l. per Annum | 040  | 01 | 08 |
| A Clerk of the Rope-makers at Woolwich, for keeping the Stores, and Checque of the Workmen twice a day, 2 s. per diem                                                                                    | 036  | 10 | 00 |
| A Master Workman directing the Rope-makers, allowed per Annum                                                                                                                                            | 050  | 00 | 00 |
| A Clerk at Chatham that keeps daily Checque of the Rope-makers, and looks to the Stores, 2 s. per diem                                                                                                   | 036  | 10 | 00 |
| A Master Workman over the Rope-makers there at                                                                                                                                                           | 050  | 00 | 00 |

*Standing Officers belonging to the Ships, who have Wages according to the Rates of Ships.*

*First Rate, besides Victuals.*

|              | l. | s. | d. |
|--------------|----|----|----|
| A Boatwain   | 29 | 06 | 07 |
| A Mr. Gunner | 26 | 01 | 05 |
| A Purser     | 26 | 01 | 05 |

*Second Rate.*

| l. | s. | d. |
|----|----|----|
| 26 | 01 | 05 |
| 23 | 17 | 11 |
| 23 | 17 | 11 |

*Third Rate.*

|              | l. | s. | d. |
|--------------|----|----|----|
| A Boatwain   | 21 | 14 | 06 |
| A Mr. Gunner | 19 | 11 | 00 |
| A Purser     | 19 | 11 | 00 |

*Fourth Rate.*

| l. | s. | d. |
|----|----|----|
| 19 | 11 | 00 |
| 19 | 17 | 07 |
| 17 | 07 | 00 |

*Fifth Rate.*

|            | l. | s. | d. |
|------------|----|----|----|
| A Boatwain | 17 | 17 | 07 |
| A Gunner   | 15 | 04 | 02 |
| A Purser.  |    |    |    |

*Sixth Rate.*

| l. | s. | d. |
|----|----|----|
| 15 | 04 | 02 |
| 10 | 04 | 02 |

|                                                     |    |    |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| A Master Gunner of Bayes Sconce has Wages per Annum | 14 | 13 | 03 |
| A Master Gunner of Warham Sconce the like           | 14 | 13 | 03 |

*At Chatham.*

|                                         |    |    |    |
|-----------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| A Boatwain of the Yard at Chatham       | 25 | 00 | 00 |
| Two Porters, each at 20 Marks per Annum | 26 | 13 | 04 |
| A House-keeper                          | 13 | 06 | 08 |
| A Chirurgeon                            | 13 | 06 | 08 |

*At Deptford.*

|                         |    |    |    |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|
| A Boatwain of the Yard  | 25 | 00 | 00 |
| A Porter of the Gates   | 13 | 06 | 08 |
| A Messenger of the Navy | 18 | 05 | 00 |

It now remains to give an Account, by way of Collection out of former Proceedings and Customs of this Office, what may be the general and particular Duties

of all these Officers in the Execution of their Places for His Majesty's Service.

And First, for the Lord High Admiral himself, who is Great Master and Comptroller

troller of the Office, I neither can nor will presume to intermeddle therewith, being sufficiently known by the Extent of his Letters Patents, and former Precedents.

The Lieutenant of the Admiralty is a Place not extended to any late Precedents, to manifest it self, and therefore omitted.

The Four Principal Officers of the Navy, and of late times the Commissioners that executed their Places, are the Conduict Pipes to whom the Lord Admiral properly directs all his Commands for His Majesty's Service, and from whom it descends to all other inferior Officers and Ministers under them, whatsoever.

Fifthly, Their general Duties are, as I conceive, to attend the Lord Admiral, as Men for their Experience and Reputation fit to advise his Lordship in all Causes and Consultations, for the Advancement, Furtherance, and Managing such Undertakings as they are Commanded by His Majesty and the State, as well for Service of his Highness's Ships at Sea, as for the Building and Maintaining them at home; and likewise to advise his Lordship from time to time of all Occurrences, tending to the Ordering and Managing of His Majesty's Service whatsoever for the Navy.

Secondly, They are to observe weekly Meetings, or oftener if the Service require it, at London; as well to attend the Execution and Direction of such Warrants as shall come from the Lord Admiral, as also for the ordering of all Business furthering His Majesty's Service; and to give satisfaction to the Subject for all Materials deliver'd, or Workmanship performed by them for His Majesty's use.

Thirdly, they are jointly to agree with each Merchant, from whom any great Provision or Bargain of Cordage, Hemp, Timber, Planks, Masts, great Anchors, and all sorts of Materials which are bought for the price, at that present, ordinary fold berwixt Man and Man; and thereupon to make them Bills or Contracts for the same, according to the course of the Office, which is the Debt from the King, being first vouch'd from the inferior Ministers, in the proper places for the quantity and quality.

Fourthly, They are to use the uttermost to procure Moneys for the maintaining all His Majesty's Ships, Pinnaces and other Vessels, and Boats useful, in compleat Equipage, Building and Furniture; and as any of their number happens to decay or perish, to supply them with new, and repair their wants.

Fifthly, They are to proportion a convenient Magazine of Timber, season'd Planks, great Masts, and all sorts of Outlandish Commodities, as Pitch, Tarr Rosin, Hemp, Anchors, Sails, Canvas, and Cordage for twice Mooring, and once setting forth to Sea all His Majesty's Ships, and to see the same supply'd at all times; to furnish His Majesty's Stores, and whatsoever is wanting, to acquaint my Lord Admiral, and never to cease labouring to the State for Money, till those main Provisions be furnish'd, which cannot be had in the Kingdom at all times, nor sufficient quantity made ready, when the Materials are not had, in many Months.

Sixthly, They are, as Time and Business can permit, to be present themselves, or when more important Business hinders them, their Clerks, at all Payments of all sorts of Workmen and Labourers, to the end they may be Witnesses to the real Payments made; and that His Majesty be not abus'd by the Employment of more numbers than is necessary for Works on Shore, nor for longer time than the Service requires; nor that Boys and young Apprentices be paid so much *per diem*, as able Workmen: Likewise at Sea, and in Harbor, to see that no more Men be paid than have truly serv'd; and in case they either find Clerks of the Checque, or Purfers, faulty in their Places, in keeping their Books ill, to punish them as their Offences deserve.

Seventhly, They are to be careful that no Workmen or Labourers be Receiv'd or Entred into His Majesty's Pay, for any Works to be done by the Day, till there be Materials first in Store, whereupon to Employ them; nor to use more than is necessary; nor to continue them longer than the Stuff lasts to set them on work; wherein if the Master Shipwright or any other Master Workman, be found faultie, by conniving, to suspend such from his Place, as an unworthy Member, till my Lord Admiral be acquainted with the Offence.

Eighthly, They ought to be very careful in the choice of Inferiour Ministers, as any happen to Die off, recommending to the Lord Admiral able experienced Men, according to the Places; the want whereof has bred much detriment to His Majesty's Service both by Sea and Land.

Ninthly, They are to obey my Lord Admiral's Warrant, as well for direction of His Majesty's Service in all things concerning this Office, as also for extraordinary Payments according to usual Precedents; as by Virtue of his Lordship's Warrant, to direct theirs to the Subordinate

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nate Ministers under them, for the Execution of so much as concerns their particular Places respectively.

Tenthly, They are to oversee all inferior Officers and Ministers, and as often as they can, by themselves, or their authoriz'd Substitutes, to Muster all Men that are employ'd by Sea or Land, and paid Damages out of this Office, and to checke all Defaults they find by Mustering for His Majesty's best Advantage.

Eleventhly, They ought to foresee that seasonable Payment be made to all Men employ'd in His Majesty's Service, and not to keep them nor Ships longer in Pay than the Service requires; and to this end, they should use all frugal courses to save His Majesty's Purses.

Twelfthly, They should make quarterly Payments to the Ordinary, and half yearly to the Ships on the Narrow Seas, as has been accustomed; for want of which, His Majesty's Charge is much increas'd, and the Subject discourag'd.

Thirteenthly, They ought to take a yearly account of the Victuals of the Navy, comparing the Pay Books in the Treasurer's Office with the Warrant for Victuals; and according to the Muster of the Men serving, to allow of the Issues, with such accidental Wastes as by ancient Precedent hath been usual, and no more.

Fourteenthly, They ought to Sign Estimates for Money, as well for the ordinary Service, as extraordinary, to the end the Lord Treasurer may see the Charge His Majesty is at, and continuing the same, that the Payments may be seasonably provided.

Fiftenthly, They ought to take Account of all Store-keepers once every Year, at the least, to the end His Majesty may see what Provision he has in Store, and what has been expended that present Year.

Sixteenthly, They ought to appoint a Surveyor at the Season of the Year, to mark out and sell Timber for His Majesty's Service, for supply of Store, and to

cause the same to be converted into moulded and meet Timber, and cut into several sorts of Planks most useful for His Majesty; and to see that the Summer be not let slip for Land and Sea Carriage of the same into His Majesty's Stores.

Seventeenthly, They ought upon my Lord Admiral's Warrant, requiring the Preparations of any Ships or Fleets for the Sea, immediately to make Warrant from themselves to the Victualers, to make adue proportion of Sea-Victuals, according to the Service and number of Men; and in the mean time for Harbour and Victuals for so many Sailors as shall be employ'd to Rigge the Ships, to be deliver'd by Petty-warrant to any one Officer, or to the Clerk of the Checque, as will appear upon Muster to be present in the Work; Likewise to the Master Attendants, the Master Ship-rights, Clerk of the Checque, and Survey, to take notice of the Service in hand, and to require a present Certificate from them of all Wants to perfect the Hulls, Rigging, Tackling, and Furniture of those Ships appointed to be made ready for the Seas; and thereupon to take immediate Order likewise for the providing of all Materials wanting; and appoint Workmen and Sailors to go in hand with them with all expedition.

Eighteenthly, That One of the Three Officers (not the Treasurer, in regard his continual Attendance for Moneys at London) do in their turns quarterly reside at Chatham, for the Expedition and Oversight of the Works there, and for providing of Necessaries, and directing of all the inferior Officers; and the rather, to prevent the Imbezelling of the King's Goods; as it was in the time of the late Commissioner's Government, who had always one of themselves, or an able Assistant dwelling at Chatham, to order the Business there, no doubt, for His Majesty's great Advantage; the neglecting whereof is a small Damage to His Majesty

### Particular Duties.

#### The Treasurer.

**H**E is to make Estimates of the Charge of all His Majesty's Navy, both Ordinary and Extraordinary, and to present them seasonably, being Signed by the Lord Admiral and the other Principal Officers, to the Lord Treasurer of England, who allowing the same, does of course give Order to the Clerk of the Signet, to draw a Bill for the King's Signature, Warranting the Payment of so

much Money as the Estimate amounts to, out of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, which he is to issue to those several Heads for which it has been demanded; and in case the Ships happen to continue longer in Employment than was mentioned in the first, then to make their Estimates for their Surplusses, as long as the Service endures, and sollicite for Privy Seals and Orders for Money, till it be receiv'd, to satisfy the Subject for Materials to be bought before-hand to furnish

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furnish the Ships, and Wages to the Company at their Return. He is to make a like Estimate of Building of new Ships, or Repairing the old: Likewise for the Repair of His Majesty's Dry Docks and Store-houses, and for a Magazine of Stores, when occasion requires.

He is to take due Care to get Money seasonably to pay all Workmen, call'd to any extraordinary Works in His Majesty's Yards, or for Reparations aboard the Ships, and to clear them as soon as the Works are ended: Likewise for Payment of Ships Companies returning from Sea; that His Majesty's Charge of Victuals and Wages be not longer continu'd, than the necessity of the Service requires,

He is to take care to pay the Ordinariness of the Navy every Quarter, and the Ships serving on the Coasts every Six Months, (*viz.*) *March and September.*

He is to give convenient notice to the Officers, who are Vouchers of his Account, of all Pays to be made, to the end they may call for Books of the Clerks of the Cheque, and Purfers, for their Clerks to take notice of every general and particular Pay to Workmen and Seamen, taking the Officers Hands to the Books of the Total of the Abstract, or number of Men paid.

He ought within six Months next after the Month of *December*, every Year, to make up his former Accounts, which being fairly ingross'd, in a larger Book, he is to procure the other Officers Hands to every Page thereof, cancelling the particular Bills or Books first paid by each; then to deliver the same, with a Press Certificate from the Auditor of the Receipts of the *Exchequer*, to the Auditor of the Press, and after solicit them to examine it, and procure a Declaration under the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, one of the Barons and Auditors Hands, within Six Months more, to the end it may appear how he stands charg'd on his Accounts to the King for the Money he has receiv'd.

He is to keep his Office constantly at *Deptford* or *London*, that the Subjects may certainly know where to find him, to receive their Moneys for Provisions deliver'd to His Majesty's use, or for Wages due upon lawful Demands.

#### *Contra Rotulator.*

He is to keep Counter-Books with the Treasurer of all manner of Payments; and likewise a Ledger-Book written *verbatim*, as the Book deliver'd to the Au-

ditors for every Years Account, to the end he may upon all occasions Witness as well the Payments made by the Treasurer, and the State of his Account with the King, as also to satisfy the other Officers at large of such Precedents and Payments as pass by his and their Vouchers, in the execution of His Majesty's Service.

He is likewise to keep like Counter-Books with the Surveyor of Marine Victuals, and more especially than any of the other Officers, examine and keep a Note of the remainder of Victuals return'd by Purfers at the end of their Voyages, and to charge it on Account for the King on the Victualler.

#### *Surveyor, The First part of his Duty.*

He ought to Survey the Quantity and Quality of all manner of Provisions deliver'd for the use of His Majesty's Ships or Navy, to the end he may as well satisfy himself as his fellow-Officers at their Meeting, what Prices are fitting to allow for that which is good; as also to see that no bad and unserviceable Ware be thrust on the King for the Merchants Advantage.

He is once a Year to take Survey of all the Hulls of all His Majesty's Ships, Pinaces and Boats, remaining in Harbour at *Chatham*, *Deptford*, *Woolwich*, *Portsmouth*; and at the Return of any Ship from Sea to view and examine what Defects hapned in the Hull, or Masts, and to Note them down particularly under the Title of every Ship; wherein the King's Master Shipwright, and his Assistants, with the Master Carpenter, and the Master Attendants, ought to assist and testify under his and their hands, in what condition every Ship was, expressing their Wants at the time the Survey was taken.

He ought likewise every year to Survey the Defects of Reparations of all His Majesty's Storehouses and Wharfs, calling to assist him such Master Workmen as are experienc'd to view the same; and then to add in the next Estimate a due Valuation of Materials and Workmanship that must be us'd and employ'd to repair the same.

He ought likewise, after the Launching of every Ship new built or repair'd in any of His Majesty's dry Docks, to take an exact Survey of the Quantity and Quality of all sorts of Timber, Planks, Boards, Trumels, Masts, Nails, and other Iron Works employ'd about the said Ships, remaining in Store; to the end it may ap-



pear upon Account ſince the laſt general Survey, before the Ship came into the Dock, how much of each ſort of Proviſion has been expended on her.

### *The Second Part of his Duty.*

He ought alſo once a year to take a general Survey of all the new Cordage, Sails, Canvas, Boats, Maſts, and all other ſorts of Materials whatſoever under the Charge of the ſeveral Store-keepers in every of his Maſteſty's Yards, and Ships that lie long in Harbour; and thereupon to examine what has been ſupply'd ſince the former Survey, and ballance the Receipts and Iſſues in an exact Form of Account; to take the Store-keepers Hands ſeverally to the Surveyors Books, charging themſelves with what remains.

He, or the Clerk of the Survey allow'd under him, ought, at the Return of every Ship from Sea, with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Maſter Attendants as are preſent at the Place, or may be had, to take an exact Survey of all the Rigging, Ground Tackle and Furniture, belonging to her, noting under every particular Dimenſion their preſent Quality, to the end he may ſhortly alter account with the Boatſwain and Carpenter of that Ship, for their Expences in that Voyage, and be ready againſt their next going out to furniſh her Wants; that ſo reaſonable Demands may be made to ſupply her in compleat Equipage for further Service.

He is likewiſe to take the yearly Survey of all Mooring Anchors, other ſtraggling Anchors lying ſpare at the River ſide, or in any of his Maſteſty's Yards not formerly charged: He ought, in caſe it fortune that any of the King's Ships ſhould put into *Plimouth* or *Briſtol*, or any other unuſual Harbour, by reaſon of Leakeineſs, or any other apparent Defect, to go himſelf, or ſend a ſufficient Deputy, to take an exact Survey of the State of her Hull, Maſts, and Yards, with all her Furniture and Tackling; and after preſent an Eſtimate of the Charge in Repairing, and ſupplying of their Wants with all convenient ſpeed, and procure the Lord Admiral's Warrant to proceed, to make her able to come about to *Chatham*, unleſs ſhe were fitted for further Service, if cauſe requir'd.

### *The Clerk of the Navy.*

He ought to Reſiſter his Acts, agreed and perform'd at their Publick Meeting, and to note the Days of every Meeting, and what Officers were then preſent.

He ought to keep Notes or Remembrances of all Buſineſs that is material for the Furtherance of his Maſteſty's Service, and to call on them firſt to be debated and order'd, before any new Propoſitions be receiv'd, or any private Perſon's Buſineſs handled at their Meeting.

He ought to keep Records *Verbatim* of all the Warrants ſent from the Lord Admiral, directed to the Four Principal Officers, and to keep them ſafely in a Cheſt lock'd up, for all their Saleties, if any occaſion ſhould after happen.

He ought to take particular Notice of all Warrants or Deputations, thought fit to be made for Purveyors, Preſtmasters, and ſuch like Miniſters, and to preſent them in a readineſs to be ſigned by them all at the ext Meeting.

He was formerly employ'd in taking up al Outlandiſh Proviſions, as Pitch, Tar, Roſin, Oil, and other ſmall Stores provided for preſent Diſpatches; likewiſe of Nails, Baskets, Compaſſes, Lead-lines and Leads, running Glaſſes, &c.

In all theſe ſeveral Duties of each Officer, in caſe any of the reſt deſire to be put, or to have Copies of any Records, or Matter that more properly belongs to the other Places, they are to have it without denial; and being equally intereſt'd in the King's Service, every of them ought to perform each other's Places in the upper Officers Abſence, in caſe the Service requir'd it.

### *The Officers Aſſiſtants.*

The next in place to the Principal Officers, are the Three Aſſiſtants, who in extraordinary Employments in time of War, were upon the Lord Admiral's Command, to give their Advice in the Conſultations about the Affairs of the Navy; and in the Abſence of the Officers, to execute their Buſineſs in Places remote: But in the laſt 30 years, it ſeems, there has not been much uſe of them; I ſuppoſe rather in reſpect of the Officers Jealouſies to have Competitors, than for want of Employment fit to further the King's Service.

### *The Keeper of the Great Stores.*

He has, by his Letters Patents, the keeping of all the Stores belonging to his Maſteſty's Navy; But in reſpect his Salary was not ſufficient to maintain Deputies in all Places where the King has cauſe to uſe them, Neceſſity of Times has begotten ſeveral Store-keepers in all his Maſteſty's Yards where the King's Works

Works are managed; and at *Woolwich* and at *Portsmouth* they have Grants for their Places under the Great Seal, and Fee paid out of the *Exchequer*.

He at is first coming receives his Charge upon Survey, and puts his Hand to the Surveyors Book, acknowledging to be charged with all the Provisions therein contain'd.

He ought not to receive any thing into his Charge but by Warrant, nor deliver any out; and properly, in regard of his Account, the Surveyor of the Navy should be one to direct his Warrant to him for all *Business*.

#### *Surveyor of Victuals.*

This Officer, who it seems was at first instituted to Survey the Quantity and Quality of all *Victuals*, to the end neither his Majesty may be deceived in Goodness, nor the Subject of his Due, is now become *Victualler* himself: Whereupon there are many Abuses crept into the Office, fit to be reform'd.

#### *The King's Merchant.*

No doubt this Office at the first Institution was of notable good Consequence for his Majesty's Profit, when he was employ'd only for his Understanding, to inform the Officers of the Rates of all *Outlandish* Provisions, as *Hemp*, *Cordage*, *Tar*, *Pitch*, *Oil*, *Malts*, *Deal-Boards*, &c.

But since it has been converted from Advising for the King, to *Merchandizing* for himself, which of late has been quite out of use; but in case it were reduc'd to the first Quality, without question his Service would be very beneficial, for providing of those main Materials at the best hand, when the Season may afford it at the cheapest Rate.

#### *The Grand Pilot.*

This Man is chosen for his long Experience as a *Pilot* on a Coast, especially to carry the King's great Ships through the King's Chanel, from *Chatham* to the *Narrow Seas*; as also for his Knowledge to pass through the Chanel call'd the *Black Deep*.

#### *Three Master Shipwrights.*

These Men ought in their turns to have the new Building and Repairing of all the King's Ships; and when it

happens, by Order of the State, any Ships are built by Contract with Strangers, yet some of them ought always to attend the Oversight of all *Timber*, *Planks*, and other Materials put in them, that they be of fit *Scantlings* and *Sizings*, well Season'd, and of Strength and Quality sufficient, according to the Burthen agreed on, and so finish'd in all Points Workman like.

#### *Four Master Attendants.*

These Men attend at *Chatham* Quarterly one after another, as well to direct and oversee the *Boatwain* and *Ship keepers* in Harbour to perform their ordinary Service of the Ships, as also to carry in and out of the River such Ships as happen to be ready for Sea, and to see them rigg'd and fitted compleatly: Also one of them is allow'd 6 *d. per diem* for his particular Attendance at the Grounding of the King's great Ships.

#### *Clerks of the Checque.*

These Men are of great Trust, and much *Business* committed to their Charge, viz. the *Entring* all *Seamen* in to Pay aboard the Ships in Harbour, and the *Shipwrights* and other Workmen in *Day-work*: The first he must muster once a Month, and the other twice a Day. His Ticket serves in the Absence of an Officer to the *Victualler*, for the *Victualing* of the Ordinary *Ship keepers*, and other *Seamen* employ'd in *Rigging* of the Ships bound to Sea: He keeps likewise a Book of the Receipts of all Provisions receiv'd into the Stores, and prepares *Quarter Books* for the Four Officers, for Ordinary and Extraordinary Men's Wages.

#### *Clerk of the Survey at Chatham.*

He is to certify the Want of every Ship prepar'd for the Sea, and to send the Certificate, under the Master Attendants and his own Hand, to the Surveyor of the Navy at London, to the end he may take present Order to supply all the Provisions wanting, to be sent with all speed to *Chatham*; which being come down, he is, by Ticket under his Hand, to direct the Store-keeper to deliver to every *Boatwain* and *Carpenter* their due Proportion of all kinds, as well to furnish the Ships in compleat Equipage in Harbour before they go out, as for Sea Store for the Voyage: He is to make *Indenture* betwixt

betwixt the Surveyor, or Boatwain, and Carpenters, confirming all manner of Ground Tackle and Furniture belonging to the Ship, and for Sea Stores to the Carpenters, and to take their Hands severally to the one, and to put his Hand to the other Part, which they are to carry with them to Sea, to shew their Carpenters what Stores are in the Ships.

At the Return of any Ship from Sea, he is, with one of the Master Attendants and Master Shipwright, for Things in their Elements, to survey the Remnant of all Stores return'd, and to note down all particular Qualities, to be half worn, or fourth part worn, or decay'd, according as the Master shall judge them to be useful for the King's Service; and thereupon he is to make up the Account of Wast in the Voyage, and to dispose the remainder to be return'd into the King's Store, or left in the Ship, as shall best accommodate the King's Service.

#### *Clerk of the Rope-yard*

Receives into his Charge all the Hemp, Tar, and other Necessaries for the making of new Cordage, and delivers the same to the Master Workman, being first dress'd and heckled to be spun into Yarn for Ropes: He also keeps Checque, by calling all the Workmen twice a day to their Labour, and keeping them to their strict Hours.

#### *Master Workmen over the Ropemakers.*

There are two of these at *Chatham*, and another at *Woolwich*, to direct the Labourers and Spinners of Yarn, and afterwards in laying in several Sorts and Sizes of Cordage, and in Stowing the most part at *Woolwich*, and Tarring it only at *Chatham*.

*The Boatwain, Gunner, and Purser, are Officers aboard the Ships.*

#### *The Boatwain*

Has the chief Charge in looking to the safe riding of the Ship at her Mooring in the River, and to under-run them as often as need requires.

He has the keeping of all the Ship's Stores, Rigging, and Furniture, charging himself on Account to the Surveyor of the Navy, by Acknowledgment under his Hand to a Book, mentioning all the Particulars, whereof he has a Copy deliver'd

him. He is also to come himself, and bring the Ship's Company with him to the Dock, or to such other Places as the Flag is hung out, to shew where the Works of that day are to be perform'd.

#### *The Gunner.*

The Gunner has the Charge of the Ordnance, their Carriages, with such Stores as appertain to them, accounting for all to the Office of the Ordnance. No other Service is requir'd here but his Attendance on board, and being found faulty that way, is check'd of his Victuals for that time.

#### *The Purser.*

He is to give his continual Attendance, and to see that the Company's Victuals in Harbour be brought the board weekly in their Proportion, and well Condition'd.

#### *Gunners of Sconces.*

They have several Houses, and some Pieces of Ordnance and Ammunition under their Charge, and are requir'd to give their daily Attendance in them.

#### *Boatwain of the Yard.*

He commands the Labourers to their several Works, and sees the Provisions taken off Hoys, or return'd from the Ships, and carried safely, and orderly laid in the Storehouses within the Yard.

#### *Porters of the Gates.*

They attend to open and shut the Gates morning and evening, and to wait at the Doors all the day, to keep in the Workmen, and to prevent carrying away or imbezelling any of the King's Provisions; and one of them attends every morning as soon as the Watch is broke up, till the Workmen come in.

#### *Housekeeper.*

He takes Charge to look to the King's House at *Chatham-Hill*, and the Officers Lodgings there, and the King's Stuff, against their coming to Pays, or other Meetings for the King's Service: He keeps the Orchard and Garden belonging to the House in good Order likewise.

*Surgeon.*

*Surgeon.*

He attends daily to cure such hurt Men as happen among the Ordinary Ship-keepers.

*Messenger of the Navy.*

He attends the Officers at their Meet-

ings, and provides Horfes and Victuals for the Paymasters, at such time as they go to make Payments: He is also, at the Officers Directions, to fetch any Delinquent before them, and to keep him under Custody till they give Order for his Release.

*What kind of Men are to be chosen Four Principal Officers of the Navy.*

I Conceive, That the Treasurer of the Navy were fit to be either a Merchant, or a Mariner, that is or has been an Owner of Ships, and can judge by his own Experience both of the Goodness and Ule of all the Materials belonging to the Building and Tackling of Ships, and may, upon special Accidents of Service, cut off His Majesty's Charge, take up a good Sum of Money for his Majesty's Use, and to content the Subjects, that otherwise will be grumbling for their Wages when the Service is ended.

The Surveyor's Place being too much for any one Man to perform, to be separated into two distinct Offices: The one a Shipwright, who, for his Experience in Building new Ships, for the King or Merchants, the precedent part of his Life, may be absolutely enabled to make Choice of Materials of Timber, Planks, and all other incident Provision in Season, and can both command and direct Workmen of all sorts to be employ'd in the Building and Repairing of all His Majesty's Ships and Vessels; which cannot be so perfectly perform'd by any other Man, that has not had use of the Mechanick part of that Art, and is a full Employment for any one to act, besides the publick Meeting for general Dispatch necessary for the Navy.

The other a Mariner bred, that has had the Charge as Master, and greater Place, as Captain, if such can be had, of Ships of Bulk and Strength, knowing all the Furniture and Tacklings of a Ship, and can well judge and rate the Materials of all kinds, and so be able to make choice and recommend to the Lord Admiral such Persons as he finds fit to execute the Boatwain's Place; and can, of

his own Experience, judge of all Wastes expended at Sea, and take the Accounts of the Ships return'd from Sea, besides other general and particular Duties mention'd under the Title of the Surveyor's Place.

The Comptroller and Clerks Places to be reduced into one, who should be an experienc'd Clerk, long bred in the Office, and understanding thoroughly Passages of all Demands, Accomps, and Allowances, usual and of Right appertaining to all particular Places throughout the Office of the Victualler and Treasurer of the Navy; which a Stranger, tho' never so good an Accomptant or Clerk, cannot in many years attain to, if he has not been brought up in the Execution thereof.

Provided always, That besides their Experience and Abilities to perform the active part of His Majesty's Service, these Men be of good Substance and Esteem in their Estates; otherwise the Inferior Officers will scorn to be commanded or directed by them; besides the Obligation His Majesty will find from Men of Means to perform his Highness's Service faithfully, rather than from needy, mean qualified Persons.

Now it remains, that every one of these Officers, from the Highest to the Lowest, under the Lord Admiral, should be limited and ordered by particular Instructions to perform the Duties of their Places; for want of which, some have inroach'd beyond their Right for private Profit, and the most have been negligent in performing what they ought and of necessity should be done for the furtherance of his Majesty's Service, which has suffer'd much on this Account.

*Places granted by Warrant from the Lord High-Admiral.*

THE three Assistants to the Master  
 Shipwrights.  
 Anchor Smith.  
 Master Caulker.  
 House Carpenter.  
 Two Chirurgeons for the Ordinary or  
 Extraordinary.

*At CHATHAM.*

Store keepers.  
 Rope-makers.  
 Clerk of the Rope-house.  
 House-keeper at *Chatham Hill*.  
 Painter for the Navy.  
 Gunners of *Wareham Scance, Bays Scance*.  
 Boatswain of the Yard.  
 Two Porters of the Yard.  
 Pump-maker and Top-maker.

*At WOOLWICH.*

Rope-maker.  
 Clerk of the Yard.

*At DEPTFORD.*

Boatswain of the Yard.  
 Porter of the Gates.  
 Messenger of the Navy.

All Places of Boatswains, Gunners, Pur-  
 sers, Cooks, Carpenters, belonging to his  
 Majesty's Ships and Pinnaces.

All Captains and Masters in his Ma-  
 jesty's Ships and other Vessels, and in all  
 other Ships in his Majesty's Pay.

*A brief Collection out of a Discourse of a principal Seaman,  
 touching the Shipping of England, and Officers of the King's  
 Ships.*

THE Native Shipping of this King-  
 dom has been esteem'd (through the  
 Almighty Providence) as Walls of Brass,  
 to secure it from Foreign Invasions or In-  
 cursions, as long as we remain Masters of  
 the Seas.

Besides the great Riches and Honour  
 the Crown and Subjects of this Kingdom  
 have gain'd in Peace, by transporting  
 our Native Commodities into the remo-  
 test Parts where any known Trade by  
 Sea has been, bringing home the chiefest  
 Wealth and Commodities thereof, and  
 beating our proudest Enemies, even at  
 their own Doors. It may therefore easi-  
 ly appear, how Necessary it is, as well  
 for our Honour and Welfare, as for our  
 Security and Safety, to maintain the Ship-  
 ping of the Kingdom.

In the year 1588. there was not above  
 120 Sail of Men of War to encounter  
 that Invincible Armada of Spain, and not  
 above five of them all, except the Queens  
 great Ships, were 200 Tuns burthen, and  
 did not exceed those Rates in all Queen  
 Elizabeth's time; so that our Seamen  
 were, by their Experience and Courage,  
 rather the Cause of our Victories, than the  
 Ships.

Then in the beginning of King James  
 his Reign, who brought Peace with Spain

and all our Neighbouring Countries, our  
 Merchants, in regard the *Hollanders* and  
 Easterlings had greater Ships than our Na-  
 tion without Ordnance, being able to  
 transport Commodities too and fro at  
 far cheaper Rates than the *English*, freighted  
 Strangers, and neglected our own Ship-  
 ping; insomuch, that our Owners suffer'd  
 their Ships to decay, not regarding to re-  
 pair them; so that in thirteen years of  
 King James, there were not ten Ships of  
 200 Tuns left belonging to the River of  
*Thames*, fit for the Defence of the King-  
 dom; whereupon, the *Trinity-House* Men  
 complain'd to the King of the State and  
 Decay of Shipping, entreating his Ma-  
 jesty to revive divers ancient Statutes a-  
 gainst Transportation of *English* Goods on  
 Foreign Bottoms; producing for Exam-  
 ple likewise, That the *Venetian* State find-  
 ing the decay of their Shipping, prohib-  
 ited their Merchants to Transport or Im-  
 port any Merchandize but in Shipping of  
 their own Country, or to Freight any  
 Strangers Ships in Foreign Parts, if any  
*Venetian* Ship were in that Port wanting  
 Freight.

But the Merchants opposing the Mari-  
 ners, prevail'd against them, so that no  
 redress'd was then had; and not long af-  
 ter it happen'd in the Fourteenth year of  
 King



King James, That two great Holland Ships of 2 or 300 Tuns apiece, came to London from the Levant, laden with Currants and Cotton-Wooll. upon the Account of Holland Merchants residing here, which our Merchants apprehending it might endanger their Trade, immediately became Petitioners to his Majesty and the Lords of his Council for Redress, and so prevail'd with the State, that a Proclamation was publish'd, That no *Englishman* should carry out, or bring into this Kingdom, any manner of Goods but in *English* Ships.

Hereupon, the Mariners and Owners of Ships of this Kingdom, began to build Shipping again; and finding Profit by them, and because the Turks and Pyrates of *Argier* and *Tunis* were many and strong by Sea, able to overcome all small Ships, they built Ships of greater burthen, viz. 3, 4, or 500 Tuns each, and furnish'd them with Ordnance and Ammunition proportionable to their Burthens, and plenty of Men for their Safety in sailing Outward and Homeward; insomuch, that within Seven years after, the State finding so many great Ships built, thought fit to save his Majesty the Five Shillings upon every Tun, which *Henry* the Eighth, and his Successors to that time, had allow'd their Subjects, for building of Ships of 100 Tuns and upwards, and took it quite away; which, notwithstanding, did not discourage the Owners to build, finding the Benefit of Trading in Ships of Strength.

And in the 5th year of King Charles, besides the Ships Trading to *Newcastle*, and on the *Eastland* Trade, being 200 at least, at 200 Tun each, the most part whereof were afterwards fitted with Ordnance for Men of War, there were found belonging to the Port of London 100 Sail of Merchant Ships, furnish'd with Ordnance; a Number, in the Opinion of most Seamen, fit to parallel the Forces of any State or Prince in *Christendom*.

The Number and Strength of the Subjects Ships, built and maintained without any Charge to the State, on the Profit of Trade in time of Peace, or the Advantage of Reprisal in time of War, preserves the Strength of Shipping and Seamen in *England*, and not only the Power of his Majesty's Navy Royal, though it be conceiv'd to be of more force than any other King's in the *Christian* World.

On the contrary; if there be no Benefit of Trade to support it, of necessity it must decay as fast, being always decreasing, where Ships bring in no Gain.

The experienc'd valiant Sea-Soldier and Mariner, who knows how to manage a Ship and maintain a Sea-Fight judicially, for Defence of himself and Offence of his Enemy, is only fit to be a Captain, or Commander at Sea; for without good Experience, a Man otherwise Courageous may soon destroy himself and his Company.

The Sea Language is not soon learn'd, much less understood, being only proper to him that has serv'd his Apprenticeship: Besides that, a boisterous Sea and stormy Weather, will make a Man, not bred on it, so sick, that it bereaves him of Legs, Stomach, and Courage, so much as to fight with his Meat. And in such Weather, when he hears the Seamen cry, Starboard, or Port, or to bide Aloof, or flat a Sheet, or haul home a Cluiling, he thinks he hears a barbarous Speech, which he conceives not the meaning of. Suppose the best and ablest bred Seaman should buckle on Armour, and mount a courageous great Horse, and so undertake the leading of a Troop of Horse, he would (no doubt) be accounted very indiscreet, and Men would judge he could perform but very weak Service; neither could his Soldiers hope of good Security, being under an ignorant Captain, that knows not scarce how to rein his Horse, much less to take advantage for Execution or Retreat: And yet it is apparent to be far more easie to attain Experience for Land Service than on the Sea.

The bred Seaman is for the most part Hardy and Undaunted, ready to adventure any desperate Action, be it good or bad; as prodigal of his Blood, whatever his Commander order him, if he Loves or Fears him.

The Seaman's desire is to be commanded by those that understand their Labour, Laws and Customs, thereby expecting Reward or Punishment, according to their deserts.

The Seamen are stubborn or perverse, when they receive their Command from the Ignorant in the Discipline of the Sea, who cannot speak to them in their own Language.

That Commander who is bred a Seaman, and of approved Government, by his skill in Choice of his Company, will save Twenty in the Hundred, and perform better Service than he can possibly do that understands not perfectly how to direct the Officers under him.

The best Ships of War in the known World have been commanded by Captains bred Seamen; and Merchants put their whole confidence in the Fidelity and Ability

Ability of Seamen to carry their Ships and Goods through the hazard of Pyrates, Men of War, and the danger of Rocks and Sands, be they of never so much value; which they would never do under the Charge of a Gentleman, or an unexperienc'd Soldier, for his Valour only.

The United Provinces, whose Safety and Wealth depends chiefly upon their Sea Affairs, and who for some years past have had great Employment, and enlarg'd their Dominions much in remote places, use only their expert Seamen to go Captains and Chief Commanders in all their Ships of War and Trade.

Great Care must be had to chuse a Commander or Captain of Discretion and good Government, who is to be preferr'd for his Skill and Experience; for where the Seamen are left without orderly Discipline, there can be nothing expected but Confusion and Shame.

The Seamen are much discourag'd of late times, by preferring of young needy and unexperienc'd Gentlemen, Captains over them in their own Ships; as also by placing Lieutenants above the Masters in the King's Ships, which have never been us'd till of late years.

The Seaman is willing to give or receive Punishment deservingly, according to the Laws of the Sea, and not otherwise, according to the Fury or Passion of a Boisterous, Blaphemous, Swearing Commander.

Punishment is fittest to be executed in

*The Election of a General or Admiral by Sea, and what is requisite in such a Commander for the Government of the Fleet under his Charge.*

**N**O Fleet can be well Govern'd without a Head; no Flock of Sheep without a Shepheard; no Army by Sea or Land without a General, or Supream Commander, who must be Authorized, either by immediate Commission from a Prince, or his Substitutes that holds his Place by Patent from him; as namely, for Matters of the Sea, from the Lord High Admiral of England.

There have been often Disputes, whether the Title of Admiral or General were more proper to a Sea Commander; and tho' I dare not presume to conclude of either, yet I think it is as unproper to call an Admiral, General by Sea, as to call a General, Admiral by Land; tho' I confess their Authorities are alike in Command of Men's Persons, yet is the Jurisdiction

cold Blood, the next day after the Offence is committed and discover'd.

A Captain should chuse able and honest Men for his Company, as near as he can; but especially his Master and Master's Mates should be of good Government, whereby he is like to have a prosperous and good Voyage.

#### *Punishments at Sea.*

A Captain may punish according to the Offence committed, (*viz.*) Putting one in the Billbows during Pleasure; keep them Fasting; Duck them at the Yard Arm, or haul them from Yard-Arm to Yard Arm, under the Ships Keel; or make them fast to the Capitan, and whip them there; or at the Capitan or Main-Mast hang Weights about their Necks, till their Heart and Back be ready to break; or to Gagg or Scrape their Tongues for Blaphemy or Swearing; This will tame the most Rude and Savage People in the World.

#### *Discouragement to Seamen.*

When they have unexperienc'd needy Commanders; bad and unwholsome Victuals, and complaining of it, can have no Redress; cutting their Beef too small; putting of five or more to four Mens Allowance; want of Beer; long staying for their Wages.

of the Admiral by Sea greater than the other, in that he Ruleth and Guideth a Fleet of Ships, which are of more Importance to the King and State, than the Lives of Men are that serve in them.

The Authority of a General being granted, the next Consideration is in his Election, That he be a Man of Experience, Valour, Conduct, Temper, Constancy, and Discretion; that by his Clemency and good Carriage he gain Love; and by his Justice, Fear, as well from his Soldiers as Enemies, after the example of *Julius Caesar*, who, to his great Praise, is said, never to have forgot the Service done him, or ever remembered Injury offer'd him.

Such a General is to make Election of his Captains, to be of the same Temper; and out of them to make choice of Three

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or Four to be of his select Council, upon whose Judgment he may presume and rely, not trulling altogether to his Wit, and Will; for Willfulness and want of Experience in Generals, are the utter Overthrow and Bane of Actions, as may be collected out of sundry of those which I have Treated of in my First and Second Books.

The next Caution I give a General, is, That neither Ambition, Coverousness, Vain-Glory, nor Honour, make him seek Employment, till the Prince Command him; but especially, that he be no projector of Voyages, where Princes are not the only Undertakers. Let Sir *John Norris* and *Drake* be an Example in their Voyage to *Portugal*, and *Drake* and *Hawkins* to the *Indies*; for he that desires to undertake an Action which does not absolutely depend on the Prince, must examine the state of himself and Friends, who Engage themselves with him; and if he is to have the whole disposal of the Action, to fore-cast that there be no want of things necessary.

But above all, he must take care that his Project be grounded upon such assurance, that he fail not in the performance of it; tho' this is impossible: It is only in the Power of Man to Promise, but in the hands of God to Dispose, for if any of his Designs fail, it will prove the overthrow of his Action, the loss of his Reputation, and shew the weakness of his Judgment; whereas on the contrary, He that is call'd to a place of Command by his Sovereign, shall perform the Service with a good Conscience, he furnish'd with all his Wants for the Action, and follow the Directions prescrib'd him; so that whether the Event be good or bad, he shall keep his Credit, and be thought worthy of Employment. For the principal thing of a General, is to follow the Directions of his Prince; and of an inferior Officer, to perform the Command of his General, which Sir *Richard Greenville* neglected, to his own Destruction.

Amongst the *Spaniards*, Private Men undertake no Publick Actions, but the King is the whole Adventurer and Disposer of them himself; and Generals are appointed as they are Esteem'd, who if they disobey the King's Directions, Answer it with Life or Disgrace; As to Instance in *Don Diego Flores de Valdez*, in 88. *Don Alonso de Bassan*, *Don John de Puerto Carero* and *Diego Soto*, the one Commander of the Gallies, the other of the Ships, in our Voyage to *Cadiz* in 96. *Don John*

was banish'd into *Barbary*, the other committed to Prison, where he Dy'd. This makes them not desire Employment, as amongst us, and more careful to perform the Service for their own Safety when they are Employ'd.

A General is to Examine the State of his Ships, Men and Victuals, before he put out of Harbour; and finding any Impediments, he is to punish the Offence where it deserves, and to see himself provided of all Wants before his Departure; for when at Sea, it will be too late to be Relieved: And herein Sir *Franco Drake*, tho' an old Captain, shew'd himself but a young General in his Voyage to the *Indies* in 85. and to *Portugal* in 89.

The next Care of a General is to give Instructions to his Captains, in as brief and plain a manner as he can, that no Ambiguities may arise, as namely, the place of Meeting if they lose company. Secondly, How to Govern their Men; and Thirdly, How to Work upon any occasion that shall happen at Sea, as by shewing of Lights in the night, by shooting of Ordnance Day and Night, or striking their Topmasts by Day, for the better Understanding whereof, I have set down some particulars touching that point, join'd to their Directions. After a General is provided of all those things I have related; the next thing is to expect the opportunity of a Wind and fair weather, and not to put out of Harbour but with a fetter'd large Wind; and being at Sea, he must be as provident to slack Sail for his Fleet, as he shall see occasion; for it is a great weakness in a General, upon a contrary Wind to bear a Press Sail, seeing the rest of the Ships must strive to do the like, tho' it be to the hazard of their Masts and Sails; for if they miscarry in either, they must of necessity be forced home; whereas in bearing a slack Sail, they will not lose two Leagues in four Days, which will be recover'd in less than two Hours with a large Wind; and herein we may blame the unadvisedness of my Lord of *Essex*, in keeping the Sea in his Voyage to the *Islands* in 97. with a contrary Wind, foul Weather, and a press Sail, till his Fleet were scatter'd, when in three Hours he might have Harbour'd in *Falmouth*, and avoided the rigor of the Storm.

A General must have a care to assign a place of Rendezvous where his Fleet shall meet, and especially to provide, as the necessariest thing in his Expedition, to have Intelligence of his Enemy, and to keep them from Intelligence of him, by example of 88, and 95.

A General that is only appointed for Sea-Service, not for Land, ought to be careful not to carry Gentlemen, more than some few for the Reputation of himself and Action; for whatsoever Gentlemen promise or pretend to the contrary before their going out, when they have been long at Sea, and are tir'd with the tediousness thereof, and find the want of Victuals, they are apt to be the first to cry home, whose examples will make others do the like; as I have shew'd in the Voyage to *Cadiz*, and the Year following to the Islands.

A General that is to enterprize a Service of Importance, ought, before he propose it to his Council, to require the Opinion of his best and trustiest Captains in Writing, who shall have sufficient leisure

to Debate all Circumstances before they give their Judgments; for a Man that is suddenly and rawly taken, cannot give that Resolution, as upon mature Deliberation: It is like a Consultation, which ever proves the best; and a General, out of their Writing, will be able both to judge and determine what to do.

And this did my Lord of *Essex* in his Voyage to the Islands, Requiring a Captain he relied on, to give his Judgment in Writing; First, Whether he should attempt the King of *Spain's* Ships in *Ferrol*, or no. Secondly, Whether before or after his being at the *Turperas*. And Lastly, The manner how to Assault them. The Captain's Answer you will find in the Second Book, with that Voyage.

### *The Directions of a General to his Ships, if they lose Company.*

**I**F you happen to lose the Fleet, you shall seek to get your self into the height of \_\_\_\_\_ and there lye off and on \_\_\_\_\_ Leagues for \_\_\_\_\_ Days, and if you meet not the Fleet, nor with Directions, you shall plye to the

height of \_\_\_\_\_ and keep some Leagues to Seaward; and if you hear nothing in \_\_\_\_\_ Days, you shall get your self into the height of \_\_\_\_\_ and lye off and on till you meet the Fleet, or Directions.

### *Instructions from a General to his Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and Captains, to be observ'd by them at Sea.*

**M**ORE than the Reputation of a Vice-Admiral is to be Second Man in Command; and that in Absence or Death of the Admiral, he has the absolute Charge; yet in presence of the Admiral, he is to follow the Instructions given by him, or resolv'd on by Council, in which Council he is the Second Person, and is to have all Rights done to him, next the Admiral.

As he is Vice-Admiral, so is he Admiral of a Squadron; and as he wears the Flag in the Foretop, being Vice-Admiral, so he is to wear what colour'd Flag he please in the Main top, as Admiral of his Squadron.

He is to have a Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral of his Squadron, tho' the use of a Rear-Admiral is but a late Invention, and is allow'd but the ordinary Pay of a Captain, but the Vice-Admiral of the Fleet has half the Pay of the Vice-Admiral; these two are to wear the same Flags; the Vice-Admiral does the one in the Foretop, the other in the Mizzen, and every Ship of the Squadron besides, is to wear a Streamer of the same colour

in the Forehead or Mizzen-yard, to be distinguished from other Squadrons.

The Instruction for his Squadron is to Hale them once in 24 Hours; and how to gather them together out of the Fleet, when he pleases to call them, and many other Observations, are to be express'd in the General Articles from the Admiral; and because every Ship in the Fleet receives the same Instructions, it is fit that the Captain under the Vice-Admiral, and the Master of the Ship, be perfect, and have, as it were by Heart, all the Articles before-mention'd, that as soon as they see a Sign made by the Admiral, they may prepare to work accordingly.

It is requisite that the Captain under the Admiral, or Vice-Admiral, be a Man of great Experience in Sea Affairs; for he is always ready at hand to Advise, when Council cannot repair on Board; and yet this place is of so little Esteem among us, that there is no Allowance for it; tho' amongst the *Spaniards* is a Place of great Reputation, and has the Title of *Capitan de la Copitana*.

Such

*Such Instructions as were given in the Voyage in 1635. by the  
Right Honourable Robert Earl of Lindsey.*

1. First, and above all things, you are to take care, That all the Officers and Company of Ships do offer their best Devotion unto God twice a day, according to the usual Practices and Liturgy of the Church of England.

2. In your own Particular, you are to have special care, that you perform your Duty faithfully, and with diligence; and if any Seaman, or other in your Ship, shall raise Faction, Tumult or Conspiracy, or commit Manlaughter or Murder, or shall Quarrel or Fight, or draw Blood, or Weapon to that end, or commit Theft, or other heinous Capital Offence, you shall cause precise Information to be brought to me thereof, that I may inflict Conding Punishment upon each Offender, according to the Condition of his Crime.

3. If any under your Command in that Ship shall be a common Swearer, Blasphemer, Railer, Drunkard, Pisserer, or Sleep at his Watch, or make Noise, and not betake himself to his Place of Rest after the Watch is set, or shall not keep his Cabin cleanly, or be discontented with his Proportion of Victuals, or shall spoil or waste them, or any other necessary Provision for the Ship, or shall commit any Insolency or Disorder, fitting by you to be Corrected, you are to Punish them according to the Order and Custom of the Sea.

4. You shall take a perfect Accompt of the Officers in your Ships, to whom it belongs, of the Receipts of the Expences, and Remains of Victuals, Ammunition, and Allowance of Provision and Stores aboard your Ship, and so Weekly to continue the same, not suffering any Spoil or Waste to be made thereof, but to preserve them all the best you can, both in Quantity and Quality; and you shall not suffer any Works to be done in the Ships that shall not be needful and necessary for the same.

5. To prevent the needless Expence of Powder and Shot, you are to take Weekly Accompt of the Master Gunner, of the Expence of the Powder and Shot, and all manner of Ammunition, Provisions, and Stores contained in his Indentures, not permitting any part thereof to be wasted or embazelled; nor any Piece of Ordnance to be shot without particular Order, or Directions from your self, and that upon very necessary Occasions, and ac-

cording to His Majesty's Proclamations, unless it be for Salutes, keeping the true Number and Kinds of the Shot, that their Accompts may be thereby examin'd, which are not to be allow'd in the Office of the Ordnance without Approbation under your Hand.

6. You are to keep a competent Number of Men allow'd to your Ship compleat, and to have a full Proportion of healthy and able-bodied Mariners and Seamen, and but the allow'd Number of your Retinue, that your Ship be not fill'd with Idlers, and to take care to get such as are able and healthful Bodies, and not Boys or Infirm Persons, to perform His Majesty's Service.

7. You shall not suffer any Boat to go ahoar without special Leave, and then but upon necessary Occasions, as to fetch Water, or the like.

8. You shall perform to me all due Respects and Obedience, not taking the Wind of me at any time if you be not forc'd to it, but keep Company with me as much as you may, speaking with me both morning and evening to know my Pleasure, and so often as you see my Flag of Council in my Mizen Shrouds you shall come on board me; and when I shall weigh Anchor at the Report of a Warning-piece, you shall do the like, and Anchor when I Anchor, ranking your selves under the Colour of your Squadron, the Vice-Admiral taking his Place within me, and the Rear-Admiral without.

9. In the night I will carry two Lights, which you are to observe and follow, bearing the same Course I do, without straggling, unless Storms or Tempests divide us, and then with expedition to return to the Place of Rendezvous, which I shall direct; but if you happen to spring a Leak, spend a Mast, or be otherwise distressed by Fire, you are to give notice by shooting off two Pieces of Ordnance, that other Ships may hasten to your help to avoid Danger.

10. If you discover any Ships at Sea, you are to give notice thereof by shooting off a Piece, and letting fall your Main-Topfail so many times as there be Ships; and if they appear to be *Turkish* Pirates, or Sea-Rovers, you shall shoot two or three Pieces, to warn the whole Fleet to put in order either to Fight or Pursue.



11. It must be your principal Care to preserve His Majesty's Honour, Coasts, Jurisdictions, Territories, and Subjects, within the extent of this your Employment, as much as in you lies, that no Nation or People whatsoever intrude thereon, or injure any of them; and if you shall chance to meet in the Narrow Seas any Fleet or Ships belonging to any Prince, King, or State, you are to expect that the Admiral or Chief of them, in Acknowledgment of His Majesty's Sovereignty there, perform their Duty and Homage in passing by, and if they refuse to do it, you are to enforce them thereunto; and in any wise you are not to suffer any Dishonour to be done to His Majesty, or Degradation to his Sovereign Power in those Seas; and if any of His Majesty's Subjects shall so much forget their Duties, as not to strike their Topail in passing His Majesty's Ships, you are to enforce them thereunto, and to punish the Commanders of such a Ship your self, or to give me Advancement of it, that I may take a course with them.

12. You are not to suffer any Man of War to fight with each other, or Man of War with Merchant, in the presence of His Majesty's Ships in the Narrow Seas; but you are to do the best in those Seas to keep Peace for the better and free Maintenance of Trade and Commerce through the same, for that all Men trading or sailing within those His Majesty's Seas do justly take themselves to be *In pace Domini Regis*, and therefore His Majesty in Honour and Justice is to protect them from Injury and Violence.

13. If you chance to meet with any Strangers Ships riding at Anchor in any of his Majesty's Bays or Harbours with Counterfeit Colours, which is a Practice of late much used to entrap such Foreigners as trade on his Majesty's Coasts, you are to apprehend and bring them unto me, or send them safe into some of his Majesty's Ports, to answer such their Presumption and Offence according to Law.

14. If you happen to take any Ship and Goods from any Pirate, Sea-rover, or other Offender, you must be careful that they be kept in safety, and that no part thereof be spoil'd, wasted, or imbezell'd, spiking down the Hatches and Hold; and bring them to me, that I may send them to his Majesty's Ports and Harbours for his Majesty's Use.

15. If you meet with any Men of War, Merchants, or other Vessel or Ship belonging to any Prince or State, either at Sea, or in any Road or other

Place where you shall happen to come, you are to send to see whether there be any *English, Scots, or Irish*, or any other of his Majesty's Subjects, and if any Seamen, Gunners, Pilots, or Mariners, shall be found aboard any of them, you are not only to cause such of his Majesty's Subjects to be taken out and brought to me, to answer their Contempt to his Majesty's Proclamation in that kind, but also to admonish the Captain, and principal Commanders and Officers in such Foreign Ships and Vessels, that they receive or entertain aboard any of their Ships no more his Majesty's Subjects aforesaid, that his Majesty have no cause to resent it at their hands; but you are to have special care, that no Man be permitted to go aboard any Ship or Vessel of any of his Majesty's Friends or Allies, to search for any of his Majesty's Subjects as aforesaid, for whose fair and honest Carriage you will not answer: And you are not in any case to suffer any Violence, Wrong, or Interruption to be given by any of your Company to any of his Majesty's Friends or Allies, behaving themselves fairly and respectfully.

16. You shall do your best endeavour to hinder, that none of his Majesty's Subjects whatsoever at Sea, or Inhabitants on the Coast, do buy, sell, or barter, with Pirates or Sea-rovers, and taking notice of such as do or have done, see you give me notice of it, with their Names, Places of Abode, together with a Particular of their Offences, and such Examinations and Proofs as you have against them, that I may acquaint the State therewith.

17. If any Man of War, or other in any of his Majesty's Roads, Harbours, or Coasts, shall offer any Violence in taking out any Vessels Goods or Merchandise unduly, or commit any other Insolencies, you shall do your best to recover the same again from them, and reform the Abuse, either by due Admonition, or, if that will not serve, by bringing the Offenders to answer by Justice, preserving by all means the Honour of his Majesty from such Insolencies as much as in you lies, having always due regard to the Amity betwixt his Majesty, his Friends and Allies.

18. If we happen to descry any Fleet at Sea, which we may probably know or conjecture designs to Oppose, Encounter, or Affront us, I will first strive to get the Wind, (if I be to Leeward) and so shall the whole Fleet in due order do the like, and when we come to join Battel, no Ship shall presume to assault the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, or Rear-Admiral, but only

my

my self, my Vice-Admiral, or Rear-Admiral, if we be able to reach them; and the other Ships are to match themselves accordingly as they can, and to secure one another as cause shall require, not waiting their Powder at small Vessels or Victuallers, nor firing till they come Side to Side.

19. You must be careful, that no Bed of Straw, or combustible Matter, be aboard in time of Fight, nor shall permit any Powder to be carri'd up and down in open Barrels or budge Barrels, but to command the Gunners to laid Cartrages, which may be kept cover'd; and for prevention of Fire-works, you are to cause the Vessels of Urine to be in readines in your Ship, and shall enjoin your Ship-Carpenter to observe carefully in the Fight, if any Shot chance to fall near the Bulging-place of the Ship, and ever to be ready to stop them with Salt Hides, Sheet Lead, Plugs, or whatsoever may be fit.

20. Before Fight you are to see all things put in order, then to encourage the Company, and not to suffer them to board the Ship or Vessel that shall oppose them till the Smoke of their Ordnance be clear'd up, nor till the Men above Hatches be slain, or beaten off.

21. When we set sail, the Vice-Admiral with his Squadron shall sail ahead the Admiral a convenient distance, and the Rear-Admiral altern, observing the like distance: Every Ship is to rank himself under the Colours of his own Squadron, allowing one another fair room, for fear of falling foul if it should happen to be rough Weather.

22. In the night I will bear two Lights in my Poop; the Vice and Rear-Admiral falling something altern of me, but keeping their distance, shall each of them bear one Light in the Poop for the rest of their Squadron to follow; both Vice and Rear-Admiral shall speak with me twice a day, morning and evening if Wind and Weather will permit, and having receiv'd such Directions as I shall give them, they are to fall in their Places again.

23. If I cast about in the night, I will shoot a Piece of Ordnance, and shew two Lights one above the other, which you are to answer, that I may know you see me.

24. If I am forc'd to bear round, you shall see three Lights on the Poop of my Ship, and you shall shew the like.

25. If your Ship should happen to run aground upon any Danger, (which God forbid) you shall shoot four Pieces of Ordnance one a little after the other, if in the night, you shall burn a Fire-Pike.

26. If by day or night you find your self near any Rock, Sands, or Shoals that may be dangerous, you shall shoot off three Pieces, and cast about; but if in the night, you shall hang out two Lights at your Fore-topmast head.

27. If I shorten Sail in the night by reason of the foul Weather, I will shew three Lights on my Poop one above the other; if I try or hull, besides those I will shew two in my Shrouds; and you shall do the like, that I may know you understand me.

28. If in foul Weather we lose Company, and after come in sight of one another, if in Topsail Gale, you shall strike and hoise your For-Topfail twice; but if it be not Topsail Gale, you shall braill up your Fore-Sail, and let it fall twice; and if you are answer'd by the like Sign, it shall betoken they are of our Fleet; and if in the night you come up and hail one another, the Word shall be *Charles*, and the Answer *Mary*, whereby you shall know the other.

29. If in the night it be foul Weather, and over-blow, every Ship shall carry a Light in his Poop, that we may the better keep clear one of another; and in thick foggy Weather, either by day or night, you are to make a noise with Drums, Trumpet, or ringing your Bell, and sometimes shooting off a Musket, whereby you may keep clear one of another; and if in such Weather I cast about by day, I will shoot off a Piece of Ordnance; and in the night I will shoot a Piece, and use the Sign before-mentioned.

30. You shall keep one continually in your Topmast-head to look abroad, and if you discover any Fleet or Ships which you conceive I see not, you shall put your Ancient in your Top and bear with them, till you perceive I see them; and let no Man presume to wear a Flag, tho' absent from the Fleet, but those to whom it properly belongs.

31. Our principal Place of Rendezvous is in the *Downes*, whilst our Employment is to the Eastward of the Isle of *Wight*; if to the Westward, *Falmouth*; whither you are upon all Occasions to repair if you should be absent from me, except you hear otherwise where I am, and then to come to me there to receive such farther Instructions as I shall have occasion to deliver to you from time to time, for the Advancement of the Service we have in hand; or where you may conceive Wind and Weather may force us for more Safety, either *Wight*, *Plimouth*, or any other Port.

32. You

32. You are to be careful to keep your Company in good Order, Peace and Unity one with another, and to see that they have their Allowance of Victuals in good Order.

33. When you see the *British* Flag spread upon the Mizen Shrouds, then the Council of War is to come aboard me; in the Red Ancient, then both Captains and Masters.

34. And when there shall be any oc-

casione to dispose of you upon any Service apart, I shall then give you such farther Directions as the Service requires. And so God keep you, and send us a prosperous Voyage.

From on board his Majesty's Ship Royal, the *Messa-honour*, riding in the *Dowries*, the 30th of *May*, 1635.

Signed, LINDSET.

### *The Distinct Practice or Special Duties of Officers belonging to the King's Ships at Sea.*

#### *The Captain's Office.*

THE Captains in Queen Elizabeth's time were Gentlemen of Worth and Means, maintaining their Diet at their own Charge.

A Captain has Power, upon just Cause of Misdemeanor, or Imbezelling the King's Goods, to displace any Inferior Officer, (except the Master) who has the absolute Charge of conducting the Ship in and out, according to the Direction given by the Captain, to the Place whither he should sail the same: And in case the Master commit any Offence meriting Blame during the Voyage, the Captain may require stay of his Wages, till the Matter be heard before the Principal Officers of the Navy, or the Lord Admiral himself, if the Offence be Criminal.

The Captain may require a Copy of the Sea Book from the Purser, and muster the Company at his Pleasure: Likewise the Boatswain, Gunner and Purser, ought to shew the Captain what Sea Stores they have received into their Charge for the Voyage; and he may require a Copy of the Indenture, or Bills of Charge; in like sort a Note of the several kinds of Victuals from the Purser at the end of the Voyage, to certify what has been in any sort extraordinarily expended in his Majesty's Service, or wasted, or lost by unavoidable Accidents; without which the King's Officers should not give any extraordinary Allowance upon their Accounts respectively, provided that nothing be allow'd upon such Certificate but what has been formerly lost, and truly issued for his Majesty's Service only. The Captain must be very cautious not to remove any of the aforesaid Officers that have the King's Goods under their Charge, unless upon urgent Necessity, for Matters Criminal or neglect of the Service, and then

to take good Testimony what Stores are remaining at the time of their Discharge, and to commit the same to such Hands as may be able to account for the same to the Officers at the end of the Voyage.

After the Ship is at Sea, the Purser ought not to enter or discharge any of the Company, but by the Captain's special Order.

1. The Office of a Captain is to be distinguish'd into two kinds, (*viz.*) A Captain that is lawfully chosen by a General, serving under the Patent of a Prince, from which General the Captain receives his Commission for his Employment, and Instructions for him to follow during the time of the Voyage, and at the end thereof to be paid the Entertainment of a Captain as aforesaid.

2. The Captain ought to have Experience and Ability, by his Art and Skill to controul his Master, if he do amiss, or else his Master may willingly commit such an Error as will cast a Disgrace upon his Captain.

These latter times have advanc'd Captains, who only take upon them that Name, holding it a Maxim, That they need not Experience, but refer themselves to the Direction of a Master. I must say, That the Generals who place such Captains are very careless of their Master's Service, and forgetful of their own rising from the Degree of a Soldier to a General, and the Mischiefs that ensue upon it: Nay, I will say, That the General is improvident of his Master's Profits: For if a Master should direct a Captain, and have the managing of the Charge committed to him, why should a Prince allow 10 s. a day to a Captain, when a Master can execute the Place of both Captain and Master for his bare Allowance.

A Cap-

A Captain of Experience being thus settled in his Command, he shall see that every Officer be chosen in such Places, that they be able to execute the Charge committed to them, and not to advance any unworthy Person for Affection. This Captain, under a General, has lawful Authority to punish Offences committed within his Ship; or if his Company grow mutinous or stubborn, he may have recourse to the General, who will inflict more severe Punishment, as Death, if they deserve it, which no private Captain can do.

If a Captain shall misdemean himself against his Company, the like Censure he shall receive from his General, whose supreme Authority begets Moderation and Agreement amongst them, which the Ships of Reprisal have no means to accommodate but by Violence.

What Instructions the Captain shall receive from his General, needs no other Repetition than I have already declar'd in the Instructions set down in this same Book, to which I refer you; but with this Caution, That you be careful to observe what is there contain'd.

A Captain is to make Choice of his Lieutenant, and it is as necessary that he be a Man of Experience, at himself; and tho' no such Officer be allow'd in his Majesty's Ships but of late, and that the Master repines to have a Lieutenant above him, yet do I hold it fit to have a Lieutenant, and he to have Entertainment from the King, as well as his allow'd

Shares in a private Ship of War, for these Reasons:

A Lieutenant is an Employment for a Gentleman, well bred, who knows how to entertain Ambassadors, Gentlemen, and Strangers, when they come aboard, either in Presence or Absence of a Captain.

A Lieutenant is to be sent on a Message, either aboard Ships or ashore, upon any occasion of Service, tho' it be to great Persons, an unfit Employment for a Master; besides the Master is not to depart out of the Ship, or leave his place, but in case of Necessity.

A Lieutenant knows how to use Gentlemen and Soldiers with more Courtesie and Friendly Behaviour, and will give better Satisfaction than any other Mariner or Master can do, who have not been bred to it, but in the rude manner of a Mariner.

A Lieutenant in a Fight is to command the Forecastle, or the Soldiers before the Mast, as the Captain does abast the Mast, and to see that every Man does the Service he is commanded.

But the Lieutenant must have a care that he carry not himself proudly or presumptuously, nor that his Captain give him Power or Authority to intermeddle in the Master's Office; for where there is a Heart-burning between the Lieutenant and the Master, it will make it burst out into open Discontent, and then will follow Mischiefs and Factions among the Company.

### *The Second Degree of a Captain, viz. in Ships of Reprisal.*

THIS Captain I shall treat of is much inferior to the Authority of the other I have spoken of: First, his Title is not Authoriz'd by the immediate Power of a Prince, but by a Subordinate; for a King of England in time of War substitutes his Lord High Admiral of England to grant out Letters of Reprisal to his Subjects, to take and arrest by all means, either by Sea or Land, the Vessels of his Enemy; and this Commission is taken out of the Court of Admiralty, having relation to the Lord High Admiral and his Office.

In this Quality any Man may make himself a Captain, if he put in the Security aforesaid; but what Abuses ensue thereof, I refer you to see in the First Book.

This Captain, after a Ship is furnish'd, is to make Choice of his Master, Officers,

and Company; and tho' he be stil'd the Captain, yet do they not use to obey him so strictly as him that has Power from a General, as I have said before; for they receive no Pay whereby to oblige them, but every one goes upon his own Adventure; and therefore they will tie the Captain to the same Conditions in his Diet, or his part of any Goods taken, as them selves. His Authority is little better than the Captain in a Pyrate; for the Interest and Division of Goods are alike, only that this Captain has Commission to take from an Enemy, and a Pyrate takes without Commission, and makes all the World his Enemies.

The Authority of Reprisals, and the Law to warrant and limit them, has been ancient, and ever since England enjoy'd *Aquiritain*, if it were truly known; for the Laws to this day are call'd the Laws of

of *Albercorne*, near *Rebelle*, anciently possessed by the *English*.

And because I speak of the peculiar Laws there establish'd, I am bound to give you an Account of an ancient Record extant in the Tower of *London*, wherein is to be seen, that at a general Meeting of all Nations of *Europe* that had relation to the Sea, with one Voice and Consent they gave *England* the Preheminence and Power over all the Seas, as well those that part *England* and *France*, as also the Northern Seas that encompass *Scotland* and *Ireland*; by which it is apparent, the Kings of *England* did not challenge the Privilege of Masters of the Sea by Force, but by Lawful Right granted by the Consent of all the Maritime Towns in *Europe*.

The Law of these Actions of Reprisal is to divide the Goods taken from any Enemy into Three Parts, the Ship has one Part, the Victualler the other, the Company the Third, and the Lord Admiral to have the Tenths of all.

That which is called Pillage is the loose Goods and Apparel of the Company on the upper Deck, so that it exceeds not a certain Proportion, and is equally to be divided to the whole Company at the Main-mast.

If a Ship fight, the Captain that takes her, by ancient Right, should have the other Captain's Chest, and what he has in it; and every Officer to have the like of other Officers. The Captain is to have likewise the best Piece of Ordnance in the Ship, the Gunner the second, and the Master the best Cable, and all the other Officers after that rate, Sails, Muskets, &c.

The Thirds due to the Company is thus divided, and those that make the Shares are, the Master, or in his Absence the Right-hand Mate, the Gunner, the Boatwain, and the Four Quarter-Masters; (not the Captain.) But the Captain has this Privilege, to take away half a Share, or a whole Share, to give from one to another whom he pleases.

|                          | Shares. |
|--------------------------|---------|
| The Chirurgeon's Mate    | 4       |
| The Gunner's Mate        | 4       |
| The Carpenter's Mate     | 4       |
| The Corporal             | 3       |
| The Quarter-Masters Mate | 3       |
| The Trumpeter's Mate     | 3       |
| The Steward              | 3       |
| The Cook                 | 3       |
| The Cockswain            | 3       |
| The Swabber              | 3       |

The Younkers are according to their Deserts, some Three, some Two, and some less; the Boys one single Share.

A Ship of War is to keep a Man or Boy continually in the Head of the Top-mast, to descry what Sails they can see; and upon the descrying of any that shall prove Prize, he is to have given him a Reward, at the Discretion of the Captain.

If any Prize they take shall fight, and make Resistance, upon the boarding her, the Ten first Men that shall enter her shall have every one of them a Reward, at the Discretion of the Captain.

Tho' these Actions of Reprisals yield no Profit to a King, but only in his Customs, as all other Merchandizes that come into his Kingdoms, yet it is a Matter of great Consequence, not only to him, but to his whole Commonwealth, as appears by these Reasons: The number of Sailors and Seamen are increas'd treble by it, to what they are in the Navigations of Peaceable Voyages; and they are made more Courageous, and more like to serve their Prince and Country when there is occasion to use them, than any other of his Majesty's Subjects, although their Successes do not prove Prosperous at Sea, but that they return without Spoil or Gain; for I confess, of 20 such Ships as go out with Letters of Reprisal, not two for the most part make a saving Voyage; like a Lottery, where one lighting upon a good Prize, encourages others to venture in it, till they make themselves Pennyless, and derided for their Pains.

But howsoever it fall with these Adventurous People, the Kingdom feels no Detriment or Scarcity by it; for all the time they spend at Sea, they consume no more Victuals than they would have done on shore: Every Man in the Ship bears his own Adventure; so that neither King or Country is bound to pay them at their return: Or tho' they fail of getting in one Voyage, yet upon the end of it they are ready, and never want occasion to be suddenly employ'd again in another.

And

|                                  | Shares. |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| In the Division, the Captain has | 10      |
| The Master                       | 7 or 8  |
| The Lieutenant                   | 7 or 8  |
| The Mates                        | 5       |
| The Chirurgeon                   | 5       |
| The Gunner                       | 5       |
| The Boatwain                     | 5       |
| The Carpenter                    | 5       |
| The Trumpeter                    | 5       |
| The Four Quarter-Masters         | 4       |
| The Cooper                       | 4       |



And Lastly, The King receives Benefit by these voluntary Actions, by Annoyance done the Enemy, who is impoverished and put into great Discontent by it; Besides that many times his Provisions in furnishing his Fleets are cut off in their way to the place of their Rendezvous, whereby his Preparations fail, to the great Security and Profit of the Prince their Enemy. What this end of the Stealth produces, you will hear afterwards.

*The Office of a Master of a Ship of the King's.*

A Master is to be chosen by the *Tri-nity House*, who can Judge of every Man's sufficiency, as well in the point of his Art as his Command, which is as much to be regarded as the other in a Ship of the King's: Upon Commendations from them to the Four Principal Officers of the Navy, he is to receive Warrant for taking Charge of his Majesty's Ship. I utterly dislike that a Captain should make choice of a Master himself; I speak it for the security of a Captain; for if any thing but Well should befall the Ship in her Voyage, it will be imputed to the Captain's Election of his Master, and he only shall receive the Blame and Imputation by it.

His Place and Charge is to undertake to conduct the Ship safe from Port to Port, and to direct at Sea to and fro as the Captain shall require him, by virtue of his Instructions from the Lord-Admiral in the King's Service; he is also to give Chase, Manage a Fight or Retreat by the Captain's Directions.

He has power to Command the Mariners, and all the Company, to perform the ordinary Labours in the Ship, and to keep due Watch in their turns, at the Helm; and may by himself, or the Boat-swain and his Mates, Correct and Punish, according to the custom of the Sea, such as refuse his Command for the Service of the Ship, wherein I conceive no Man is exempted respectively.

He must be likewise acquainted what Furniture, Grownd-Tackle, and Sea-Stores, belong to the Ship, and to justify the needful Expences of Sea-Stores in the Boat-swain or Carpenters Charge during the Voyage, to the end there may be Warrant for Supply, while the Ship is under his Charge.

There are Six things necessary and requisite in a Master or Mariner that takes Charge (*viz.*) The Card, the Compass, the Tides, the Time, the Wind, and the Ships way.

A Master must be Obedient to his Captain, and so carry himself that he be obey'd by his Company; for a Master that has not Authority in his Command, is slighted by all his Men, and the inferior Officers, and then the Service goes to wrack.

A Master ought to pass through all the Offices and Degrees in a Ship, before he attain to his Place of Master; that thereby he may both Direct and Controul the other Officers, if they commit Errors or Mistakes.

A Master ought not to be Arrogant, Wilful or Head-strong; not to presume too much on his own Skill, without the Advice of his Mates, who are to be chosen as his Seconds and Helpers, to Conduct the Ship when he takes his Rel; also to separate themselves into several parts of the Ship at her Tacking about, and Tackling of the Ship, giving Ear to the Master's Command, and to see it perform'd; and also to oversee carefully such business as concerns the Safety of the Ship (*viz.*) The Anchor clear'd, the Splicing and Bending of Cables, that the Shrowds be taut, &c. The Boat-swain employ'd to do these things, may not neglect to perform them strictly, whereby any danger may come to the Ship.

The Office of a Master is to guide a Ship into what Coast, Height, or Harbour the Captain shall direct him, who is Commander of all, and in a Fight is to Conn the Ship, and to see the handling of the Sails, by appointment of the Captain.

A Master must observe the Sun and Star, to find out the variation of the Compass; to know the Tides; to prick his Card; and many other things, which for the better Instruction of him that shall hereafter attain to that place, I have set down briefly for them to Learn and Follow, as namely, The working of the Sun, with the North and South Declination; a Rule to know the Age of the Moon, and so consequently to cast the Tides; how many Leagues answer to a Degree; the Prime, the Golden Number, who was the finder out of the Loadstone, and the Winds call'd

*Monfon's.*

## How to work the Sun with a North Declination.

|                                                  |       |       |       |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| The height<br>at 87 De-<br>grees, 54<br>Minutes. | 23 19 | 46 11 | 13 12 |
|                                                  | 21 13 | 23 2  | 12 20 |
|                                                  | 2 6   | 23 9  | 1 2   |
|                                                  | 89 60 | 89 60 | 89 60 |
|                                                  | 2 6   | 23 9  | 1 2   |
|                                                  | 87 54 | 66 51 | 88 53 |

## How to work the Sun with a South Declination.

|  |       |       |       |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
|  | 23 19 | 46 11 | 13 22 |
|  | 21 13 | 23 2  | 12 20 |
|  | 44 32 | 69 13 | 25 42 |
|  | 89 60 | 89 60 | 89 60 |
|  | 44 32 | 69 13 | 25 42 |
|  | 45 28 | 20 47 | 64 18 |

## A Rule to know the Age of the Moon, and so to cast the Tides.

|                          |       |       |       |       |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| The Day of<br>the Month. | 23 19 | 26 2  | 9 12  | 28 13 |
| The Epoch.               | 14 2  | 6 13  | 29 3  | 25 2  |
| The Month.               | 9 4   | 8 11  | 7 4   | 4 3   |
| Jan. Mar. &              | 46 25 | 40 26 | 45 19 | 57 18 |
|                          | 25    | 30    | 30    | 30    |
|                          | 16    | 10    | 15    | 25    |

## Leagues to answer a Degree.

|                         |       |
|-------------------------|-------|
| North                   | 20    |
| North and by East       | 20 ½  |
| North North East        | 21 ½  |
| North East and by North | 24    |
| North East              | 28 ½  |
| North East and by East  | 36    |
| East North East         | 52 ½  |
| East and by North       | 102 ½ |

It is to be Noted that the North-East Winds which continually blow betwixt the *Canaries* and *West-Indies*, Blow so from the 6th. or 7th. Degree on this side the Line to the 30th. and 32. Degrees; and moreover, of late it has differ'd, for sometimes the Wind blows Southwardly in those heights, tho' I confess it is strange.

*Flavio* of *Amalphy* in the Kingdom of *Naples* was the first finder of the Loadstone in the Year 1300.

In *October* the North-East, and East North-East Winds blow on the Coast of

*Brazil*, and from *March* to *October* they blow at South-East; and these are called the General Winds.

The *Monfons*, that is to say, the first Winds in the *East-Indies*, have their beginning from *Mozambique* to *Goa* in the Month of *September*; and the Second *Monfon*, from thence begins the 15th. of *December*. The Third *Monfon* begins the 15th. of *August*. The Prime, or Golden Number is the time of 19 Years, in which time the Moon makes all her Changes or Conjunctions with the Sun; and when these 19 Years are expi'd, then she begins again. As for example, the Year 1579. she chang'd the 22 of *March* and every Year alters 11 Days in her Change; till the Year 1593. and then she changeth the laid 22 of *March* again.

Every Moon contains 29 Days, 12 Hours, 44 Minutes, from Change to Change; the whole Contents of the Hours of the Moon, 708 Hours and 44 Minutes.

There is in every Year Twelve Changes of the Moon, and the Year contains 365 Days, 5 Hours, 55 Minutes, 12 Seconds.

In the Year of 12 Lunar Months, there are but 354 Days, so that there are Eleven more in the Solar Year, than in the Twelve Lunar Months.

From *January* to *June*, you shall see the Moon within 24 Hours after the Change, because she has a North Declination of the Sun.

From *July* to *December* you shall not see the Moon Three Days after the Change, because her Declination is to the Southward of the Sun; but you may see her in 24 Hours before her Change.

The Golden Number was so call'd, because it was sent out of *Egypt* in Letters of Gold to the *Romans*, or the City of *Rome*.

The Reason of calling it the Prime, was, because it was the first Order the Moon's Course was known by.

An *English* Mile contains 1000 Paces, and every Pace 5 Foot, and every Foot 12 Inches.

The Lengthning and Shortning of the Days is according to the Swiftness and Slowness of the Sun's Declination. In the Latitude of *London*, the Shortest Day is the 11th. or 12th. of *December*; the longest Summers Day is 16 Hours and a half, and the shortest 7 and a half, from the Rising to the Setting of the Sun.

The 12th. of *December*, the Sun rises a Quarter of an Hour alter 8. and sets a Quarter before 4.

The 29th. of *December*, the Day is a Quarter of an Hour longer, and rises at 8. and sets at 4. The

The 17th of *January*, the day is an hour longer: The 29th, the Sun rises at half an hour after 7, and sets at half an hour after 4.

The 12th of *February*, the day is 10 hours long; the Sun rises at 7, and sets at 5.

The 20th of *February*, the day is 11 hours long; the Sun rises at half an hour after 6, and sets at half an hour after 5.

The 12th of *March*, the day is 12 hours long all the World over: The 24th of *March*, the Sun rises a quarter of an hour before 6, and sets a quarter after 6.

The 7th of *April*, the day is 14 hours long; and the Sun rises at 5, and sets at 7.

The 23d of *April*, the day is 15 hours long; the Sun rises before 5 half an hour, and sets at half an hour after 7.

The 15th of *May*, the day is 16 hours long; the Sun rises at 4, and sets at 8.

The 12th or 12th of *June*, the Sun has its greatest height to the Northward; the day is 16 hours and an half, and the Sun rises a quarter before 4, and sets a quarter after 8.

The 10th of *July*, the day is 15 hours.

The 16th of *August*, the day is 14 hours.

The last of *August*, the day is 13 hours.

The 12th of *September*, equal.

The 27th of *September*, the day is 11 hours.

The 11th of *October*, 10 hours long.

The 26th of *October*, 9 hours long.

The 15th of *November*, 8 hours long.

The 11th of *December*, at shortest.

### The Office of a Pilot and Coaster.

He is to carry the Ship over certain Sands, or into such Ports and Harbours as the Master is not acquainted with, at what time the Master himself ought not to controul him, but to follow the Course and Directions of the Pilot, tho' the Managing and Tacking of the Ship belongs to the Master.

I give the Name both of Pilot and Coaster to one Man, for the first is comprehended in the latter: A bare Pilot serves only for the Port he is hired for; but the Coaster serves not only for such a Place, but for the whole Coast, as I will make the Comparison of *England*.

This Man's Charge is more than in the Command of Ship and Company, and is of greater weight and moment than the Office of a Master; for by reason of our daily experience in long Voyages, the Conduction of a Ship is of little difficulty; for, it has not been heard that any Ship ever went out of *England*, and return'd home again, without finding the

Country or Place she went for; and yet we have very many lamentable Precedents, that coming home from such Voyages, for want of knowledge of the Coast, the Ships have perish'd.

The principal thing in a Pilot or Coaster of our Coast, is to know where he is; by his first Soundings his Depth will give him Light; and as he draws nearer the Coast, either of *England* or *Britany*, his Depth will lessen, and by his Lead he will take up Sands, by which he shall gather which of the two Coasts he is upon, as also if he be shot into *St. George's* Chancel. The meanest Mariner that trades to *Rotterdam*, *Bordeaux*, *Biscay*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, knows more in this kind, than the great Masters and others that go to the *East-Indies*, and long Voyages, because they make four or five Voyages in and out of our Chancel to the others one, by which they gain daily Experience of our Soundings, Coasts, Marks on Land, and the Entrance of our Harbours, which the others cannot do.

The Skill of a Coaster is to know the Land as soon as he shall descry it, and after he has made it, then to Harbour himself, for all Ports are alike to a good Coaster; he must be likewise perfect in Casting the Tides, to take his opportunity of coming into a Harbour, according to the Draught of his Ship, and the Depth of the Water.

In 1588, when the Duke of *Medina* came for *England*, had he been furnish'd with a Pilot that knew the *Lizard*, when he made it for the *Rumbold*, he had the next morning given an Attempt upon our Ships at *Plimouth*, when he was not suspected or look'd for.

Mr. *Cavendish*, at his return from about the World, where he made himself and the Nation famous by that Voyage, has often told me, That the first night he entered into our Chancel, not daring to put in with the Land, he endur'd more Trouble and Danger of Shipwrack, than in all his two Years and odd Months of Navigation in the remote and unknown Places where he had been.

In the Year 1589, we being come in the *Victory*, one of the Queen's Ships, with the Earl of *Cumberland*, (as may appear in the First Book) near *Scilly* by our reckonings, were taken with a most violent Storm at East that put us upon the Coast of *Ireland*, where, for want of a Man that knew that Coast and Harbours, we were forc'd to keep the Sea till we were put from Shore, so that before we could recover it again, we endur'd such great Misery

ry and want of Drink, that the like has not been known, as you will find in Mr. Hacklett's Book treating of the *English Voyages*. I could infer many other Examples of this Nature, but this shall suffice.

#### *The Office of a Boatwain,*

Is to have the Charge of all the Cordage, Tackling, Sails, Fids and Marling Spikes, Needles, Twine, Sailcloth, and Rigging the Ship; His Mates have the Command of the Long Boat, putting out the Anchor and fetching it home, Waiting, Towing, and Mooring, and to give an Account of his Store indented with a Surveyor for the same: He is to make Choice of his Mates to assist him, his Place being more laborious than one Man can perform, in following and directing the common Sailors in their Works. If he die in the Voyage, his chief Mate is to succeed him.

As the Master is to be aboard the Mast, so the Boatwain and all the Common Sailors under his Command are to be aboard the Mast; he Measures the Company four and four to a Mess, or more if there be want of Victuals, and is to see they be duly serv'd, and good Hours kept. At Eight of the Clock at Night the Watch is to be set, and half the Company watches and the other half sleeps till Twelve of the Clock that they are reliev'd, unless foul Weather force them all to help together.

As the Master commands the tacking of the Ship, the hoisting or striking the Yard, the taking in or putting out the Sails, upon the blowing of the Master's Whistle the Boatwain takes it with his, and sets the Sailors with Courage to do their Work, every one of them knowing by the Whistle what they are to do.

The Boatwain is to see the Shrouds and all other Ropes set taut, the Dipline and Plummert in readines against their coming into the Soundings, and tallow'd; this is only in deep Water, before they make Land. He is to see the Cables bent to the Anchors: In a Fight he must see the Yards slung to, Parners and Waste Clothes, the Flag and Pendants put forth, and call up every Man to his Labour and Office. The Boatwain serves for a Provost-Marshal, to commit all Offenders; and to conclude, his and his Mate's Work is never at an end, for it is impossible to repeat all the Duties incumbent on them.

#### *The Office of a Gunner.*

A Gunner at Sea ought to be Skilful, Careful, and Courageous; for the Strength of the Ship is put into his hands.

A principal thing in a Gunner at Sea,

is to be a good Helms-Man, and to call to him at Helm to Loof, or bear up, to have his better Level, and to observe the heaving and setting of the Sea, to take his aim at the Enemy.

A Gunner is to be provided, besides his Ordnance, with Powder and Shot of all kinds, Fire Pikes, Cartridges, Case Shot, Cross-bar Shot, Langrel Shot, Chain Shot, Arm'd Arrows of Wild-Fire, and Grana- does of divers kinds.

He is to furnish himself with a Horn, a Priming Iron, Lint Stocks, Gunners Quadrant, and a Dark Lanthorn; to make Choice of his Mates, his Quarter Gunners, Yeoman of the Powder-Room, and his Company in the Gun-Room, who are Privileg'd from the Labour before the Mast, unless by his Sufferance.

A Gunner must know the Names of his Pieces, their Bores or Height, their Weight, the Weight of the Shot, the Weight of the Powder, the Goodness of Powder, and how far every Piece will carry both at Random and Point-blank, which is fittest for a Ship, and which for Field or Battery: But because every Gunner does not know these Secrets, I will set down so much as is fit for them to know.

#### *A Cannon Royal.*

The Bore of a Cannon Royal, is 8 inches and an half.

The Weight 8000 lb.

The weight of the Shot 66 lb.

The weight of the Powder 30 lb.

The breadth of the Ladle 12 inches.

The length of the Ladle 24 inches.

She will shoot point-blank 800 paces.

She will shoot at random 1930 paces.

#### *A Cannon.*

The Bore of a Cannon 8 inches.

The Weight 6000 lb.

The weight of the Shot 60 lb.

The weight of the Powder 27 lb.

The breadth of the Ladle 12 inches.

The length of the Ladle 24 inches.

She will shoot point-blank 770 paces.

She will shoot at random 2000 paces.

#### *A Cannon Serpentine.*

The Bore 7 inches.

The Weight 5500 lb.

The weight of the Shot 53 lb. and an half.

The weight of the Powder 25 lb.

The breadth of the Ladle 10 inches.

The length of the Ladle 23 inches.

Shoot point-blank 200 paces.

Shoot at random 2000 paces.

#### *A Bastard Cannon.*

The Bore 7 inches.

The Weight 4500 lb.

The

The weight of the Shot 41 lb.  
The weight of the Powder 20 lb.  
The breadth of the Ladle 10 inches.  
The length of the Ladle 23 inches and 3 quarters.

Shoot point-blank 180 paces.  
Shoot at random 1800 paces.

*A Demi-Cannon.*

The Bore 6 inches and 3 quarters.  
The Weight 4000 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 30 lb. and an half.

The weight of the Powder 18 lb.  
The breadth of the Ladle 9 inches and an half.

The length of the Ladle 23 inches and an half.  
Shoot point-blank 170 paces.  
Shoot at random 1700 paces.

*A Cannon Petro.*

The Bore 6 inches.  
The Weight 3000 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 24 lb. and an half.

The weight of the Powder 14 lb.  
The breadth of the Ladle 9 inches.  
The length of the Ladle 23 inches.  
Shoot point-blank 160 paces.  
Shoot at random 1600 paces.

*A Culverin.*

The Bore 5 inches and an half.  
The Weight 4500 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 17 lb. and an half.

The weight of the Powder 12 lb.  
The breadth of the Ladle 8 inches and an half.  
The length of the Ladle 22 inches.

Shoot point-blank 200 paces.  
Shoot at random 2500 paces.

*A Basilisk.*

The Bore 5 inches.  
The Weight 400 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 15 lb.  
The weight of the Powder 10 lb.  
The breadth of the Ladle 7 inches and an half.

The length of the Ladle 22 inches.  
Shoot point-blank 230 paces.  
Shoot at random 3000 paces.

*A Demi-Culverin.*

The Bore 4 inches.  
The Weight 3400 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 9 lb. and an half.

The weight of the Powder 8 lb.  
The breadth of the Ladle 6 inches and an half.  
The length of the Ladle 22 inches.

Shoot point-blank 200 paces.  
Shoot at random 2500 paces.

*A Bastard Culverin.*

The Bore 4 inches.  
The Weight 3000 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 5 lb.  
The weight of the Powder 5 lb. and 3 quarters.

The breadth of the Ladle 5 inches and an half.

The length of the Ladle 18 inches.  
Shoot point-blank 170 paces.  
Shoot at random 1700 paces.

*A Sacar.*

The Bore 3 inches and an half.  
The Weight 1400 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 5 l. and an half.  
The weight of the Powder 5 l. and an half.

The breadth of the Ladle 5 inches and 3 quarters.

The length of the Ladle 18 inches.  
Shoot point-blank 170 paces.  
Shoot at random 1700 paces.

*A Minion.*

The Bore 3 inches and an half.  
The Weight 1000 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 4 lb.  
The weight of the Powder 4 lb.  
The breadth of the Ladle 4 inches and 3 quarters.

The length of the Ladle 15 inches.  
Shoot point-blank 150 paces.  
Shoot at random 1500 paces.

*A Faulcon.*

The Bore 2 inches and an an half.  
The Weight 660 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 2 lb.  
The weight of the Powder 3 lb. and an half.

The breadth of the Ladle 4 inches and an half.

The length of the Ladle 15 inches.  
Shoot point-blank 150 paces.  
Shoot at random 1500 paces.

*A Faulconet.*

The Bore 2 inches.  
The Weight 500 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 1 lb. and an half.

The weight of the Powder 3 lb.  
The breadth of the Ladle 4 inches and an half.

The length of the Ladle 15 inches.  
Shoot point-blank 150 paces.  
Shoot at random 1500 paces.

*A Serpentine.*

The Bore 1 inch and an half.  
The Weight 400 lb.  
The weight of the Shot 3 quarters of a pound.

The weight of the Powder 1 lb. and an half.

The



The breadth of the Ladle 3 inches and an half.

The length of the Ladle 11 inches.

Shoot point blank 1400 paces.

Shoot at random 1400 paces.

*A Rabanet.*

The Bore 1 inch.

The weight 300 lb.

The weight of the Shot half a pound.

The weight of the Powder a third part of a pound.

The breadth of the Ladle 1 inch and a third part.

The length of the Ladle 6 inches.

Shoot point blank 120 paces.

Shoot at random 1000 paces.

Notwithstanding these Proportions of Powder given to every Piece aforesaid, yet there must be respect had to the goodness or badness of Powder, as namely Serpentine Powder, which is weak, and will not keep at Sea; the great and gross Powder is for Ordnance; fine Corned Powder is in goodness according to the Salt Petre; and for the Shot, it must be a quarter of an Inch less than the Bore of the Piece.

No Ship commonly carries greater Pieces than a Demy Cannon; and the rest of her Pieces ought not to be above 7 or 8 Foot long, unless it be in the Chafe or Stern; they are easier in Charging, easful to the Ship, besides better in Traverling and Mounting: The longer the Pieces are, the greater is their Retention of Fire, and the danger of the Piece the greater.

It is true, the longer Piece will burn the Powder better, and carry the Shot further, as the shorter Piece will spue her Powder; the longer is better for the Land, the other for the Sea; for he that shooteth far off at a Ship, had as good not shoot at all.

It is a folly to try a Piece, either great or small, with a double Charge; for a Piece is proportion'd to her Mettle, equal with the Charge of her Powder; and tho' a Piece should endure a double Charge, yet she is the weaker by the Proof, and made the crasier by it.

Taper-bor'd, is when a Piece is wider in the Mouth than towards the Breech, which is dangerous, if the Bullets go not home, to burst her.

Hony-Comb'd, is when she is ill cast, or over much worn, she will be ragged within, which is dangerous for a Cross-bar Shot to catch hold by, or any rag of her wadding being afire, and sticking there, may fire the next Charge you put in her.

Fire-works are divers, and of many Compositions, as Arrows trimm'd with Wild-fire, Pikes of Wild-fire to stick burning into a Ship's side to fire her. There are also divers sorts of Granades, some to break and fly in abundance of Pieces every way, as will your Brass Balls, and Earthen Pots, which when they are cover'd with quarter Bulls stuck in Pitch, and the Pots fill'd with good Powder, in a Crowd of People will make an incredible Slaughter. Some will burn under Water, and never extinguish till the stuff be consum'd; some will burn and fume out a most stinking poisonous Smoke; some being only of Oil anointed on any thing made of dry Wood, will take fire by the heat of the Sun when it shines hot.

It is not impertinent to make repetition of a great Abuse, and the greatest of all others that could befall this happy Kingdom, which God has placed in such a part of the World, that all the Enemies of Mankind cannot annoy it from abroad, if the Kingdom be well govern'd, the People encourag'd, and the Arms and Strength kept from being carried abroad.

But such has been the Oversight of some Magistrates in times past, that they have conniv'd at the Transportation of our *English* Ordnance, which exceeds all other in *Europe* for goodness: And now no Country from the hithermost parts to the uttermost bounds of the World, but is able to give Testimony of it in their Forts and Castles, which are furnish'd with them, to the unspeakable Hazard and Danger to our selves; besides that, it breeds a double Charge and Expence to his Majesty, as shall appear by this that follows. A *French* Ship of 500 Tuns, carries 40 pieces of *English* Ordnance, for which the King has 500*l.* for License of Transportation: To command this Ship, the King of *England* must keep yearly another bigger and stronger than she, which will cost 3000*l.* per Annum at the least, and the Charge to maintain her in Harbour will stand him in 400*l.* a Year; so that for the Profit of 500*l.* this great Charge must be maintain'd, which by keeping our Ordnance will be avoided.

The Ordnance of *England* have been sold for 12*l.* a Tun; in *Amsterdam* for 40*l.* in *France* for 60*l.* and in *Spain* for 80*l.* all in one year; for it is to be noted, that the *English* Ordnance is of another Nature than the Ordnance made in *Biscay*, which break and shiver in to many pieces, to the Destruction of Men on board the Ship.

*The Carpenter's Office.*

I will enlarge upon this Office more than on the rest, because he is the Man that gives Life to the Ship; for all the Works that Iron or Timber is used in, pass through his Hands and Skill.

He looks to the Hull of the Ship, that there be no damage by Leaks within board or without, but that all be tight and staunch; likewise to the Strength of the Masts and Yards, and repairing of the Boats, Cabins, or Partitions of Plank, Deal, Sheet-lead, Nails for work, &c.

*What concerns the Building of a Ship.*

The Keel, the Stern and Stern post, is the Ground on which a Ship is built.

The Ground and Timber is the Floor of the Ship, and are call'd the Ring-heads.

Your Keelson is laid over your Floor Timbers, which is a long Timber like the Keel, and lies within as the Keel lies without; from it all the upper Works are rais'd.

The Ribs of a Ship are like the Ribs of a Man; the Sleepers run fore and aft on each side of the Ship.

The Sparkets are the Spaces betwixt the Timbers along the Ship's sides in all Parts.

The Garboard is the first Plank next the Keel, on the out side.

The Garboard-streak is the first Seam next the Keel.

The Run of a Ship is that which comes narrower by degrees from the Floor-Timbers, along to the Stern-post, call'd the Ship's-way aftward; for according to her Run, she will steer well or ill, according to the swiftness or slowness of the Water coming to the Rudder.

The fore-end of a Plank under Water is call'd the Buts-end; the Planks that are fastned to the Stern, are call'd the Whoordings.

The Tuck is the gathering of the Works upon the Ship's Quarter under Water; if it lie low, it makes her have a fat Quarter, and hinders the quick Passage of the Water to the Rudder.

The Transome is a Timber that lies athwart the Stern, and lays out the breadth of the Ship at the Buttock, which is her breadth from her Tuck upwards.

The Rake of a Ship is so much of her Hull as hangs over both the ends of her Keel, it gives the Ship good way, and makes her keep a good Wind; the Rake forward is near half the length of the Keel.

The Ship's Bilge is the breadth of the Floor when she is ashore; the Billage-

water is that which cannot come to the Pump.

The Main-beam is next the Main mast, where is the Ship's greatest breadth.

Riders are builders from the Keel to strengthen all, and the Orlops do nothing upon them.

The Beams of the Orlops are to be bound with Knees, which are the best that grow crooked naturally.

Clinch-bolts are clinched with a Riveting Hammer for drawing out.

A Fluth deck is that which lies upon a right Line from Stern to Stern fore and aft.

The Gun-wall is the uppermost Wall that goes about the uppermost Straight or Stern of the uppermost Deck about the Ships waste.

The Ship's Quarter is from the Mizzen-mast.

Cauling-knees are Timbers that come athwart the Ship from the Sides to the Hatch way betwixt the two Masts, and bear up the Deck on both sides, and on their ends lieth the Comings of the Hatches.

Comings are Timbers that bear up the Hatches higher than the Deck, and keep the Water from falling in at the Hatches, and they make Loop-holes in them for close Fights; and they are an ease to Men where the Decks are low.

The Knights belong to the Halyards.

The Revels are to belay the Sheets, and tacks upon them.

The Spindle is the main body of the Capstain.

The Whelps are short pieces of Wood made fast to it, to keep the Cable from coming too high in turning about.

The Gier-Capstain is a help to the great Capstain in hoisting and weighing.

The Voyal is fastned together at both ends, with an Eye or two, and a Wall-knot seiz'd together.

A Manger is a Plank before or abaft the Main-mast. The Bits are two pieces of great Timber, and the cross piece goes through them; they are placed abaft the Manger in the Ship loof, to belay the Cable at the Anchor, the lower parts are fastned to the Rider.

The Call is a short piece of Timber over the Haufe, to which is fastned a great hook of Iron to trife up the Anchor from the Haufe to the Forecastle.

The Bulkhead is against the Gun-room, the Cabin, the Bread-room, the Quarter-Deck, or other such Division.

The David is a short piece of Timber, by which they haul up the Anchor's Flock to the Ship's Bow.

The Coupeidge-Head are placed Murderers; they make close the Forecastle and Half-Deck

Lockets are the Holes the Pintle of the Murderers goes into.

The lower Counter is betwixt the lower part of the Galley and the Transom; the upper part is from the Galley upward.

Cat-holes are over the Ports in the Gun-Room, right with the Captain, to heave the Ship a Stern by a Cable, or Haufe called A-Stern.

A Ship of 400 Tuns requires a Plank of 4 Inches; of 300 Tuns 3 Inches; small Ships two Inches, but no less.

For Clamp, Middle Bands, and Steepers, they are of 6 Inches Plank for building them, the rest upwards 3 Inches.

If a Ship be of 400 Tuns, lay the Beams of the Orlop 10 Foot deep in Hold, and all the Beams to be bound with two Knees at each end.

The Orlop to be laid with square 3 Inch Plank, and all the Planks to be trevell'd by the Beams.

'Tis very necessary to have a square Rudder carry'd in a Ship, as is us'd by the Ships in the South Sea.

### A Rule to know the Burden of a Ship.

Length of the Keel. Breadth in Beam. Depth in Hold.

|     |      |    |
|-----|------|----|
| 120 | 40   | 20 |
|     | 20   |    |
|     | 00   |    |
|     | 80   |    |
|     | 800  |    |
|     | 120  |    |
|     | 000  |    |
|     | 1600 |    |
|     | 800  |    |

The Burden 960 Tuns.

Length of the Keel. Breadth in Beam. Depth in Hold.

|    |      |    |
|----|------|----|
| 63 | 21   | 11 |
|    | 11   |    |
|    | 21   |    |
|    | 21   |    |
|    | 231  |    |
|    | 63   |    |
|    | 693  |    |
|    | 1386 |    |

The Burden 145 Tuns.

### The Masting of a Ship.

After the Proportion you may estimate the Masting of Ships: Suppose a Ship of 300 Tuns be 29 Foot by the Beam; if her Mast be 24 Inches Diameter, the Length of it must be 24 Yards; for every Inch in Thickness is allow'd a Yard in Length.

And the Fore-mast being 22 Inches in Thickness, must be 22 Yards in Length.

The Bolt-sprit, both in Length and Thickness, must be equal to the Fore-mast.

The Mizzen 17 Yards in Length, and 17 Inches Diameter: But in a made Mast, which is greater, this rate will not serve.

The Mizzen-mast is half the Length of the Main-mast, which to 24 will be 12.

As you take the Proportion of the Masts from the Beam, so you must the Length of the Yards by the Keel.

A Ship that is 79 Foot by the Keel, her Main-yard must be 21 Yards in Length, and in Thickness but 17 Inches.

The Fore-yard 19 Yards long, and 15 Inches in Diameter.

The Sprit-sail Yard 16 Yards long, and 9 Inches thick.

The Mizzen-yard as long as the Mast.

The Top yards bear half the Proportion to the Main and Fore-yard, and the Top-gallants half to them.

All these Observations are not exactly to be follow'd, but much after this Proportion; for there are many other Rules to this Point to be observ'd.

### The several Ways of Sheathing Ships in Spain and Portugal.

In Spain and Portugal they Sheath Ships with Lead; not durable, heavy and subject to many Casualties.

Another Sheathing is with double Planks within and without, like a Furring; weighty, endures but a while, because the Worm works through the one and the other.

Some have done it with fine Canvas; of small continuance, and not regarded.

To

To burn the upper Plank, till it come to be like a very Coal in every Place, and alter to Pitch it, is not amiss.

In *China* they say, they have a *Bitumen*, or Varnish, like an Artificial Pitch, with which they trim the outside of the Ships: It is said to be durable against Worm, Water, or Sun.

Some have us'd a certain Pitch mingled with Glafs, and other Ingredients beaten to Powder, but of no great use.

The best is with thin Boards, half Inch thick, the thinner the better, and Elm better than Oak, for it does not split, it endures better under Water, and yields better to the Ship's side: (The manner is thus,) Before the Sheathing-board be nail'd on, upon the inner side of it they smear it over with Tar, half a Finger thick, and upon the Tar another half Finger thick, with Hair, such as the White Liners use, and so nail it on, the Nails not above a Span distant one from another.

Some impute the killing of the Worm to the Tar: others to the Hair, that involves and chokes it; this is the best, and of least Cost.

The Worm begins with a Hole no bigger than a Needle's head, and by degrees becomes as great as a Man's Finger; the thicker the Plank is, the greater it grows: They are the most near fresh Waters and Rivers.

Creatures bred and nourish'd in the Sea, coming into Fresh Waters, die, and they die presently that are bred in Fresh Rivers, and come into the Salt.

The Pitch of the *Canaries* melts not with the Sun; therefore good for the upper Works in Ships.

Near a Town call'd *Buco*, in *Persia*, there issues out of the Ground a great quantity of Oil, which Oil they fetch from the furthest Part of all *Persia*; it serves them in their Houses for Lamps.

Not far from that Place, Tar issues out of the Ground, which will serve for Ships; Proof whereof was made by the Ships the *Englishmen* built in the *Caspian* Sea. At *Cape Brea*, not far from the Isle of *Trinidad*, in the *West-Indies*, there is a Pitch of the Nature of that of the *Canaries*.

#### The Purser.

In the Nature of a Cape Merchant in a Ship of Merchandize, that keeps an Account of all Things brought into the Ship; he ought to be an able Clerk; he has the Charge of the *Victuals* sent aboard by the *Victualler* for the Company serving in the Ship, for such time as by his Warrant he is requir'd, according to the Pro-

portion allow'd by his Majesty, and to see the same deliver'd daily by the Cook and Steward to all Men at their Meals; and at the end of the Voyage to deliver back such Cask and Basket Bags as are not spent in the Voyage. He is likewise to enter the Names of all the Men in a Sea Book, (as we term it) which he should Originally receive from the Clerk of the Checque of the Place where the Ship was rigg'd and made ready, mentioning the Places where they were Press'd, and the Day of their Entry, with such Denominations of Offices as properly belong to them: And likewise if, during the Voyage, any of the Men happen to die, run away, or for good Cause be discharged by the Captain's Order, to enter likewise the particular Day of the Month against each of their Names in a Margent of the Books: He should also distinguish in the Front of the Book, at the beginning, when the Ship entered into Sea *Victuals*; for that in all the King's Ships the Captain and Officers do then commence into Sea Wages.

He is, upon any Lawful Discharge, to make a Pass to the Party, relating the time of his Service, the Place where he was Press'd, his Office, if he have any, and the Place where he went from the Ship, and to vouch the same under his own Hand; whereunto he is to procure the Captain's also, and to deliver it to the Party, to carry with him to the Treasurer of the Navy's Office at *Deptford*, to receive his Pay accordingly.

#### The Allowance of *Victuals* in the King's Ships at Sea.

Every Man and Boy is allow'd a Pound of Bread a Day.

Every Man and Boy is allow'd a Gallon of Beer a Day; (that is to say) a Quart in the Morning, a Quart at Dinner, a Quart in the Afternoon, and a Quart at Supper.

Every Man and Boy is allow'd a Day, on Flesh Days, One Pound of Beef, or else One Pound of Pork with Pease, that is, on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday.

On Fish Days every Mess, which is Four Men, are allow'd a side of Salt Fish, either Haberdine, Ling or Cod, 7 Ounces of Butter, and 14 Ounces of Cheese, Friday excepted; on which Day they have but half Allowance.

The Purser is allow'd by every Man 6d. a Month to provide Necessaries, as Wooden Dishes, Cans, Candles, Lanterns, and Candlesticks, for the Hold.

*Trumpeter.*

For the more Reputation of this Man's Service in a Ship of the King's, and under an Admiral, it is fit he should have a Silver Trumpet, and himself and his Noife to have Banners of Silk of the Admiral's Colours: His Place is to keep the Poop, to attend the General's going ashore and coming aboard, and all other Strangers or Boats, and to sound as an Entertainment to them; as also when they hail a Ship, or when they charge, board, or enter her: They set the Watch at Eight of the Clock at Night, and discharge it in the Morning, and have a Can of Beer allow'd them for the same. This is not only incident to an Admiral, but to all Captains that carry a Noife of Trumpets with them.

*A Surgeon.*

He has his Mate; they are both exempted from all Duty, but to attend the Sick, and cure the Wounded: There must be Trial of his Sufficiency, by Certificate from able Men of his Profession; his Chest must be well furnish'd both for Physick and Surgery, which should be viewed before his going to Sea by Men of Skill. The Surgeon is to be placed in the Hold, where he should be in no danger of Shot; for there cannot be a greater Disheartening of the Company than in his miscarrying, whereby they will be deprived of all Help for hurt and wounded Men.

*The Corporal*

Is to see the Soldiers and Sailors keep their Arms neat and clean, and to teach and exercise them every calm day, sometimes with Powder, and sometimes with false Fires; in a Fight to have an Eye over the rest of the Shot, that they do their Parts, and not to start from the Place they are assigned.

So long as the Fight shall last, they are to put some Budge Barrels of Powder in the Galley, or some close Cabbin, whither People may resort to have their Bandeliers filled, and their Bullets and March supply'd; with a special care, that no Matches with Fire come near the said Galley or Cabbin.

*The Cockswain and his Mate.*

The Cockswain is as it were Captain of the Boat; he is to steer the Skiff, and to be sent ashore on all Occasions, or aboard all Ships at Sea he shall meet, and to be directed by the Captain; he is to make choice of a Gang, to be able and handsome Men, well Cloath'd, and all in one Livery. It is necessary he be a good Pilot for the Harbours or Shores he goes

into, and to know the Course of the Tides: He ought to be a Man of Discretion and good Shape, to countenance the Employment he shall be sent on; and if he had Language, it were much the better.

*The Quarter-Masters*

Are Four, and every one has his Mate; they have the Charge of the Hold for Stowage, romaging and trimming the Ship in Hold: They have their Squadron in the Watch, and see that every one do his Office both by day and night: They have a care to look to the Steeridge and the Travile-Board.

*The Cooper and his Mates*

Are to look to the Cask, Hoops and Twigs, to stave and repair the Buckets, Barrels, Cans, Steep Tubs, Rundlets, Hogheads, Pipes, &c. For Wine, Beveridge, Cyder, Water, and other Liquor; and as often as they shall fill fresh Water, the Cooper is to give his Attendance for the fitting the Cask.

*The Swabber and Liar.*

The Swabber is to keep the Cabbins, and all the Rooms of the Ship clean within board, and the Liar to do the like without board. The Liar holds his Place but for a week; and he that is first taken with a Lie upon a Monday morning, is Proclaim'd at the Main-mast, with a general Crie, *A Liar, a Liar, a Liar*, and for that week he is under the Swabber, and meddles not with making clean the Ship within board, but without.

*The Steward and his Mate.*

His Office is to be the Purser's Deputy, chosen by him, and keeps always in the Hold, to deliver the Victuals to the Cook, who is trusted to Retail the Victuals in meet Proportions, and is only accountable to the Purser, tho' he has some Allowance from the Victualler, for well husbanding and keeping the Provisions from Waste or Putrifaction: He must not suffer Banqueting or Disorder in his Room, but keep it clean and sweet; and, as occasion shall serve, cause the Quarter-Masters to romage, for the better coming to his Victuals.

*The Cook*

Is to dress and deliver out the Victuals, and is assisted by a Mate or two; the Meat being fodd, either of Fish or Flesh, he delivers it out to them appointed to mess the Company, and after to put out the Fire, and suffer none to be kindled, or People to resort into the Cook-Room, but in case of Necessity; as namely, when the Cockswain's Gang comes wet aboard, or sick



sick Men have occasion to use the Fire for the Comfort.

All these Officers aforesaid have many People under them in their Rooms, not able upon any occasion to tackle the Ship, or do any other Work, more than that they are bred to: Therefore, according to my Directions in the First Book, it is fit and necessary that such People be put to the use and practice of the Musket, or to the Labour in hawling, and doing other Helps to the Gunner about his Ordnance in the time of Fight, otherwise the Ship will be weaken'd, when there is use of

Men, by so many People, who otherwise would do good Service if they were taught what to do.

Having declar'd the use of every Man's Office and Place in his Majesty's Ships, and how conveniently all Men are provided for that Service in them, without Confusion or Trouble one to another, I will now show how *England* exceeds *Spain* in this kind, and to that purpose will set down the managing and marshalling of the King of *Spain's* Galeons, and shew the Confusion and ill Order aboard them, in comparison of the Kings of *England*.

### *The ill Management of the Spanish Ships.*

THE *Spaniards* have more Officers in their Ships than we: They have a Captain in their Ship, a Captain for their Gunners, and as many Captains as there are Companies of Soldiers; and above all, they have a Commander in the nature of a Colonel above the rest.

This breeds a great Confusion, and is many times the cause of Mutinies among them; they brawl and fight commonly aboard their Ships, as if they were ashore.

Notwithstanding the Necessity they have of Sailors, there is no Nation less respectful of them than the *Spaniards*, which is the principal Cause of their want of them; and till *Spain* alters this Course, let them never think to be well serv'd at Sea.

The meanest Soldier will not stick to Tyrannize over the poor Sailors, like a Master over his Spaniel, and shall be countenanced in it by his Land Commander.

Their Ships are kept foul and beattly, like Hogsties and Sheepcoats, in comparison of ours; and no marvel, for there is no Course taken to correct that Abuse, by appointing Men purposely for that Office, as we do in our Ships.

Their Allowance of Diet is small, and yet not so small as ill order'd; every Man has his Proportion of Victuals in the morning to serve him the whole day, and every Man is his own Cook; and he that is not able to dress his Meat, may fast. The Soldiers will as ordinarily play away their Allowance of Victuals as Money; and others, out of Covetousness, will sell their Victuals for Money to maintain Play: This makes them grow weak and lean, like Dogs, and unable to perform the Service they are commanded upon.

Our Discipline is far different, and indeed quite contrary, as I have shew'd before.

We have only one Captain of the Ship, Sailors, Soldiers, and Gunners, and this

Captain had not so much as a Lieutenant by the Allowance of the Queen, till of late; so that Matters of Command, Direction, and Correction, depend upon his Discretion.

He sees that every Officer humbles himself to his Command, and that every ordinary Man be as obedient to their inferior Officers; he takes Account of the Expence of Victuals, Powder and Shot; he punishes every Offence, and especially Mutinies and Quarrels, with great Severity; he sees no Injury shall be offered the Sailors by the Soldiers, but carries himself indifferently betwixt both: If he affects one more than the other, it is the Sailor, because of the Necessity of them; he overlooks the Ship once or twice a day, that she be kept sweet and clean, for avoiding Sickness, which comes principally by Slothfulness and Disorders; he will not exceed the Proportion of his Men by Allowance of his Victuals, and will see every Man be provided of his Diet at a due and seasonable time: And for the better ordering of Victuals, there are divers Officers appointed in lundry Rooms, as, Stewards to give it out, meaner Persons to serve it, Men to look to the shifting of it in Water, and Cooks to the dressing of it; so that no Man but upon Curtesie is admitted to have access into the Cook's Room, except the Officers of the Room. There are some appointed to make clean the Ship within board, who are call'd Swabbers, and without board by the Name of Lias, as I have shew'd before. No Man is suffer'd either to sell or play away his Victuals, but to take it orderly and in due season, which keeps them in Health and Heart.

The greatest Inconveniency in his Majesty's Ships is the placing the Cook-Room in the Mid-ships, and so low in Hold, that many Inconveniencies and Dangers arise

by it; if it take Fire, it is not so easily quench'd as it were aloft, and in the Forecastle: Secondly, it will make the Ship Camberkeel: Thirdly, the continual Fire that is kept in that part of the Ship casts such a Heat amongst Men and Victuals, that it begets Sickness, and disperses such an offensive Smoke in the Ship, that it Putrifies Victuals, and makes it both unwholsome and untoothsome to be eaten.

*The Difference between the King of Spain's Ships in former Times and these Days, and the true Distinction of the Strength of Ships.*

I have heard divers sufficient Men, as Merchants and others that liv'd in Spain, before the Wars with Queen Elizabeth, very much cry down the King of Spain's Ships in comparison of ours; as in particular, that they were huge and mighty in Burthen, weak and ill fashion'd in Building, lame and slow in sailing, fitter for Merchandize than War; and I remember, that old Seamen, as Sir John Hawkins and others, have maintain'd, that one of Her Majesty's Ships was able to beat four of them.

I confess we may the rather believe it, because the Event has shew'd it; for if we examine the particular Loss on both sides, Her Majesty's Ships have devour'd divers of the King of Spain's; whereas there was but only one of hers taken, and that merely by the Indiscretion of the Captain Sir Richard Greenville; for which one, there have been burnt, sunk and taken, twice as many as the Queen has in number; inasmuch, that if the Queen's Loss had equal'd the King of Spain's, she could hardly have maintain'd her Navy in that flourishing State it is in.

But if we should attribute these Misfortunes to Ships, which are made all of one sort of Wood and Iron, and after one manner of building, it were great Folly; but give Caesar his due, and allow the Ships their due; for a Ship is but an Engine of Force, us'd for Offence or Defence; and when you speak of the Strength of Ships, you must speak of the Sufficiency of Men within her; and therefore, in comparing the Spanish Ships with ours, I enter into the Comparison of Men; for if it were in my Choice, I rather desire a reasonable Ship of the King of Spain's Mann'd with Englishmen, than a very good Ship of Her Majesty's Mann'd with Spaniards; so much Account I make betwixt the one, and the other.

But if you will agree of the true Strength of Ships, and the difference betwixt the

Queen's and the King of Spain's, as heretofore I have said, the King's are of greater Burthen, which is a great Advantage in Boarding, spacious within, and will contain more Men than ours, have more Decks, and therefore carry more Ordnance.

But you will say, all this is nothing without swift sailing, which Advantage we have of them: It is true, it is the only Advantage on our side; which Advantage may be compar'd betwixt a Greyhound and a Bear, betwixt a Galley and a good Ship in a Calm, or betwixt a Swallow and an Eagle; that tho' they be of little Force to hurt Bear, Ship, or Eagle, yet are they of Agility and Nimbleness to run and fly from them.

But if we will enter into the true Strength of Shipping, without Advantage of Men or sailing, but that you must fight according to the old Saying, *Fight Dog, fight Bear*; that is, till one be overcome, which cannot be better decided than at Anchor in Harbour. I say, no Man can deny but that the King of Spain's Ships are stronger than ours, by the Reasons before alledg'd, that they are bigger, and contain more Men and Ordnance, the Number more, of greater Burthen, and therefore of greater Strength, as I have already shew'd in the Voyage to Cadiz in 1625. But according to my first Argument, considering the Irresolution and Insufficiency of the Men, I would rather chuse to be one of the 10 of the Queen's to encounter with 20 of them, than one of the 20 to encounter with 10 of Her Majesty's.

Notwithstanding these Reasons, I do not disallow the Opinion of such Men as defend the difference betwixt the English and Spanish Ships; for to speak the Truth, till the King of Spain had War with us, he never knew what War by Sea meant, unless it were in Gallies against the Turks in the Straights, or in the Islands of *Tercera's* against the French; which Fleet belong'd to him by his new-gotten Kingdom of Portugal.

The Choice of Ships he had of his own in his Expedition of 88. belong'd to Portugal; most of the rest consisted of several Nations, as *Levantine's*, *Biscainers*, *Flemings*, and Merchants of his own Country: Whosoever since have seen the difference of their building, would scarcely know the others to be Ships, in respect of them that are now.

The first time the King shew'd himself strong at Sea, was in the year 91. when the *Revenge* was taken; since which time

I will make out there have been built at the King's Charge 69 Ships, as shall appear in the ensuing and 4th Book, and most of them of 1000 Tuns in Burden, and upwards; as to instance in the two Galeons we brought from *Cadiz*, which sufficiently satisfy us.

God has endu'd *England* with a singular Blessing above the Southern Countries, both with Shipping and Mariners; and to speak the Truth, *England* lies more convenient for the breeding of Seamen than *Spain*; for what makes skilful and expert Mariners but dangerous and painful Navigations, where the Weather and Seas are boisterous and rough, the Coasts perilous, and the Tide forceable? All which our Country is subject to; then on the contrary, what makes idle, loitering and unskilful Seamen, but such Navigations, where the Seas are calm, and the Weather fair, the Coasts not Perilous, nor the Tides strong? All which Commodity *Spain* has; for betwixt them and their *Indies*, *Guinea* and *Brazil*, to which Place their chiefeft Trade is, the Seas are calm, and the Winds certain outward and homeward, seldom foul Weather, or not long, the Coast less dangerous than any other, and a small or no Tide at all to annoy them.

Where there is so great an Ease in Navigation, it breeds idle and unable Mariners. What makes to great a difference betwixt the *Biscainer* and natural *Spaniard* for Sea, but the difference of the Voyage; the one I have shew'd is easie and full of Pleasure, the other painful and troublesome.

The *Biscainers* greatest Trade is in Fishing on the Coast of *America*, where, with great Labour and Pains, they kill the Whale, and take their Fish: This breeds perfect and skilful Mariners, and makes them not only exceed all other *Spaniards*, but get a Reputation and Employment in the King's Ships.

There is no Officer, from the Degree of a Captain to the meanest Officer, but commonly is a *Biscayner*, and the *Biscayners* have divers Privileges, not granted to any other Subject of *Spain*, to encourage them to persevere in their Sea Courses; and to give them their due, no Nation is able to compare with them: Few (for many there are not) that in Knowledge, Hardness and Valour, are able to equal them: And were it not for the *Biscay* Sailors, I know not how the great Armada's of *Spain* would be maintain'd.

*The Allowance of Victuals in the King of Spain's Ships and Gallies.*

Every Soldier in a Ship or Galley has a Pound and half of Bread allow'd him every day.

Of flesh Beef three quarters of a Pound, of salt Beef half a Pound and an Ounce. A Quart of Wine a day, and a Pottle of Water.

The Slaves every day half an Ounce of Oil, two Ounces of Rice, Beans, or Garbanies; one of these three.

They have six Meals of Flesh in a year, two at *Christmas*, two at *Shrovetide*, and two at *Easter*.

The Master, Boatswain, Corporal, Jaylor, Purser, Oar-maker, and Caulker, have double the Soldiers Allowance a day.

The Barber, two Gunners, and Boatswain's Mates, have but one Allowance and half a day.

Those that have two Allowances a day, have 20 s. a Month.

Those that have but one and half, have 15 s. a Month.

A single Allowance but 10 s.

A Pilot has 4 Allowances, and 50 s. a Month.

A Captain is allow'd 5 Ducats a Month, and two Allowances.

There are allow'd in every Galley two Slaves to row in the Boat to shore, who have one Allowance a day betwixt them both.

The King of *Spain* pays yearly 6000 Ducats for the maintaining of a Galley, and before one be Launched she stands him in 7000 Ducats; I mean only her bare Hull.

All his Gallies are built in *Barcelona* of Pine-tree,

There is in a Main-sail of a Galley 1500 yards of Cotton; in a Fore-sail 3 or 400 yards.

*The Number of Ships, their Names and Burden, that have been built in Spain at the King's Charge since the year 1590. so this present year of 1600. how many of them are lost, and where is gather'd by me in the Queen's Service.*

In the year 1591. Twelve Apostles, Six built in *Bilboa*; their Names as follows; their Burdens betwixt 13 and 1400 Tuns.

*St. Philip*, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

*St. John*, burnt at *Havana*; she was the Vice-Admiral that fought with *Sir Francis Drake's* Fleet in 1595.

*St. Tadeus*, lost in 1595. when the *Adelantado* pursued the *Hollanders*.

*St. Barnaby*, lost going into *Lisbon*.

*St. Mat.*

*St. Matthew*, taken by us at Cadiz in 1596.

*St. Bartholomew*, lost in *Biscay* in 97. when the *Adelantado* return'd from *Falmouth*.

The other Six at *St. Ander*.

*St. Paul*, always Admiral, laid up for Weakness at the *Horcado's*.

*St. Stephen*, Vice-Admiral, the like in *Lisbon*.

*St. Simon*, made a Carrack, and since broke up.

*St. James the Elder*, lost coming to the Groyne with the *Adelantado* in 1597.

*St. Andrew*, taken by us at Cadiz in 1596.

*St. Thomas*, burnt by us at Cadiz in 96.

In the same year two small Ships of 200 Tuns

*St. Ursula*.

*La Castidad*.

The same year two Ships built in Portugal of 800 Tuns, by Command of Don *Alonso de Bassan*.

One of them lost upon Cape *Finister*, when the *Adelantado* went to the Groyne in 1597.

In the year 92. 7 Ships of 500 Tuns, built in the *Rantaria*; These Ships use to fetch the King's Treasure from the Indies: I met with them at the *Tercera's* in the Island Voyage in 1597.

*Nuestra Señora de Aranca*.

*Nuestra Señora de Monserrate*, lost on the Coast of Spain.

*Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, lost in the Indies.

*Nuestra Señora de Valverde*.

*Nuestra Señora de Alister*.

*Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, lost on the Cape *St. Mary's*; and with her

*Nuestra Señora de la Merced*. (Plate most of it sav'd.)

Built in the *Cannary Islands* the same year 4 Frigats of 400 Tuns each: They fetch'd the Plate from the Indies.

*St. Barbara*, burnt by us at Cadiz in 1596.

*St. Mary Magdalen*, burnt her self at *Puerto Rico*, when Sir *Francis Drake* was there.

*St. Helena*, was burnt by us at Cadiz in 96.

*St. Clare*.

In the year 1595. built in the *Rantaria* 7 Ships of 1300 Tuns each.

*St. John Evangelist*.

*St. Matthias*, broke up at *Lisbon*.

*St. Mark*.

*St. Lucas*, lost coming out of *Ferrol*, when the *Adelantado* came for England, in 97.

*St. Augustine*.

*St. Gregory*.

*Flor de la Mar*.

The same year, and in the same place, 3 small Ships of 60 Tuns.

*La Justicia*, lost at Sea.

*La Esperanza*, taken on our Coast by an English Man of War.

*La Verdad*.

The same year built in *Lisbon* 3 Ships, by *Lambert*, an Englishman, of 400 Tuns.

*El Espiritu Santo*, lost in 97. coming to the Groyne with the *Adelantado*.

*La Fee*.

*La Caridad*.

In the year 1596. built at *Fuenteravia* two Ships, of 300 Tuns, which were sent into the South Sea.

*Nuestra Señora de Loreto*.

*Nuestra Señora de la Peña*.

In the year 1597. built in the Port of Portugal two Ships, of 1500 Tuns, that were made Carracks.

*St. Antonio*.

*St. Vincent*.

In the same year 1597. Six Ships in the *Rantaria*, of 800 Tuns each Ship.

*St. Jeronimo*, lost in 1599. pursuing the *Hollanders*, with the *Adelantado*.

*St. Domingo*, lost the same time.

*St. Francisco*.

*St. Ambrosio*.

*St. Christopher*.

*St. Joseph*.

The same year, and in the same Town, two Ships built, of 200 Tuns.

*Santa Margarita*.

*Santa Martha*.

In the same year 97. built in *Lefo*, two Galeons, of 300 Tuns.

*Santa Margarita*, sold to Merchants.

*Santa Joanna*.

In *St. Ander*, the same year, built two Ships, of 300 Tuns.

*La Paciencia*.

*La Templança*.

In the year 1599. built 13 Ships, of 1300 Tuns.

*St. Andrew*.

*St. Philip*.

*St. John*, cast away at *St. Lucar*.

*St. Thomas*.

*St. Barnaby*.

*St. Salvador*.

*St. Nicolas*, cast away at *St. Lucar*.

Six Ships built in *Bilboa*.

*St. Matthew*.

*St. Simon*.

*St. James the Greater*.

*St. James the Less*.

*St. Bartholomew*.

*St. Lucas*.

*St. Diego de Guadalupe*, of 1000 Tuns, built by a Merchant in *Biscay*, but bought by the King.

The Number of them all is 69. whereof burnt, taken and lost, 16. but besides these

these 16. the King has lost divers more, some of his own, some hir'd, and others prest'd to Serve. It is thought the Dominions of Spain lost in time of War, 600 Vessels, one with another.

Now I am upon the Spanish A&S and Accidents at Sea, I will add such Instructions as Generals of Fleets use to deliver to the Captains under them; and how their Captains of Land-Soldiers, and Captains of Ships are to carry themselves one to another, that every Man's Command may be known and distinguish'd; and particularly in their Expedition for England in 1597. where the *Adelantado* was General, intending to have landed at Falmouth.

*Don Martin de Padilla, Adelantado Mayor of Castile, Earl of Buendia, Captain-General of the Gallies of Spain, and of the Navy-Royal of the Ocean Sea, and of the Catholick King's Army, Anno Dom. 1597.*

**I**mprimis, All Servitors, as well by Sea as Land, of what State or Condition soever, shall be always ready to keep and observe these Orders that are deliver'd them, to live a Christian and Virtuous Life, under the Penalties contain'd in these Articles.

2. You shall be ready, as well Land as Sea-Captains, with your Officers and Companies, to Ship your selves without any delay, when you shall hear the Admiral Fire, to call your Companies Aboard; you shall Muster your People, and make ready your Ships to set Sail, and so to follow the Admiral; as well Sea Captains as Land Captains that shall be in any such Ship, and shall fail to do the same, shall be punish'd with all Rigour; and all Mariners, Officers or Soldiers that shall carry behind the Fleets, I from this time Condemn to lose all such Wages as shall be due to them, and to Serve the King at an Oar in the Gallies Four Years; and the Officers to be Broke and depriv'd of Office for ever.

3. As soon as ever you are out of Harbour, as well Sea as Land Captains of every Ship, shall Muster their Sea and Land-Men, and shall make a List as well of their Men as their Arms; and they shall give Order, that they who have no Arms may be provided, the Harque-busiers and Musquetiers that have no Shot, you shall cause them to cast it presently; you shall provide them Match ready; you shall carefully see your Soldiers Powder dry in

the Flasks, and those ready as it were to present Fight; this readines must you be in at all Hours: their Touch-Powder also, their Muskets and Harque-busies must be very clean; and that they neither want Vice-Pins nor Scourers; that they keep their Cocks and Pans very clean, and in good Order; and if in the Muster you make, you want any of those Soldiers you had afore, then let me have notice thereof, that they be fought out and punish'd.

4. The Captains of Land-Men shall Exercise their Musquetiers, and Harque-busiers by their Companies, at first with Powder in their Pans, and afterwards to shoot at a Mark set up against the Fore-mast; your Sergeants and Corporals must be very careful to see them Exercise, and to keep their Weapons very clean.

5. Every Land-Captain shall be very careful, and make his Soldiers know how to Serve in Shipping, and so to Quarter them that they may know their Places where they are to stand to Fight; so that at the time of need they may not go thwarting one another in the Ship, nor trouble one another. The Captain of the Sea shall likewise make his great Ordnance ready, and the Ammunition must be in Lockers fast by the Pieces; there must be always in readines Spikes, Lanthorns, Cartridges, Armour, Corlets, to have them clean, and every Man his own.

6. The Gunners shall divide themselves into Companies, and every Man shall know his Charge, what Ordnance he is to look to, and to acquaint the Captain withal, and he to appoint such Help as shall be necessary; the Captain shall be very careful to visit his Ordnance, and if there be any Fault, he may see it remedied; and the Gunner that hath not his Piece in readines, to be punish'd, giving me the General Notice thereof.

7. Every Pilot and Captain of a Ship, shall have a special care to speak every day with their Admiral, and to take the Word, and so coming in good Order, one Ship to give another room, without molesting one another; and if they cannot take the Word for some extraordinary occasion, then follow this Order.

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|--------------------|---|-----------|----------------|
| The Word<br>of the | { | Sunday    | —St. Mary,     |
|                    |   | Monday    | —St. James,    |
|                    |   | Tuesday   | —St. Barbara,  |
|                    |   | Wednesday | —St. Eugenius, |
|                    |   | Thursday  | —St. Raphael,  |
|                    |   | Friday    | —St. Benedict, |
|                    |   | Saturday  | —St. Martin.   |

8. No Ship by Day or Night shall go a Head the Admiral, without he have express Order to do it.



9. No Ship shall go to Windward, nor stop in the Wind, without he be forc'd to it, or have Order so to do.

10. If any Ship fall foul of another, whereby any of them be damnified, there shall be enquiry made, which of the Pilots was in fault, and he shall pay any hurt so done; & besides that, he shall be put in Prison for his Fault, during my pleasure.

11. If we chance to Sail with a scant Wind, and by Night and the Admiral designs to Tack about, she shall fire a Gun, and shew her Lanthorn upon her Mast, that thereby you may know it, and then shall every Ship put out a Light, that the Admiral may perceive you know his meaning.

12. If the Admiral, by force of Wind and Weather, or else to repair or amend something amiss, shall be driven to strike a Hull, then she shall fire a Gun, and let Fire upon her Beak Head; as soon as ever you shall see this Sign, every Man shall strike a Hull, and put out his Light, that the Admiral may tell them, and so be satisfy'd that they know his meaning; and that they are a Hull as well as she; and when this is done let the Pilot take heed that they give the Ship scope enough and keep good Watch, that you do not fall Aboard one another, and so spoil your selves.

13. When the Admiral sets Sail by Night, she will fire a Gun, and set a Light on the middle of her Main Shrouds, and so every Man shall set Sail and follow.

14. If the Admiral come to Anchor in any Bay, or upon any Coast, she shall let a Light upon the Head of her Fore-Mast: and when the rest of the Ships see this Sign, they must come and let fall their Anchor, as near the Admiral as they may see they be not foul of her ground Tackle.

15. All Captains and Officers shall diligently search what wants they have in their Ships, and then to be Sutors that they may be provided in time, that when need is they be not at a loss. It is no reason that he who is Provident beforehand, and does not only provide for his Wants, but preserve what he has by his Industry and Diligence, should have any thing taken from him, and given to slothful Captains, who do not perform their Duties, as they are bound.

16. All Shipping that shall shoot off any Ordnance, shall within two Days, come to me the said General with a Note under the Captain of the Soldiers hand, drawn by the Porter, and also the Captain of the Ship, for what cause it was shot off, and what Piece it was; that if it be found that the Cause be just, he may have

Allowance; if he exceed the time of two Days, his Note shall not be receiv'd, except it be known he was not able to come to the Admiral.

17. If any Ship break a Mast or a Yard by Night, she shall fire a Gun, and put a Light on the Beak Head, and another upon the Poop, that I, and the rest of the Ships, may know that she is in Distress; and all Ships shall make haste to Succour her.

18. When the Admiral comes to Anchor in Harbour or Bay, let the Pilots take good heed to give a good scope, that one may not hurt another; and he that comes latest to an Anchor, not to come foul of any Ship Anchor'd, for if he do, the Pilot is to pay the Loss and Hurt that is done.

19. All the Ships shall be careful to keep a Man at the Top Mast-head; and he that spies a Sail shall fire a Gun that way the Sail bears, and strike his Top-Sail, and so many Sails as he spies, so many times to strike his Top-sail; and other Ships to bend themselves towards him.

20. If you discover any Vessel in the Night, and are not able to come to the Admiral, then to shew so many Lights as you spy Sails, and to place them fore and aft, and he that spies the first Light of the Enemy, shall have a Jewel given him by me for his pains.

21. When the Admiral putteth her Ancient in the Main Shrouds, then all the Fleet is to come to speak with him; but if she fire a Gun without, then the Captains and Pilots are to come on Board.

22. In bearing in with the Shore, the Ship that first spies the Land, shall fire a Gun, and put an Ancient in the Head of her Fore-Top-Mast; and if it be in the Night, to shoot off a Piece, and to come to speak with the Admiral.

23. If in the Night there happen a Storm, the Admiral to put out Two Lights, besides his ordinary Lights, and every Ship to shew one Light upon the Poop, to avoid any hurt.

24. If Ships be divided in foul weather from the Fleet, and have none of the Three Flags to follow, they shall obey the biggest of their company till they meet with the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, or Rear-Admiral.

25. Before you go from the *Groyne*, you shall have the Order of the Cross, which you shall keep whilst you are at Sea.

26. When the Admiral shall vail his main Top-sail, and pike it a little, then shall every Ship put himself into Order of Battle.

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27. When the Admiral and his Fleet arrive in an Harbour, or upon a Coast, no Man or Boat must go ashore without my leave.

28. If any Captain of a Ship be out of his Ship, tho' he be with License, yet he shall appoint no Lieutenant without my Order.

29. If we meet the Enemy, you are to make your selves ready to fight, and to place the Soldiers in their places; if in the Night, to keep their Marches from being discover'd.

30. If we meet with the Enemy, and the Admiral and his Squadron resolve to Board, other Ships must do the like; but if the Pilot be of another Opinion, yet notwithstanding they are to do it; and another sufficient Man to be put in the place of the Pilot; and if there be a fault in doing thus, the General to Answer it.

31. If any of our Ships fetch up an Enemy, and fight her, the Ship that shall next come to Board her on the other side, shall share in the Pillage, the Jewels and Money, not exceeding 100 Duckets; the Arms of them taken, and Apparel, to be theirs; so it be not Stuff uncut: And whosoever shall light upon Jewels and Stuff, to make it known in Three Days, if not to lose his Pay, and be punish'd; and what he has taken to be divided, according to the King's Instructions.

32. A Ship that takes a Prize, no other Ship shall have to do with her, but follow the rest, if there be more; but if he chance to go on Board her, and take any thing out of her, he shall pay the Captain Four times the value of it.

33. If any such Ship yield, not to Board her, but to send on Board to fetch away the Prisoners; and such Pillage as is in her to be divided, according to the last Article; and he that puts himself Aboard without leave, shall lose his Pay and be punish'd; and if he will do it *per force*, it shall be lawful for the Company to kill him; and in like case, if a Man shall go into a Boat without leave, to be killed.

34. The First, Second or Third Man that enters a Ship, shall have a Jewel given him, according to the Discretion of the General.

35. Whosoever enters an Enemies Ship without Arms, Fighting, shall lose all that he gets in her, and his own Cloaths beside.

36. If an Admiral give Chase, and suddenly Tack about, or lye by the Lee, it is a sign he sees many Ships, and every Ship must then draw near his Admiral in order of Fight.

37. The Captains of Soldiers and Ships, must Command store of Tubs of Water to

stand upon the Deck, and Blankets and Coverlets in them to be ready to quench any Fire that shall happen.

38. Before you come to Battel to have your Yards slung.

39. If you lose company in foul weather, and descry one another, the greater number to go to the left; if by Night, the greater number to shew Two Lights, the one Ahead the other Aback, putting them in and out 2 or 3 times, as when they come to Anchor in the Night.

40. You must have a care of your Powder and Cartridges, and set down the number of every Cartridge, according to his Piece.

41. That every Carpenter and Caulker, be ready with his Lead and other things, for stopping of Leaks.

42. That you make no Fire till the Sun rise, and then to dress the Meat for the Company; the Soldiers to watch in the Day time in the Quarters, till an Hour before Sun-set, and then to put out the Fire, and light it no more till the next Day.

43. The Soldier that has the watching of the Fire, shall not suffer any to be carried out of the Hearth, and he that does it, to be severely punish'd.

44. To keep an ordinary Light in the Bittake, and a Lanthorn under the spare Deck, for the Soldiers to watch; and he that takes away either, to be condemn'd to the Gallies for Two Years, to serve for a Soldier without Pay.

45. The Captain of the Soldiers is to Lodge with the Captain of the Ship; the Pilot, Master, Ensign and Serjeant, together, in the Second Cabin; and the rest of the Officers accordingly, and to have an eye over the Soldiers for Brawling.

46. That no Soldier, Mariner nor Officer pass from one Company to another, or from one Ship to another, without my License.

47. If we discover any Vessels, and the Admiral make a Signal of giving Battel, the Officers that have the keeping of all kind of Stores, shall have Warrant from the Captain for the delivery of them,

48. For that many Hulks and Strangers in them are deceitful, therefore, if you find any such suspicion, you shall Fire three Flashes of Powder, and the Ships next you seeing it, to repair to you with all speed, to give you Succour.

49. And tho' in my Instructions I have given you sufficient Order for your Navigation, which must not be violated, yet the thing of greatest Importance is, That the Captains by Sea and Land be prudent

A a a vigilant

vigilant and careful, as I understand all are in this Service.

50. I have order'd that all the Squadrons shall carry their Flags severally of one colour, that they may be known, and gotten together the sooner; and because sometimes Order cannot be given by word of Mouth, you are to fix your Eyes upon your Admiral, and when he sets upon his Poop the Colours of any of his Squadrons, the Admiral of that Squadron is to behold which way the Sign is made by the same Colours, that so he may follow any Fleet so discover'd.

51. If any of the strange Ships shall have a Leak, let it be searched by the two Captains by Sea and Land; and if they find it to be done on purpose, let him be Hanged, and his Ship forfeited.

52. That no Captain or Pilot do set any other Course than the Admiral directs; and if they do, no Excuse shall serve their turn.

53. That no Captain, or other, Ship any Woman, except she be Marry'd, and proof thereof brought from the Ge-

neral's Priest, upon Forfeiture of his Office, and serving the King Two Years without Pay.

54. If any Servitor stand in need, let him go to his Captain; and if he cannot help him, then to the Admiral, where he shall have help.

55. If any Ship be in Distress, then to shoot off a Piece, and those next to her to halten to her; and if they fail, to be severely punish'd.

56. If we meet with an Enemy, great or small, let none of the Fleet follow him, but follow the Admiral of his Squadron, and do as he does, or shall direct; except Pinaces and small Ships, which shall be at the disposal of the Admiral.

Some of these Instructions are frivolous, some of them needless, but most of them tedious, and may be comprehended in fewer words, and to greater purpose: But for my part, I will rather desire to know what they do, than seek to follow and imitate their Directions in Sea Affairs.

### *How to Fight at Sea, one Ship with another; or in Fleets; or Ships against Gallies; or Gallies against Ships: And the manner how every Country preserves Men from Danger in a Fight.*

**B**Efore Ships and Fleets Encounter, or enter upon Action, these things following are necessary to be done; to divide the Company into Three parts; the one appointed to Tack the Ship, the Second to ply the small Shot, and the Third to attend the Ordnance; but not so precisely, but that one may be assisting to the other in the Three several Places.

The Ship is to be brought into its short and fighting Sails, (*viz.*) Her Forefail, her Main, and Fore-top-Sail; for the other Sails are troublesome to handle, and makes the Ship heel so, that her Ordnance cannot be used; beside the danger of firing her Sails with Arrows and other Wild-Fire from the Enemy.

The Master is to appoint a valiant and sufficient Man at Helm, and to receive his Directions from his Captain how to order the Fight, and where to Board, which must be done with most Advantage, and according to the placing the Enemies Ordnance; and therefore it is requisite to have a Captain of Experience.

Every Officer is to do his part, the Boatwain to sling their Yards, to put forth the Flag, Ancient and Streamers;

to Arm the Tops and Wast Cloths; to spread the Netting, to provide Tubbs, and to Command the Company to make Urine in them, for the Gunners to use in their Spunges to cool their Ordnance in the Fight, and all other things that belongs to his Charge.

The Gunner is to appoint his Officers to their Quarters, to have care to their Files, Budge-Barrels, and Cartridges, to have his Shot in a Locker near every Piece, and the Yeoman of the Powder to keep his Room, and to be watchful of it, and to have his Eye upon any Leak that shall happen in Hould.

The Carpenters are to be vigilant, and to have their Oakham, Lead, Nails and what else belongs to the stopping of Leaks in readiness. He must have a Man always ready to sling overboard, if there chance a Leak. Or if there be cause to take in the lower Tire of Ordnance, by the sudden growing and working of the Sea, he must have all things ready to caulk the Ports.

#### *The Building of Ships.*

There are two manner of Built Ships, the one with a flush Deck, Fore and Aft, Sunk

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lunk and low by Water; the other lofty and high charged, with a Half Deck, Fore-castle and Copperidge-heads.

This Ship with a flush Deck I hold good to fight in, if she be a fast Ship by the Wind, and keep her self from Boarding: she is Roomlorn for her Men, and yare to run too and again in; but she is not a Ship to Board, unless it be a Merchant, or another Ship that is inferior to her in strength and number of People.

For if it happen that she be Boarded, and put to her Defence, she lyeth open to her Enemy; for gaining her upper Deck you win her, having neither Fore-castle, nor other close Fight to retire unto; and in that case the Defensive part of the Ship is the strength of the Fore-castle.

When her Deck shall be gained, and her People beaten down into the Second Deck, the only help is to use Stratagems by Fire, in making Trains of divers fathions to blow up the upper Deck, and Men upon it; and this did the *Biskainer* I have formerly spoken of in my First Book, in the Voyage I first went to Sea, and the first Fight I did ever see, in 1585.

This Ship had a Flush Deck Fore and Aft, which in Boarding we won upon her, and her Men retiring into her other Deck, spent the most part of her Powder in making Trains to blow us up; which by Fortune we prevented, and our Fire-pikes took fire before it could be brought to Perfection; and thus after 12 Hours Fight in the Night, we being upon a Flush Deck, and Commanding their Scuttles aloft, that they could not come up to us, and they Commanding the Scuttles below, that we could not go to them, they grew so weary for want of Powder, and the death of their People, that they yielded, as I have before described, after 12 Hours Sail on Board her.

As I have said, such a Ship that has neither Fore-castle, Copperidge-head, nor any other manner of Defence, but with her Men only; that hath no Fowlers, which are Pieces of greatest Importance, after a Ship is Boarded and Entred, or lieth Board on Board; for the Ordnance stands her in little stead, and are as apt to endanger themselves, as their Enemy, for in giving fire it may take hold of Pitch, Tarr, Oakham or Powder, and burn them both for company: But a Murderer or Fowler being shot out of their own Ship, laden with Dice-Shot, will scour the Deck of the Enemy, and not suffer the Head of a Man to appear.

The Advantage of a Ship with a Flush Deck, that Boards another to Windward,

is this, she may with her Lee Ordnance, shoot the other under Water, and her self in no hazard; the Ship that is Boarded to Leeward of her, is at the other's Mercy, and becomes weak in comparison of the other to Windward.

Whoever enters and takes Possession of the upper Deck of such a Ship, shall be able to cut down her Masts, Shrowds, and all things over head; that tho' he take her not, yet she shall be left a Wreck in the Sea, and perish.

I will make a comparison of the *Jame. Regu* of his Majesty's (of whom I will say) That for her Mould and Condition, she is a Paragon of Ships, and not to be equall'd; but in her Built with a Flush Deck, and her close Gally Aft, she is to be excepted against in a Defensive part; but how it may be amended, and she be made serviceable, as well for Defence as Offence, I will refer to my own Direction, with his Majesty's Approbation, tho' something I will say of her close Galley, that is made only for a Shew, and to accommodate Captains, when I shall have occasion to Treat of Gallies.

The only strength of the *Jame* at this present is in her Broad Side, where she hath two brave Platforms of Ordnance to Overdare any Ship to Board her; nor no Enemy in Discretion will do it, if he can find a weaker part in the Ship to Attempt; but suppose she be Boarded in her Prow, or Aft at the Poop, and be entred by more Men than the Hands of her Company can resist; she neither having Fore-castle Ahead, nor close Fight Aft; all must rest upon the Strength and Valour of a few Men, which if they be overcome, both Ship and they must fall into the hands of an Enemy, in the manner I have shewed.

The best manner of a Fight in a Ship of a Flush Deck, or any other indeed, being to Windward of his Enemy is to bring himself within Pistol-shot of her, and to ply her and her Ports with main shot at that distance; to lade his Ordnance with Musket Bullets, other with Cross-Barr, and Langrell shot, or Flints to be the Destruction of her; but to avoid Boarding, or being Boarded: This I hold the best manner of Fight betwixt Ship and Ship, it will make short work, and the Quarrel will be less decided, as Fighting further off is one a slow and Fray in times past with Sword and Buckler, which is nothing but the wasting and consuming of Powder to no purpose.

A high Built Ship, the better for such Reasons, Majesty and I leave to the Reader.

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my, more commodious for the harbouring of Men; she will be able to carry more Artillery, of greater Strength within board, and make the better Defence; she will overtop a lower and snug Ship; her Men cannot be so well discern'd, for that the waft Cloaths will take away the view and sight of them.

And lastly, to speak of a Ship with Three Decks; (thus it is) she is very inconvenient, dangerous, and unseaworthy; the number and weight of the Ordnance wrings her sides, and weakens her: It is seldom seen that you have a Calm so many hours together as to keep out her lower Tide, and when they are out, and forced to hail them in again, it is with great Labour, Travail and Trouble to the Gunners, when they should be fighting; she casts so great a Smoak within board, that People must use their Arms like blind Men, not knowing how to go about their Work, nor have a sight of the Ship with whom they encounter.

#### *How to preserve Men in Fight.*

Several Nations have several Ways to preserve their Men in Fight at Sea; the *French* use to stow half their Soldiers in Hold, and to draw them out, causing the others to retire as there shall be occasion or necessity: This I hold dangerous, troublesome, and inconvenient, when all Men are otherwise busie in their several Places, to pass to and again with their Matches lighted, which may unhappily fall on something to take fire.

The *Spaniards* imitate their former Discipline at Land, as namely, a Van-guard, a Rear-guard, and a Main-battel; the Forecastle they count their head Front for Van-guard, that abaft the Mast the Rear-guard, and the Waft their Main-battel, wherein they place their principal Force.

This in my Opinion will breed great Disorders, especially if the Ship should fight with all her Sails standing; for the Labour of the Mariners in tacking and handing their Sails will confound them, that they know not what to do; but if they fight with their small Sails, it will prove the better; but howsoever here is no Provision for Safeguard of Men, who lie open to their Enemy.

The *Dunkirkers* use in Fight to place their small Shot flat on their Bellies upon their Decks, that the Shot, great or small, coming from an Enemy, shall have only their Head for their Aim: This is to be allowed of in small Ships that carry not many Men nor Ordnance, but inconve-

nient in greater Vessels, where Men are ever in Action, running and stirring up and down in the Ship.

There is a Device made with a Plank of Elm, because it does not shiver like Oak; this Plank is Musket-proof, and removed with Trunks from one part of the Ship to the other, which is a good Safeguard for small Shot: But in my Opinion I prefer the coiling of Cables on the Deck, and keeping part of the Men within them, (as the *French* do theirs in Hold) above all the rest; for the Soldiers are in and out speedily upon all sudden Occasions to succour any part of the Ship, or to enter an Enemy, without Trouble to the Sailors in handing their Sails, or the Gunners in plying their Ordnance.

The *Hollanders* of late years have got a Reputation at Sea; tho' for their Warlike Affairs they have little deserv'd it, as I have shew'd in the First Book; for they never made Fight of Six Ships to Six, as is there to be seen; but now of late, and since the Truce ended with *Spain*, and that the *Dunkirkers* are grown strong and powerful by Sea, they have often encountered Ship to Ship, or two to two; but never with Fleet, and more to the Commendations of the *Dunkirkers* than themselves.

Whereas I have shew'd every Country's manner of Fight at Sea, and their Care to preserve their Men from Danger, and to annoy the Enemy with Advantage; instead of Cables, Planks, and other Devices to preserve their Men, the *Hollanders* wanting Natural Valour of themselves, use to line their Company in the Head, by giving them Gunpowder to drink, and other kind of Liquor to make them soonest drunk, which, besides that it is a Barbarous and Unchristian-like Act, when they are in danger of Death to make them ready for the Devil, it often proves more perilous than prosperous to them, by firing their own Ships, or making a Confusion in the Fight, their Wits being taken from them; whereas if they had been sober, they might have fought in good Order.

#### *The Direction of a Fight in a Naval Battel.*

The most Famous Naval Battels these late Years have afforded, were those of *Lepanto* against the *Turks* in 1577. of the *Spaniards* against the *French* at the *Tercera Islands* in 1580. and betwixt the Armada of *Spain* and the *English* in 1588.

In these Encounters, wherein the *Spaniards* had the chieftest part; as I have said before,



before, they imitated the Discipline of War by Land, in drawing their Ships into a Form of Fight, which, in my Opinion, is not so convenient; tho' I confess in a Sea Battel, that shall consist of Gallies, in a Calm, it is better to observe that Order than in Ships; for Men may as well follow Direction by their Hands in rowing, as an Army by Words of the Tongue speaking, or their Legs moving.

But Ships which must be carry'd by Wind and Sails, and the Sea affording no firm or stedfast Fooring, cannot be commanded to take their Ranks like Soldiers in a Battel by Land.

The Weather at Sea is never certain, the Winds variable, Ships unequal in sailing; and when they strictly seek to keep their Order, commonly they fall foul one of another, and in such Cases they are more careful to observe their Directions, than to offend the Enemy, whereby they will be brought into Disorder amongst themselves.

Suppose a Fleet to be plac'd in the Form of a Half-Moon, or other Proportion, to fight; if an Enemy charge them home in any of the Corners of the Half-Moon, they will be forc'd to bear up room into their main Battel, and then will ensue Dangers and Disorders of boarding one another; insomuch that it will not be possible for a General to give new Directions, but every Ship must fight at its Will, not by Command.

For the avoiding of such Confusion, the Instructions of a General ought not to consist of many Words; for the greatest Advantage in a Sea Fight is to get the Wind of one another; for he that has the Wind is out of danger of being boarded, and has the Advantage where to board, and how to attempt the Enemy: And thus did the Marquis of Santa Cruz labour to do three days, before he could get the Wind of Monsieur l'Esprons at the Tercera Islands, whom he afterwards overcame, and had a great Victory over him.

The Wind being thus gotten, a General need give no other Directions than to every Admiral of a Squadron to draw together their Squadrons, and every one to undertake his opposite Squadron, or where he shall do it for his greatest Advantage; but to be sure to take a good Distance of one another, and to relieve that Squadron that shall be overcharg'd or distress'd.

Let them give warning to their Ships, not to venture so far as to bring themselves to Leeward of the Enemy, for so shall they either dishonour themselves to see such a Ship taken in their view, or in

seeking to relieve her they shall bring themselves to Leeward, and lose the Advantage they had formerly gotten; for it will be in the Power of the Enemy to board them, and they not to avoid it; which was the only thing coveted by the Spaniards in our time of War, by reason of the Advantage of their Ships, as I have before express'd.

The strict ordering of Battels by Ships was before the Invention of the Boulting; for then there was no sailing but before the Wind, nor no fighting but by boarding; whereas now a Ship will sail within 6 Points of 32. and by the advantage of Wind may rout any Fleet that is plac'd in that Form of Battel.

*A Fight with Gallies to Gallies, and Gallies to single Ships.*

There is no Precedent of these latter times that Gallies have been in use in our Seas, till the latter end of the Queen's Reign, when two Squadrons of Gallies were brought out of Spain into Flanders, the one in the year 1599. the other in the year 1602. the latter commanded by Frederick Spinola, Brother to the late Marquis Spinola, who after was slain in the same Gallies.

All the Designs of the Spaniards, undertaken against England by Sea in the days of Queen Elizabeth, prov'd unlucky and fruitless, the reason thereof to wife Men is not to be marvelled at; for their Actions have been grounded on so little Judgment, that it was no great Art to divine their evil Success before they were undertaken.

Let this Act of bringing down the Gallies aforesaid be parallel'd with their great Expedition in 88. and it will appear they both fail'd in one kind, (that is to say) for want of an able and secure Port to entertain them upon their Arrival in Flanders; for tho' the Gallies had the Harbours of Graveling, Dunkirk and Sluice, at that time, yet such is the Nature of these Ports, that no Vessel of their Draught can go in or out of them but from half Tide to half Tide; for they are bare Harbours, and all the rest of the Tide they are dry, so as if a Galley observe not her just time of Entrance, she is expos'd to the Mercy of the Sea, the Danger of the Shore, or to fall into the Hands of an Enemy; and therefore whosoever thinks to make use of Gallies, and not to be secur'd of a Port at all Times and Tides, will show himself weak in Sea Affairs, as the Spaniards have done in this, and in their Expedition of 88. as I have before declar'd.

The proper use of Gallies is against Gallies, in the *Mediterranean* Sea, that is subject to Calms, and where both Turks and Christians strive to exceed one another in that kind of Vessels, he accounting himself Master of those Seas that has the greatest number and best order'd Gallies.

And such was the Goodness of God towards the Christian Commonwealth, that in the Battel of *Lepanto* in 1577. he gave a most Happy and Victorious Overthrow to the cruel and misbelieving Turks, who since that time have not been able to hold up their Hands or Heads against the Christian Forces within the *Mediterranean* Sea.

Next to the Valour and well Marthalling Order of the Christians Navy of Gallies, the next Attribute is to be given to the Gallies of *Venice*, which, tho' they were but Six in number, yet such is the Advantage of those Vessels against Gallies, that they did the Christian Gallies treble the Service of their number.

You must know that a Gallies is built like the *Vanguard*, or *Rainbow* of His Majesty's, low and snug by the Water, and carries the Force of a Ship in Men and Ordnance; but the thing that gives her Advantage in Fight, is her Oars; not that there can be expected any Swiftnes in rowing, but with her Oars she is of that Agility, that she is able to wind about as she sees occasion, to damage her Enemy; whereas a Ship lies like a Log of Wood, not able in a Calm to help her self, or to have the help of a Rudder to guide her.

If Gallies be forced to fly from other Gallies, and not of speed to overgo them, they fall into the Mercy of those that chase them; for it is to be consider'd, that the Strength of a Galley is in her Prow, where she carries her Ordnance, as I have before declar'd; for unless it be some few choice ones of *Malta* and *Florence*, no other Christian Galley carries Artillery to fire attern; so that of necessity those Gallies chas'd must either yield, be burnt, or sink.

In a desperate Case, where Gallies in Battel are in danger to fall into the hands of an Enemy, the present Remedy is to proclaim Liberty to all the Slaves, and to put Arms in their Hands to fight for their Defence, and to deliver them out of Chains, and make them Free Men: This was the Safety of Don *John of Austria* in the great and famous Battel of *Lepanto*.

The chief Annoyance that can be done a Galley in Fight, is to seek the Destruction of the Slaves and Oars; for with-

out them Gallies are of no use; and therefore whoever fights with Gallies, must seek with Cross bars and Langrel-shot to hurt and spoil their Men and Oars.

And in this case a Ship that carries her Ordnance low, and her Hull high built, has a great Advantage of a Galley, for her Ordnance will lie level with her Oars; and if she have the fortune to take away a Row of them on either side, she falls into the Mercy of the Ship; or if she be desperately forced to board the same Ship, she will not be able to enter her, in respect of her height and high Carving.

As I have promised before, I will take occasion to speak something of His Majesty's Royal Ship the *James Regis*, and her Disadvantage to make a Defensive Fight, as she is now built.

Ships of much less Burthen than the *James* have Four Pieces of Ordnance placed to shoot attern, as namely, Two in the Gun-Room, and the other Two in the upper Gun-Room, which is commonly used for a Store-Room, Lodgings, and other Employments for a General or Captain's use, and his Followers, which is done without Prejudice to the Two Pieces.

Above these Two Gun-Rooms aforesaid, was placed the Captain's Cabin, with the open Galleries attern and on the sides, that Fowlers and lesser Pieces might be thrust out for Defence, and small Shot placed to defend that part of a Ship.

In these Two Gun-Rooms aforesaid, where the Four Pieces are usually plac'd, the *James* carries only Two, and that is in the lower Gun-Room; for the upper Gun Room is converted into the Captain's Cabin, and a Rater and two sided Galleries are made close, that cannot afford so much Convenience as for a Man to look out of them, but through some narrow Windows; insomuch that if a General or Captain have occasion to give or receive Directions, he must do it upon the Poop or the Deck of the Ship, to the great Inconvenience, and loss of Time and Opportunity, what sudden Occasion forever should offer.

Moreover, if a Ship by mishap shall take Fire, out of her open Galleries Water may be suddenly drawn, and prove both the Safety of Ship and Men; whereas being close, as now they are, there will be no Remedy to quench them. It may be compar'd to a round Pigeon-Houle, into which People fly from an Enemy for Refuge; and what Defence can such a Houle make, that is compas'd about with Foes? No more than to yield to Fire and Water.

Now

Now compare the *James*, by the true Description I have made of her, but with one or two Gallies in a Calm, having no Ship near to assist her, considering she carries but two Pieces in her Gun-Room, with what ease and little danger a Galley may run up in her Stern, and with her Prow and small Shot put her from her two Pieces; for every Galley carries Four Pieces a-head, besides her Cannon in the Cruzea, which Piece lies more to the Advantage than the other two, in that they are plac'd low by the Water, and the Gallies standing still, they may shoot as steadily out of her as out of a Platform.

Indeed this Cannon in the Cruzea is of greater Danger and Annoyance than all the rest, for it lies at an even stay, and not to be mov'd nor travers'd one way or other, and the use to be made of it is for the Master to bring the Mast of the Ship and the Mast of the Galley both in one, and then to call to the Gunner to give fire; by which Means it is impossible to miss the Ship, and hazard sinking of her.

And as the *James* lies open to Gallies, as I have shew'd, so does she in like manner to such Ships as shall board her, either afore in her Prow, or abaft in her Stern, where she has no Defence, either of her Forecastle or clofe Fights. There are many other necessary Uses to be made of an open Galley, which at this time I forbear to speak of, and will return once more to treat of the Nature of Gallies.

If it were in my Choice, I would rather have two Ships of 200 Tuns each to encounter six Gallies, than one Ship of 1000 Tuns to fight two Gallies, for these Reasons:

My two Ships of 200 Tuns, I will bring athwart the Hawle of one another, that wheresoever the Gallies shall charge me, I will have a Broadside to play upon them; whereas in one Ship alone, I have only my Stern for my Defence, where two Gallies with their small Shot will soon bear the Gunners from their Ports, with little danger to themselves; for no great number of small Shot can play upon them out of the narrowness of the Poop; by which Means they will burn, sink or destroy any such Ship, with long Fire-Pikes made on purpose.

And for Security of my self and Men, I will displace 3 or 4 Banks on a side in my Gallies, and in that space make a Bulwork with Gowns, Beds, Sails, and other Things, that no Shot from the Ship shall do me hurt:

And if in Fight I shall happen to be shot under Water, it will be an easy thing

to stop any such Leak, by making the Slaves heel all on one side of the Galley; so that if it were as low as the Keel, I will come speedily to it and stop it.

*How to employ such People and their Stocks in Gallies as are sent to Houses of Correction, and the use that may be made of Gallies in England.*

Whoever have the Charge of these Houses, seek only their own Gain, not the Use for which they were instituted; People are punish'd or pardon'd as they are able to gratifie their Keepers; their Labours or Liberties are according to their Abilities; for as I have said, the Rich buys his Ease, the Poor is threaten'd with Cruelty, which has caus'd that Desperateness in Men towards their Keepers, that to be reveng'd they have slain them; and yet I see no decrease of Vagabonds by the Course taken in the Houses of Correction.

*The Benefit of employing these People and their Stocks in Gallies in England.*

The time of Men's Imprisonment in Gallies is to be limited, some for Life, some for Years, more or less, according to their Offence, but none under Seven Years; by this Means there will be a riddance of Lewd People for Life or Years.

At the end of which time they ought to procure Services, or be bound to work in their Occupations, which they shall be taught in their Gallies; but if they shall refuse it, and continue still loytering, then to send them into *Virginia*, or other Colonies Planted by us.

If they shall escape out of their Gallies before the Expiration of their time, to have a Proclamation, That no Man, upon certain Penalties, should harbour or give them Entertainment: And that they may be known from others, they must be shav'd both Head and Face, and marked in the Cheek with an hot Iron, for Men to take notice of them to be the King's Labourers; for so they should be term'd, and not Slaves; and if any such be found, that cannot give a good Account of his Discharge out of the Gallies, to be apprehended and sent back again, which would be a Means that none of them ever after will offer to escape.

This Course being carefully observ'd, the Vagabonds will be soon lessen'd; for the Terror of Gallies will make Men avoid Sloth and Pilfering, and apply themselves to Labour and Pains; it will keep Servants and Apprentices in awe; it will take away the occasion of Pyrates and Pyracies; it will save much Blood, that

is lamentably split by execution of Thieves and Offenders, and more of this Kingdom than any other; it will take away the Occasion of Women-Vagabonds, when such Rogues and Thieves shall be restrain'd, for such Men are enticers and drawers of Women to Lewdness. If all these Mischiefs may be prevented, and the Kingdom strengthen'd, without further Expence than now it is, no Man but must commend this Project, and give his furtherance to it.

*Provisions to maintain the King's Labourers, and the Labour they shall be put to, Winter and Summer.*

Their Diet shall be certain, not according to the miserable Rate they are allow'd in Houses of Correction, where it is proportion'd according to their Earning by their Labour, for in the Gallies each Man shall be allow'd 2s. 6d. a Week for his Diet, to be husbanded by Men appointed by the Labourers themselves for their best Advantage.

Every Galley shall be allow'd a Surgeon, a Physician, and an Apothecary General for them all. Their Apparel to be two Suits a Year, the one for Summer, the other for Winter, with a Gown of Fize. Their Labour to be at the Oar in Summer; and when they are not so employ'd, they may lawfully use any means for their Maintenance, as in Knitting, Sowing, or any other such kind of Work, for no Summer labour, more than Rowing, shall be requir'd at their hands: And by the way I will tell you for a Jest, that when I was Prisoner in the Gallies of Spain in 1591. all our *Englishmen* that were thither committed, amongst other Occupations, fram'd themselves to the Trade only of making Dice, as an Occasion to set the *Spaniards* together by the Ears.

In Winter they must be had ashore, and kept safe in some strong Castle, where Lodgings and Beds, with necessary Stocks and Tools must be provided to set them to work; as namely, Forges for Smiths, Leather for Shoemakers, Hemp to make Ropes, Mills to grind Corn, or any other thing that can be thought of for their Benefit: And for such as have been bred to Husbandry, they may be hired to Farmers for their Winter's work, binding the Farmers to return them at the Season of the Year to the Gallies, which they may securely do, for it will not be in their powers to escape, by the Course which is formerly taken.

*The Use of Gallies in time of War.*

I have formerly in the second Book said something concerning the Use of Gallies, which you will find there: And in this Book the Manner of Fight with Gallies. But having occasion to treat more largely of that Subject, I will reiterate something that I said before concerning Gallies.

1. Gallies are of no use to encounter a Fleet at Sea, in respect of their Strength, but against single Ships in Calms, that cannot come to rescue one another.

2. The use of Gallies is to tow a Fleet out of Harbour which is kept in by Wind and Tide, which is a thing of Consequence either in Peace or War.

3. The use of Gallies is the Convenience to land an Army, both suddenly and safely, and to take advantage in Landing, both when or where they list; by example of the Marquis of *Sancta Cruz*, who arriving at the *Tercera* Islands, attempted Landing at *Angra*, the chief Town of that Island, and whither the Inhabitants drew their Forces to withstand him; but when he saw and imagin'd the other Part of the Island lay open for his Entrance, he alter'd his Purpose, and suddenly winded his Gallies about, and landed at *Leplaisa*, five Leagues from thence, without resistance.

4. The use of Gallies is to annoy an Enemy in his landing, by cutting off his Boats and Men, as they shall offer to land: And the like would have happen'd to us at *Cadix*, if we had landed where we attempted it the day before, and where our Projectors of that Voyage had design'd us, if we had not been prevented by foul Weather; for there we found four Gallies placed, to lie betwixt the Shore and us, to cut off our Boats, and thereby to have overthrown our Action.

5. The use of Gallies is against a Fleet at Anchor, who may tow Fire-Ships amongst them, and either burn, or put them from their Anchorage; and it may happen in a place near Shoals or Sands, or upon a Lee Shore, and so destroy a whole Navy.

6. The use of Gallies is to prevent the like Stratagem; for if such Ships be set on Fire, with Gallies they may be row'd unto, and cast Hooks on board them, and so tow them clear of their Fleet, where they may burn without endangering the Ships they attempt.

7. The use of Gallies is in succouring an Island that is Invaded by an Enemy; as for Example, *The Use of Wight*, with Gallies,

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Galleys, may be suddenly supply'd both with Men and Ammunition from the Main Land, in spite of what Ships or Force shall lie to hinder or intercept them.

8. They ought to be kept for Reputation; for as his Majesty is King of all Kingdoms for Goodness and Greatness of his Navy, so it should be said there is no kind of Vessels that other Princes can shew, but what his Majesty has the like in use; and it will be the more strange, in that no Country nor Harbour in *Europe*, to the Northward of *Lisbon*, can shew the like.

If at any time a War happen betwixt his Majesty and the King of *Spain*, or betwixt him and the *Hollanders*, having the Port of *Flushing* and *Sluice* for the receipt of our Galleys, we may much annoy the Harbours of *Flanders*, and their Trade; or having the Ports of *Osford* and *Dunkirk* to enter, we may as much, or rather more, impeach *Holland*, but especially the Province of *Zealand*, and the Island of *Wakerland*; for besides the hurt we shall do them at Sea, we may watch and take the height of a Spring-Tide in a Calm, and be able to cut their Banks to give the Sea entrance into their Country, and hazard their Destruction.

But speaking of Galleys and *Lisbon* in the Eighth Article, I will say something that had been more proper to have been inserted in the First Book, where the taking of the Carrack is treated of, because one of my scopes in that Book is to shew the Errors committed in the warlike Sea Actions betwixt *England* and *Spain*.

In the describing the manner of that Fight, you shall find, that the Eleven Galleys were placed under the neck of a Rock, as we should enter into the Road, and that at my coming to an Anchor, I routed and forc'd them to fly under the Castle of *Zezeimbra*, where they drew themselves into a Body, as they had done before; but yet they found my Ordnance of the same Nature as when they were under the Rock, for when I hit one of them, my shot pass'd through most part of the rest, with so great hurt to them, that, in conclusion, disgracefully they quitted the Road, and escap'd to Sea, two excepted, which we took and burnt.

But if these Galleys had, when they quitted the neck of the Rock, as I have said, retired, whither they did, under the Protection both of the Castle and Carrack, and instead of linking themselves as it were together, had divided themselves 100 Paces from one another, and play'd upon us with their Prows, each of which carried Five Guns, they had been

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a narrow Mark for us to hit; and what hurt we could then do them, was only to her we light upon, whereas in the Course they took, hitting upon one we pass'd through them all.

And moreover, where they retir'd, they brought themselves into shoal Water, so that our Ships could not come at them; and if they had not quitted the Road, they would have cut off all Treaty betwixt our Boats and the Carrack, and given relief to the Carrack from the shore, that it had been impossible for us to have taken her. The *Spaniards* may allow of this Oversight, as one of the greatest they committed during the War.

Other uses Galleys might be put to.

Galleys may attend his Majesty's Navy at all times when they go to Sea, from *Chatham* till they bring them clear of the Sands; and if it happen any of the Ships should unluckily come a-ground, by the force of Galleys she may be instantly haul'd off again, without hurt to the Ship; and in this case a Galley might have been the Preservation of his Majesty's Ship the *Prince Royal*, at the time the Queen of *Bosnia* went over, who struck upon a Sand at the *Nes*, and put her into great Peril, if it had not been for present help of Boats of other Ships of the Kings that rid there.

Galleys may pass the Seas in a Calm, when Ships and Barks cannot, and Boats dare not for fear of Enemies, and so prevent the Surprise of Packets or Intelligences, as lately we found, to the Prejudice of Merchants Affairs, and Dishonour to the King.

The Galleys may at all times, both Winter and Summer, carry Provisions for his Majesty's Ships, from *London* to *Chatham*, and ease the Charge of Transportation; as also in Summer they may do the like to his Majesty's Ships at *Portsmouth*; for Barks often go in danger, and more especially if we have Wars with *France*, *Holland*, or *Dunkirk*.

The fittest Place in England for Galleys.

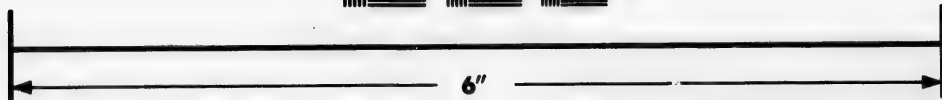
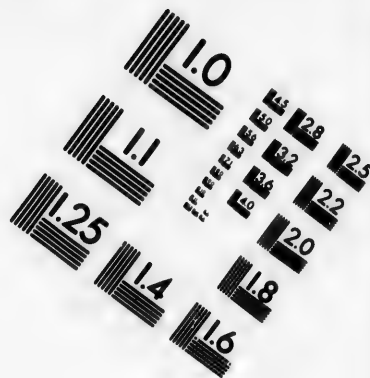
Because I have formerly nam'd the *Isle of Wight* by way of Comparison, I will say of that Island, that it is not only the best and fittest Place in *England*, but in *Europe*, to entertain Galleys, considering the two Harbours within it, the one *Newport* and the other *New Town*, besides three others in the main Land opposite to it, viz. *Portsmouth*, *Hamble* and *Hampton*, where Galleys may ride and float without coming a-ground, which no other Harbour can do betwixt the River of *Thames* and *Portsmouth*.

For suppose the Gallies coming betwixt the *Thames* and the *Isle of Wight*, are taken

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with a Storm at *South*, or being chas'd by an Enemy, and forc'd to seek an Harbour for Succour; if they bring not the Tide with them they perish, either upon a Lee Shore, or upon the Pursuit of an Enemy: And as I have shew'd there is no place to compare to those aforesaid for the Receipt of Gallies, so there is no place so commodious for the Labourers to reside in the Winter time, as those; adding to them the Castle of *Porchester*, 2 or 3 Miles from *Portsmouth*, by Water, being a Place secure for the Labourers to abide in; room sufficient to Entertain 5 or 600 of them, with their Manufacturies, Instruments and Tools, that may be set up to get their Livings withal.

*A Proportion of Soldiers and Sailors for Five Gallies, and the Charge to maintain them.*

You cannot allow less than 15 Soldiers and 100 Labourers for each Galley, every Labourer to have allow'd him 2 s. 6 d. per Week for his Diet, Two Suits of Cloaths, and a Gown; one Physician General, and every Galley its Surgeon, with Ten Sailors to hand the Sails; the Soldiers not to have any allowance of Pay but in Victuals, for they should be such Soldiers as have Entertainment for Hurt, and Lame Soldiers in the Shires.

*How this Money may be rais'd.*

A Certificate from all the Shires in England, what the Contribution of the Houses of Correction do amount unto by the Year, and to have it thus Employ'd in Gallies; and what shall want thereof to maintain them, to be sav'd out of vain and superfluous Gormandizing, which is too much used in many set Feasts, and more to the Shame than Commendation of our Nation, especially in the Halls and Companies of London; the half of which may very well be spar'd and employ'd to this necessary use; for People may meet in a Friendly Conversation to maintain their

Customs, and to determine their Affairs, with half the Expence they are now at.

Thus will no Man be put to any Charge, nor any feel the Loss of it; for there is no body invited to these Feasts, of so mean a Rank and Condition, as to value the Gift of 5 or 6 Meals more or less in a Year.

Another means to raise Money towards this good Work is, out of Hospitals, now become a marvellous Abuse; and that especially erected by *Sutton* in the *Charter-house*, for no Man is now admitted into it, but such as can buy it for Money; and having Money, there is no exception to his Quality, whether Young or Old.

Neither is this Hospital alone, but all others in the Kingdom, which I refer to the Examination and Reformation of those that shall be appointed to overlook them.

I verily believe if the Founders Gifts of those Hospitals were now to be bestow'd, and Gallies upon the Reasons aforesaid to be erected, they would, or such hereafter will, convert the Charitable Benevolences to the use of Gallies, rather than to Hospitals, since they live to see the Abuses of such Houses.

For what they shall give to maintain Gallies, it would prove a strength to the Kingdom, a means to save the Lives of many Men that otherwise should die by the Gallows; a Remedy against Enormities, Thefts and Idleness of People; a Cause to make safe and peaceable Travelling by Land and Sea, and a Course to relieve more poor People, five to one, than the Hospitals do.

There are many other ways, too tedious to set down, how to uphold this Work, that shall no way prejudice either King or Common-wealth, which I refer to Alter-times to consider of, when it is on foot, by certain Commissioners that must be appointed for that purpose.

### *The Ceremony of wearing the Flag, and the Use that is and may be made of it.*

I Have formerly shew'd, when I Treated of the Office of the Vice-Admiral, how every Admiral, and Admiral of a Squadron, was to carry their Flags, and each Ship under them in their Squadron; Now it remains for me to speak more particularly of the Flag, and the Use and Custom of it at Sea, for it is the Standard under which all the Fleet marches, as Soldiers do under their Ensign by Land.

England, as I have declar'd, truly challenges the Prerogative of wearing the Flag,

as the sole Commander of our Seas, and so has held it, without contradiction, time out of mind.

The Privileges are these; That if a Fleet of any Country shall pass upon his Majesty's Seas, and meet the Admiral's Ship serving on those Seas, they are to acknowledge a Sovereignty to his Majesty by coming under the Lee of the Admiral, by striking their Top-sails, and taking in their Flag; and this hath never been question'd, out of Stubbornness, resisting the King's Authority; but rather out of want

want of Knowledge and Ignorance, as appear'd in the Case of King *Philip* the Second, when he met the Lord-Admiral of *England*, when he came to Marry Queen *Mary*.

But tho' this Privilege be granted to his Majesty, and his Deputy upon the Seas, yet every Ship of the King's that serves under an Admiral, cannot require it, if he be out of sight of the Admiral; but the other Stranger, be he Admiral or no, is to strike his Top-sail and hoist it again, to any one Ship of the King's that shall meet him.

Or if any such Ship or Fleet belonging to any other Prince, shall arrive in any Port of his Majesty's, or pass by any Fort or Castle of his, in their Entrance, and before they come to an Anchor, they must take in their Flag three times, and advance it again; unless the Admiral's Ship be in the same Harbour, and then they are not to Display it, but to keep it in so long as they shall remain in the Presence of the Admiral. But if any other Ship of his Majesty's be there, but the Admiral, they are not bound to keep in their Flag, but only to strike it thrice as aforesaid.

This Case bred a great Question in 1613, when the Earl of *Gundamar* came Ambassador into *England*, being accompanied by Two Gallions of the Queen, of *Spain's*, who arriv'd at *Portsmouth*, and as he pass'd by *Stokes-Bay*, there rid a Ship of the King's, that was neither Admiral of the Narrow Seas, nor had Employment under his Commission.

This Ship requir'd the Two *Spaniards* to take in their Flag, as a Duty due to his Majesty's Prerogative, on the Seas, which they refus'd to do, only they struck their Top-sails, till they were compelled to it.

This Act was complain'd of to my Lord Admiral, by the Ambassador, who found himself and his Matter injur'd by it: It pleas'd my Lord Admiral to confer with me about it; and out of his long and ancient Experience concluded, that they were not bound to strike their Top-sail, as they were requir'd, unless the King's Ship had been Admiral of the Narrow Seas; and this I set down from the long Experienced Admiral the Earl of *Nottingham*.

But I am not lavish in Speaking of it, whensoever I hear an Argument upon this Subject of the Narrow Seas disputed; because in these latter times, both the *French* and *Hollanders* seek to Usurp on his Majesty's Right; I will therefore with that

his Majesty's Ships would take more Authority upon them, than is due, because I would have their Insolence curb'd.

If any Merchants Ship shall neglect to do their Duty, as aforesaid, either to Ship or Pinnace of his Majesty's; that Ship or Pinnace is to fire at her, and to bring her to acknowledgment of her Error by force, which being done, the Ship thus Offending is to pay double the value of Powder and Shot, spent against her by the King's Ship.

If any Ship of the King's shall pass by any Fort or Castle on the Shore, out of Ancient and Foolish Custom, they have us'd the same Reverence that Merchants and Strangers use to do, save only striking their Flag, which is a thing improper, and indeed most ridiculous for one of the King's Ships to strike to his Castle, both of them being his own; and it is as much as for a Man to put off his Hat to himself.

And besides, it may happen at such a time, Tide and Place, as the striking a Top-sail may endanger a Ship upon a Rock, Shelve, or Sand; and therefore necessary to take away this Ceremony, that has neither Ground nor Reason in it.

All Admirals in the King's Service, were wont to carry anciently the *St. George's* Flag in the Head of the Top-Mast, but since King *James* his coming to possess this Crown, he has added to it the Cross of *St. Andrew*, as due to *Scotland*; which tho' it be more Honour to both the Kingdoms to be thus link'd, and united together; yet in the view of the Spectators, it makes not so fair a Shew as the Cross of *St. George* only, if it would please his Majesty to consider it.

Besides those Crosses of *England* and *Scotland*, carry'd as aforesaid, the Cross of the Arms of *England* is peculiar to the Lord High Admiral of *England*, who is, and no other, bound to bear it when he goes to Sea; which Flag, in truth, carries a Princely shew when it is display'd.

As the Lord Admiral of *England* has the only Privilege to wear the Standard of *England* in the Main-top; so has he likewise Power to permit and suffer another Man to wear the bare *English* Flag in the Main-top in his Presence: which Case I am able to instance; and besides this that followeth, there are few Precedents as I conceive.

In the Year 1596. and the *Fußer* before the taking of *Cadiz* in *Spain*, *Calais* in *Picardy* was beleagu'r'd and Taken by the Arch-Duke *Albers* and his *Spanish* Forces, which made the Queen weigh how

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much it concern'd her, not to permit the Neighborhood of the *Spaniards*, her then Enemies, to near her; hereupon with all Chiefties the rais'd Land Forces, to give Succour to *Calais*, and appointed the Earl of *Essex* Commander of them: No Nobleman or Gentleman of Spirit but voluntarily put himself into the Action; as namely the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Bowen*, the Lord *Montjoy*, the Lord *Riche*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Burke* of *Ireland*, Don *Christopher*, Son to the pretended King of *Portugal*, with divers others who were on Board me in the *Rainbow* at Supper, and our Fore-Sail cut to stand over, even as news was brought of the Taking of *Calais*.

The Lord Admiral, who was never backward to do his Prince and Country Service, haltned down to *Dover* to secure the Seas, and Imbarqued himself in the *Vanguard*, as my Lord of *Essex* had done in the *Rainbow* with me. Whereupon I took in my Flag, and acknowledged my Duty to my Lord Admiral; notwithstanding the Greatness of the Persons on Board me, which my Lord Admiral perceiving, Commanded me, tho' my Lord of *Essex* should oppose it, to wear the Flag with him equal in the Top, as long as we were in company together, which I did, tho' at first it was resisted by my Lord of *Essex*.

And tho' the Journey to *Cadiz* succeeded immediately after this, and my Lord of *Essex* had the Privilege to wear the *English* Flag in the Main-top, in company of my Lord Admiral, who went likewise in that Expedition; yet the Time and Case must be considered, for they had both equal Authority by Land and Sea, under the Great Seal of *England*, which made their Command alike.

In the Year 88. when the *Spaniards* appear'd on the *English* Coast with their Fleet, a Gallion of theirs being distress'd, arriv'd in the Port of *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, which being known in *England*, Three Ships of the *Queens*, and one Pinnace were sent to surprize her in Harbour, as I have shew'd before; my Self being in that Fleet.

Mr. *Knevet*, a Gentleman of the *Queen's* Privy Chamber, was sent to Sea at that time, with certain Merchants Ships, to strengthen my Lord Admiral's Fleet, fearing the *Spaniards* would return again from the Northward, whither they were gone: This Fleet of Merchants and Mr. *Knevet* was to join with Four Ships of the *Queens*, of which he was appointed Admiral, tho' it was a Merchant Ship in which he serv'd.

And that Power may the King of *England* grant to any Subject of his, notwithstanding his former Pateent to my Lord Admiral of *England*; and yet I am of Opinion, that within the compass of the Narrow Seas, if any such Admiral shall be appointed by the King, and meet the Admiral's Ships serving on the Narrow Seas, who is Deputy to the Great Lord Admiral, That such Ship there serving, the other is to take in his Flag in his Presence, who doth wear it as Substitute to the Lord Admiral, within the Jurisdiction of the Narrow Seas; he having a former Grant, and Supreme Authority, before the others Employment.

How far the narrow Seas extend, is much controverted betwixt the *French* and us; they challenging rather by Words than Right or Precedent, half the Seas betwixt *England* and *France*, as some of *Flanders* do by the same reason; but I could never hear that ever they contested with us about it. *England's* claim to the Narrow Seas, needs no other Repetition than I have formerly related (*viz.*) a Consent of all Nations, an everlasting Possession, and an Invincible Power to maintain it.

Tho' to speak truly in my Opinion, if from Headland to Headland be measured in *France* with a Line, what Seas, or rather Bayes, shall fall within that Line, or within them Capes, do properly belong to *France*, and may be termed the *King's* Chamber, if so be we had no Title to *France* our selves; but if you will see what share of the Sea may belong to them by this Measure, it would not be worth contesting for, as may appear by the following:

Beginning at *Calais* Cliffs, with a direct Line from Sea-Head to Sea-Head to the *Hogue*, and from the *Hogue* to *Ushant*; but this last we will not acknowledge, tho' there were Right in the other; for in that Bound lye the Islands of *Jersey*, an ancient Patrimony of *England*, and possess'd by us nigh 400 Years; and what Title soever *France* can invent to themselves for that Circuit of the Sea, the same we may plead by *Jersey*, that fronts upon the Continents of *France* and it.

A General that shall be invited to Banquet on Board another Ship, or otherwise come on Board any other Ship, how small soever she be, that Ship shall carry the Flag of the Admiral, and be so Reputed, so long as he shall remain on Board her; and the Flag born in his own Ship to be taken in till his Return; for it is the Man, and not the Ship, that has the Authority of an Admiral from a Prince.

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The shewing or taking in the Flag in the Admiral's Ship being well consider'd, and resolv'd of before-hand, is able to direct a Fleet in many Cafes, as fully as tho' he had given his Instructions by Writing.

The Flag carri'd under the Poop of a Ship shews a Disgrace, and never us'd but when it is won or taken from an Enemy.

Many times Ships wearing contrary Flags, and especially the Colour of an Enemy, it hath wrought many Effects to the Advantage of him that carries it, or may do again as occasion offers.

When an Admiral is in Harbour or Road with the rest of his Fleet, at the taking in of the Flag in the evening, and shooting off a Piece of Ordnance, he sets his Watch, which his Fleet must take notice of, and accordingly set their Watch. The like is to be done at the Discharge of the Watch in the morning, as also when he shall weigh Anchor and set sail.

The Flag in the top half furl'd up, and so worn, some are of opinion is as great an Acknowledgment as tho' it was absolutely taken in; but neither that Ceremony, or the taking in the Flag and advancing it thence, gave me Satisfaction when I serv'd on the Narrow Seas: But I compell'd the *Hollanders* to take in their Flag absolutely, which was the beginning of their Malice towards me.

Many times an Admiral will take in his own Flag, and suffer a smaller Ship to wear it as Admiral, to deceive his Enemy, till he hath brought him into his Clutches.

In some Cafes an Admiral will suffer many Ships to wear their Flag as Admirals, and seeming to be of divers Nations by their Colours, because they shall not be suspected to be a Fleet of War, till he has an opportunity to charge them, and then to take upon him his right Shape.

### *Laws Enacted for the Punishment of Offenders at Sea, in the Days of King Richard I. in his Expedition to the Holy Land.*

**I**T shall now appear, that the War by Sea is no new practis'd thing by this Nation, as I have shew'd in the days of *Edward III.* when there were Arm'd out of *England* 1000 Warlike Vessels, a number far exceeding us in this Age, and yet not equal to us, if we consider what Art, Experience, and Skill, hath taught us in Sea-Affairs since then, that the Invention of Artillery, Shot, and Powder, has been in use, for by all Likelihood and Reason the condition of Ships then and now is much differing; and besides, since the days of *Edward III.* new Worlds have been discovered, able to equal more than the rest known before, which Discoveries have caus'd greater Traffick, and by consequence the increase of more Ships than in those ancient times: And for the furtherance and ease of Navigation, to perform their Voyages with greater Celerity, the Secret of the Boiling hath been found out: I am therefore of opinion, if the Goodness of their Ships had equal'd their Numbers, some future Sign or other would have appeared for our Satisfaction.

Which makes me believe, that most of their Ships were made of Osiers, or other kind of light Subtance, and cover'd with Hides for Defence and Safeguard of the Sea: But we may say, That a Ship so

built now in this Age cannot be made to brook the Waves of the Sea, the Winds and Weather being so outrageous: Therefore in all likelihood the difference of Times has made the difference of Weather, for the Weather is like the World, and People dwelling in it; that as they grow old, they have the less Vigour and Strength, and consequently will be worse and weaker by the continuance of it, and will by little and little decline, as no doubt it has done since the days of *Edward III.* For there is no old Man now living, but will confess, the Temper and Calmness of the Weather in the time of his Youth did far exceed this of our elder Years; and the like will his Son do after him, when he come to the state of an old Man, and still follow one another as long as the World continues.

Mariners have an Observation, That the 3 Years before and 3 Years after the Prime, which happens every 19th Year, the Weather proves more boisterous and stormy than the rest of the time, and every 19 Years worse than the other: Then what would a Ship do, if she were built after the manner of Vessels 400 Years ago, and sent out into the main Sea.

But leaving this Argument to Men of better Capacity and Learning than my self,

self, I will prove the Antiquity of Sea-Actions, undertaken by our Nation, and the Kings thereof, long before the Enterprize of *Edward III.* formerly spoken of; And I will begin with *Julius Agricola* under the *Romans* Government, that first sail'd about *England* and *Scotland*, and the first that discover'd the Islands of *Orkney*, which he subdu'd.

The Second was the great Action of King *Edgar* the *Saxon*, and King of this Land, who with 800 Sail of Ships sail'd round *England* and *Scotland*, not once, but often.

And the Third I am to take notice of, is *Richard I.* and his glorious Expedition to the Holy Land against the Heathen *Saracens*, in which Expedition he establish'd the following Laws, which in some Points have continued to this day, but not with that Rigour and Severity as in times past.

*Laws Establish'd by King Richard I.*

1. Whosoever shall kill any Man a Ship-board, shall be bound to the Back of the Party kill'd, and thrown into the Sea with him.
2. If one should be kill'd on Land, the Party should be bound in like manner, and bury'd alive with him kill'd.
3. Whosoever shall draw any Knife or Weapon, with an intent to draw Blood, or by other means shall draw Blood, shall lose his Hand.
4. Whosoever shall strike one, without drawing Blood, with his Hand or otherwise, shall be duck'd three times at the Yard-arm.
5. Whosoever reviles or curses another, for so often as he has revil'd shall pay for many Ounces of Silver.
6. Whosoever steals, shall have his Head shorn, and boil'd Pitch pour'd on it, and Feathers strew'd upon the same, whereby he may know, and at the first Landing-place where he shall come, there to be shew'd ashore.

Admirals at Sea have the same Authority as Generals have by Land, and of as great Antiquity: Some are of opinion, that Admirals were instituted in *Greece* by *Constantine* the Great; tho' modern Times say, they were erected first in *France*, others in *Spain*, and in the Year 1246. in the Reign of *Don Ferdinand* the Third: But let other Countries pretend what they list for themselves, our Records and Commissions do prove a more ancient Right than those of latter Times.

*Upon what occasion Ships should salute Castles, or one another, at Sea, with their Ordnance; and how the Abuse thereof may be taken away.*

I am sorry I have the occasion to complain of the lavish and wastful Expence of Powder, in saluting Ships under a friendly Pretence of meeting at Sea, more practis'd of late by our Nation, than by any other, tho' no People or Country have more cause to prohibit it than we, when we remember our Opportunity lost against the Invincible *Armada* of *Spain*, as they term'd themselves in 1588. and only through the want of Powder, as is well known. And yet I must say in the Praise of those of the Queen's time, that the want of Powder proceeded not out of a wastful and idle consuming of it, before there were cause to use it: For neither then, nor in all the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, there was spent in a lavish kind the Tenth Part of that which is now a days; I may impute it to many Causes, as namely, our Wars then that made our Commanders more provident; but principally I must commend the moderate Drinking of that Time, which I could wish a Reformation of now amongst us, and that we may return to our old Fashion, how odious soever it be to this new fashion'd Time.

What I shall say, is not to make a Comparison of times, or to tax our late abuses in that kind; I only advise, and ground my Opinion upon Reason, how things of this Nature may be carried, which I refer to Consideration; and desire, that if it be approv'd, every Captain may be tied to observe it as a Law establish'd, and a Penalty to the Breakers of it: And the first thing I will handle, shall be the Salutations of Castles to Ships, and the Compliments of Ships to Castles.

A Castle and the Governor of it, is in the nature of a Gentleman that will entertain his Friend at his House, and give him a hearty Welcome; and because a Castle cannot perform it in Words, he makes his Ordinance speak it for him, with such a number of Pieces as he thinks fit: After which Proportion, an Admiral is to answer by way of Thanks, but to exceed the number of the Castle's Salutation, because an Admiral's Ship commonly carries three times more Pieces than a Castle has: This is to be referr'd to the Will of the Commander on either side.

If an Admiral be accompany'd by his Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and the rest of his Fleet, there needs no other Saluta-

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tion from the Castle, for the Lord-Admiral's Welcome includes all the rest of his Friends and Fleet; but notwithstanding a Vice-Admiral must salute a Castle with two Pieces less than the Admiral, and the Rear-Admiral with two less than he, and this is as much to honour the Admiral as the Castle; but it must be consider'd, that these three only that carry the Flags of Command, and rule over the Squadrons, and no other Ship, is to shoot, unless it is by Directions of the Admiral, for their shooting will be taken as too great a Familiarity with him.

When an Admiral shall depart from under the Command of a Castle, in sign of his loving Acceptance for his Entertainment, both he and his two other Flags are to give the same Salutation that the Castle gave him at his Entrance, and with the same number of Ordnance and Form as aforesaid.

If a Fleet pass within sight of a Castle, and not within command of his Ordnance to reach him, the Castle is not bound to Salute, only to afford a Welcome and a Visit by a Gentleman of Quality.

If a Governor fail to perform any Compliment that is meet, he must amend it upon the Admiral's landing, making his Ordnance roar aloud his Welcome; but the Ship is not to answer, because it is done to the Person of the Admiral, who is bound to requite the same upon the Governors visiting him on board his Ship, and at his departure from thence.

The saluting of Ships by one another at Sea is both ancient and decent, tho' in this latter time much abused; for whereas 3, 5, or 7 Pieces have been the ordinary use for a Ship to salute an Admiral, and never to exceed that Proportion, and an Admiral not to answer with above 1 or 3, now they strive to exceed that Number, thinking that many Pieces add Honour to the Salutation; but the Owners of Merchant Ships would be gladder it might be done with less Cost, and more Courtesy in another kind. But tho' the Admiral cannot restrain this Compliment in the Ship that Salutes, yet he may command his Gunner not to return above 1 or 3 Pieces, according to the old manner.

And for such Ships as are of his own Fleet, he may prohibit the saluting of one another, but upon the occasions following, (*viz.*) in bringing good and fortunate News against an Enemy after an Escape of a desperate Danger, and then not to exceed 3 or 5, and to be answer'd at the discretion of the Admiral.

The excessive Banqueting on board is a

great consuming of Powder; for as Men's Brains are heated with Wine, so they heat their Ordnance with Ostentation and professed Kindness at that instant, and many times not without danger: And therefore, to take away the Cause, a Captain should have Directions from under the hand of a General to forbid shooting, which would be a good Excuse, and give his Guests Satisfaction, unless it be done in the manner following, as I have devis'd.

The vain drinking of Healths is another Means to waste Powder, which a General must likewise forbid, except it be the Health of a free Prince, or Men of that Rank and Condition, and then not to exceed one Piece when the Health shall be begun: the King's, the Queen's, or their Illness, is exempted from this Strictness.

Upon some occasion an Admiral may command his whole Fleet to fire their Guns, as namely, when a Foreign Prince, Governors of Countries, Ambassadors of great Potentates, and Men of great Blood and Quality, shall be either Transported, or make a Visit on board the Admiral to behold the Stateliness of his Fleet, it were necessary they were as well relov'd of their Force, as the Report they would make of their Welcome; and in that case every Ship of the Fleet is to shoot their whole number of Pieces distinctly and orderly, (as thus:) An Admiral and his Squadron first to begin; the Vice-Admiral to follow his Example, and so the Rear-Admiral to do the like, but with this Caution, That no small Ship or Pinnace do mingle themselves with great Ships, but to second one another according to their Ranks and Greatness.

To come now to my Proposition how Things should be carri'd, it is thus: That upon drinking of Healths, or Leases taken on board Ships, instead of the excessive Charge of burning Powder out of great Ordnance, it may be done with Muskets; for a Man's Welcome consists not so much in the difference betwixt a Cannon and a lesser Piece, but in the loving Heart of him that invites: Both the one and the other are consum'd in the twinkling of an Eye; and the Report of a Faulconer, when there is no greater Piece, is all one to the Hearer as if it were a Cannon or Faulcon.

Therefore to accommodate this difference, and to bring it to a certain Custom in the King's Ships hereafter, I wish that instead of the chargeable wasting of Powder that is now in use, by shooting out of great Ordnance, to have a number of Musketers plac'd, and decently Arm'd and

and Apparell'd, Soldier like, upon the upper Deck, that when there shall be occasion to drink Healths, or to take their Leaves at departure, they fire their Muskets at a Mark, made like the Shape of a Man put into a Barrel, off at Sea, within Point-blank, where the Soldiers shall take their Aim duly: This will be an Act of more Pleasure and Delight to the Beholders than the other, where nothing is expected but the falling of a Bullet, having no Object to shoot at; the Eye, the Ear, and Sense, are all in action, and employ'd together, and many other Bene-

fits arise by it; for the Soldier will by this Practice be made a perfect Shots-man against he shall encounter his Enemy; and with so small a Cost and Charge, that a Cartridge of a Cannon will entertain Persons of good Rank, and give them as great Satisfaction with them few Muskets, as the number of Cannons will do; for the Ear is only pleas'd with the Report a Cannon makes, which lasts no longer than a flash of Powder; no Gunner is made more perfect in his Art, for he shoots at random in the Air, without level,

### *The Corrupt Abuses us'd in His Majesty's Service by Sea, and the Means how to reform them.*

THE Difference of Times has made so great a Difference in our Sea Actions, betwixt the Days of Queen Elizabeth and those of this time, that I, who have been an Actor in both, have cause not only to marvel, but to lament, to see Abuses thus corruptly crept in: The Particulars of some I will handle, and withal give Instructions how to amend the Errors committed in our Services at Sea, which will now much concern us, because our bordering Neighbours, the *French* and *Hollanders*, daily encrease in Shipping, as we daily see by Proof.

I will begin with the prime Officer, who is the Light and Guide of the rest, viz. the Lord High Admiral of England, who is the main Tree, and all other inferior Officers are but Branches that spread out of him; and where inferior Offices are executed by many Commissioners, and those not of greatest Experience, and every one has his Vote, sometimes they are carried by Persuasion of Friends, or wrought upon by Servants, but commonly Corruption has the upper hand, by Money to prefer Men without Merit; for I am informed, that no Place is freely dispos'd of without the gross seeing of some, not otherwise approving their Sufficiencies.

The most inferior Officer of the ordinary in Harbour is the Cook, whose Experience, whose long continuance in his Majesty's Service, or Testimony of his Sufficiency under the Hands of the ablest Officers, cannot advance him to the Place of a Cook, if Prayers of Angels do not prevail above the Prayers of Men.

And tho' the Meanness of this Place is not to be rated with the rest of better degree, yet it will serve for an Instance,

to shew how Things are carry'd with Bribery and Corruption, to the Prejudice of the King's Service; for it is an old Saying, *He that buys dear, must sell dear, or serve himself by Deceit.*

But this is not all, nor yet the worst, that may ensue upon this bought Place; for I find no Man excepted from purchasing, but every one must stretch up for the Price demanded for it, which makes the poor Buyer confess it is the dearest Bargain a Man can lay his Money out on.

Here is a brave Opportunity offered for an Enemy, or any other ill dispos'd Person, to buy this Place, who may be the Destruction of the Ship, and all other Ships that ride near her, by setting the Cook-Room on fire, and excusing it as an unlucky Accident or Mischance; for to the Cook is only committed the Fire in the Cook-Room.

And because I make this Cook's Office the leading Card to the rest, I heartily wish and pray, for the good of his Majesty's Service, that the Cook-seller and the Cook-buyer, yet tho' he were a Cook by Name, may be all hang'd together, for Example, Fear and Terror of others.

The next Abuse to this is the Officers of his Majesty's Navy, who of late years have been Gentlemen unexperienc'd; and the Clerks, formerly belonging to the Officers, that are well practis'd how to pretend Profit for the King, and themselves to reap the Benefit of it. These Clerks guide the unexperienc'd Gentlemen, who are often ignorant of their Frauds, as will appear if his Majesty please to grant his Commission to examine Abuses, and to settle a Form of Government in Sea Affairs.

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The first Abuse and Corruption that entered into this Office, was in the time of the late Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, by placing a Follower of his own, who, by the Power he had with the good old Lord, became the sole Manager and Director of Things by Sea, and made his own Will my Lord's Peremptory Command, and so the Officers of that time have confessed to me; and since that Party's quitting his Office, it were good to know how other Officers are come into their Places, and the Value they gave for them; for I know there has been paid, and it is commonly rated at 1500*l.* for such an Office; when, if you deal fairly, it scarce affords the Interest of 1500*l.*

Leaving these Abuses, which will prove without end, if examin'd by the Commissioners aforesaid, I will now apply my self to redress these encroaching Dangers and corrupt Dealings, and bring it to the State of *Hawkins's* and *Burrough's* times, who were perfect and honest Men in their Places, the one Treasurer, the other Comptroller.

The way to settle Things, is to appoint an Admiral, young, heroical, and of a great Blood: His Experience in Sea Affairs is not so much to be requir'd at first, as his Sincerity, Honour and Wildom; for his daily Practice in his Office, with Conference of able and experienc'd Men, will quickly instruct him.

The next Reformation will consist in the Election of the Four Officers of his Majesty's Navy, formerly treated of. Whosoever shall execute those Places, and not have pass'd the degrees of inferior Officers, as Boatwain, Gunner, Carpenter, &c. but are led most by the Precedent or Direction of the covetous and deceitful Clerks aforesaid, his Majesty shall never be well serv'd, but his Name us'd for a Colour to their Deceits, as appears by an Instance I was an Eye-witness to.

At my Lord of *Lindsey's* Return from the West Country to the *Downes*, there to Re-victual for Two Months, it was no sooner known to the Officers of the Navy, but Twelve of their Servants posted thither to take a Muster of our Men, when a Muster-master is allow'd for that Service.

I desire to know what the King gain'd by that needless Employment, and what every one of those Clerks was allow'd for his Pleasure in riding and wastfully banqueting in that Journey? This strictness is without cause; for it is impossible for a Captain deceitfully to carry a dead Pay,

unless a Purser connive at it, which is unlikely he would hazard his Estate and Reputation for 20*l.* and therefore let the Officers of the Navy pretend what they list, I know they do his Majesty a Difference in it; for by this occasion, and the badness of Victuals, it makes Seamen backward to serve the King.

It is suppos'd the Officers have some Deceit in it for their own Benefit, in taking a time of Advantage by Men's Absence, that they know had fed upon taking Victuals at Sea, and would be glad of some refreshing alhoar. These, and other like ill Usages of Officers, makes Seamen disobey his Majesty's Proclamation, and flie to the Service of other Princes and States, or become Pyrates, with Hearts of Revenge for the Injuries done them.

And to end this Voyage, I will say something to parallel this Muster. At my Return from *Portsmouth*, in the Company of Captain *Mason*, who had been Treasurer of the late great Warlike Action of his Majesty's, it was our hap to meet with 12 Clerks and Officers of the Navy, some of them stuffed in hind Coaches with four Horses, the rest well mounted on Horseback, all of them to pay but two Ships of the King's, the *James* and the *Reformation*, which I think will not amount to much more than 1000*l.* I desire there may be a Quere of their Charge to his Majesty by this Journey of theirs, and it shall appear what Devices they have to enrich themselves and Followers; when Captain *Mason* at that time told me, That in paying his Majesty's great Armies, tho' part of them were as far as *Cornwall*, yet he never charg'd his Majesty in all those Services with more than himself, his Clerk, and one other ordinary Servant.

As this was the end of that Voyage, so I will not let pass what happened in the beginning of it, in the *James* I served in. At the taking in of Victuals at *Tilbury-Hope*, there appear'd a certain Proportion of Beef and Pork, able, with its Scent, to have poisoned the whole Company; but by the Carefulness of the Quarter-Masters it was found unserviceable; yet after it was refus'd by the said Officers of the Ship, and lay upon the Hatches unstow'd, some of the Officers of the Navy repair'd aboard, and by their Authority and great Anger forc'd it to be taken in for good Victuals, which prov'd as I have said before.

My Observation to this Point is, That tho' the Officers of the Navy have nothing to do with the Victualling part, yet it is likely there is a Combination betwixt

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the one and the other, like to a Mayor of a Corporation, a Baker, who for that year will favour the Brewer, that still the next year do the like to his Trade when he becomes Mayor.

Here will I cease to make any further Discovery of the Abuses, but refer it all to Examination, and my self will turn Physician, and study how to cure the Malignant Diseases of Corruption that have crept in and infected his Majesty's whole Navy, and his Employments at Sea, as well in the Officers that assume Absolute Authority above the rest, and who I think will be found most faulty, as in the Victualler, and Purser, that has relation to the Victualler. My Third Observation is, the State of the King's Ships, their Build, and what is to be amended in them: My Fourth is, the Foremast Men, Gunners, and all the Company in general, without whom Ships cannot sail: And my last, shall consist of the Masters and Captains, which I will make the Voyage of 1635. the ground of my Exceptions to them.

As I have spoken of my Lord Admiral, by his Authority, to be the chief Reformer aforesaid, so in the second degree of Reformation I wish that such Officers of the Navy were chosen as are perfect in their Occupation and Breeding, and have pass'd all Offices and Degrees in Ships, and namely, out of the Fraternity of the *Trinity-House*; for they are Men that know well the Practice of the Sea, being brought up in it from their Infancies; they serv'd their Apprenticeships in Ships, which no Gentleman or Clerk has done; by their painful Labour they have attain'd to good Estates; they are of that sufficient Ability, as they have the Election of the Masters that serve in the King's Ships; their Ambition will not extend higher than to his Majesty's Countenance, and to be honoured with the Title of his Servants; in their Employments they will not strive to exceed in Ostentation, or in Numbers of needless Servants and Followers; their Diet will be answerable to their accustom'd Breedings; they will not covet State in their Lodgings, nor Solemn Places in their Consultations; they will commend no Man to Office whose Sufficiency they will not undertake for; no Provision or Store can be brought in but they will be able to judge of the goodness of it; no Boat-swain, Gunner, or other Officer, can exceed in their Demands, but they can controul them; or in their return from their Voyages bring in wastful Expence, but they will be able to check them, tho' it

be to a Yard of Cable, Rope, or a Pound of Powder. This is the way, and no other way, to prevent Stealth, Cozenage, and all Deceits, which the Clerks cannot devise to do: Thus would the Name of Corruption and Abuses be converted into Merit and Desert. If these Men shall offend in the Execution of their Offices, they are not People that can carry their Deceits out by Friends, as not being bred that way; or if they shall be found culpable or faulty, their Estates are not so mean, but will be able to make Restitution for the Damages they do.

But to take away all Occasion of Deceit in the inferior Officers of the Ships when they are at Sea, these Officers of the Navy may appoint in every Ship an able Man, who, besides his Labour, may have Authority to overlook the Expence of the Gunner, Carpenter, Boatswain, and the rest, and to approve it under his Hand with theirs, and with the Testimony of the Captain and Master.

And because these Men may have the better Respect above the common sort, and Profit withal to make them the more careful to perform the Trust that is committed to them, they may be entred for Drum and Fife, which will add Six Shillings a Month to their ordinary Entertainment; for the two Places are to be well spar'd, as unnecessary in Sea Service.

The next Officer or Office I will handle shall be the Victualler, whose Negligence or Covetousness, for one of the two it <sup>This was writ before the Fifth</sup> must be imputed unto, has brought the <sup>alter came into his Place</sup> King's Service to a great Contempt, as all Men know, with Grief and Pity. This Officer ought to have a bitter and severe Censure if he fail of the goodness and quantity of Victuals of his Majesty's Allowance, and I wish no less than Death to be inflicted on him; for no Subject's Estate is able to countervail the Damage his Majesty must sustain in such Defects in his weighty Expeditions: The Combinations, the Abuses, and the Practice of this Office, I refer to future Examination.

The Victuals at Sea consists of Beer, Bread, Flesh, Fish, Butter, Cheese, &c. and to be bought of several Persons, according to their Professions and Trades: I will therefore put them all in one number, and set down a Course how to reform them all together, viz. to bind every one in a particular Bond, returnable into the *Exchequer*, that the Victuals they furnish shall be sufficient, well condition'd, able to abide good the length of the Voyage, consisting of so many Months; and if there be found defect or fault of

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Performance thereof, the Bond to be immediately forfeited, unless by a day appointed they put on board his Majesty's Ships the quantity of such Victuals as shall be defective: By this means the King shall be well serv'd, and the People well satisfy'd.

Moreover, the Victualler must be enjoyn'd to put on board every Ship the whole Proportion of Victuals to the quantity of Men serving in her, for in this there has been great Deceit; for whereas his Majesty allows a large and sufficient Rate for every Man's Diet, the Victualler and the Purser had wont to contract betwixt themselves, that the Purser shall have the Victualling of a certain Proportion of Men, and to allow the Victualler Three half pence or Two pence *per Diem* out of that the King allows, and justly pays.

The Gain of the Purser at Sea far exceeds all other Officers, as will appear when their buying their Places shall be examin'd: Both the Buyer and Seller of this Office knows that the Gain of it must arise by deceiving the King and Company; which, besides that it breeds a great Inconveniency, (for the Purser's unreasonable griping the Sailors of their Victuals, and plucking it as it were out of their Bellies) it makes them become weak, sick and feeble, and then follows an Infection and Inability to do their Labour, or else Upstarts, Mutinies and Disorders, ensue among the Company, that a Captain must interpose himself, his Reputation and Credit, to appease them, and all for the Corruption of the Buyer and Seller of that Office; besides it gives a great Discontent to People, and discourages them to do Service in the whole Voyage.

For Reformation hereof, this Place is not corruptly to be bought with Money, but free Election to be made of an honest and careful Man, that will have no end but his Majesty's Profit, and his own Credit; he must neither Contract with the Victualler, nor take advantage of poor Men's being ashore, for him to save their Allowance of Diet to enrich himself, but such surplus of Victuals as remains at the end of the Voyage, to see it forthcoming, or to be accountable for it to the King's Officers.

And if it be found, after the Voyage, that this Purser has perform'd the Trust committed to his Charge, then to reward him according to his Service, as the Lord Admiral and the Officers of the Navy shall think fit. This consider'd, will prove

more beneficial and more safe to the Purser, than to buy his Office at a dear rate, which he must execute with danger; for his Gain must rise by Cozenage, which being discovered, a heavy Punishment will be inflicted on him.

This safe Benefit thus gotten by the Officers conniving with one another, by this Reformation, will turn to the King's Profit; but I desire it may be carried with more Moderation and Pity to poor Men; for the Company have always been the Sufferers, the Purser making their Advantage of the Men's being ashore, by taking to themselves their Allowance of Victuals in their Absence.

The Second Abuse that is offer'd the Company, is in another kind, (as namely, in their Pay) wherein his Majesty is no less abus'd than the poor Men; for if at any time they fall sick, and be put ashore, such is the Charity of People where they land, that they sooner perish than find pity, unless they bring Money with them.

And seeing that his Majesty does and must pay all those that serve him, it will be better for them, and more Profit to the King, to discharge them at their first Arrival, than to continue them longer unpaid; for whilst they lie sick ashore, and not discharg'd, their Victuals and Pay amounts to Thirty and odd Shillings a Month, which may be sav'd if they are at first discharg'd.

In the Voyage of 1635. some of my Men fell sick in the *James*, whom I caus'd to be put ashore, to avoid further Infection, and commanded the Purser to make Provision for their Lodgings, and other Necessaries, to be abated in their Pay. If these Men had been discharged when they were landed, the King had sav'd so much as I have express'd before, and the poor Men had been furnish'd with Money to have defray'd their Expence, which they took upon Trust.

I confess this Abuse is ancient, which I complain'd of to Queen *Elizabeth*, who redress'd it, by sending an under Treasurer and Moneys with me to Sea in the last Voyage she liv'd, and wherein I went Admiral; but her present Death following, caus'd it to be neglected, but fit again to be reviv'd, for the good both of King and Subject. When the Purser of the *James* demanded his Money thus disburs'd, the Officers of the Navy, with great Anger, ask'd him, who made him the Queen's Treasurer? Which is a direct Proof they have a further end in it than the King's good; for I am told they have 2 s. in the Pound for the Payment of such

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Moneys as the poor Sailors go upon the Score.

I will proceed, and speak somewhat of the King's Ships, their manner of Build, and their Defects, which in my Opinion ought to be amended: I will make the *James* my Precedent, which is a Beautiful Ship to the Eye, and of mighty Force to offend; I found nothing amiss in her Hull, but in her Masts, Yards, and Bolt-sprit, which were too short, which made her Sails too narrow, and her sail the worse: But these are Faults that may be easily amended.

But in some Cases of building Ships, or rather, I may say, of making Experiment, they have left no help or hope of Amendment; tho' I am inform'd there was a Warning given of the Insufficiency of the Workman before he undertook her.

In my speaking of the difference in the Build of Ships, betwixt a flush Deck and high Carv'd, I have said sufficiently before; only I advise, that in Ships with flush Decks, a slight Forecastle may be built, and the uppermost part of the Ship be arm'd with Junks of Cables, for the Safeguard of Men against small Shot; as also to make Barricadoes and other material Defences, to place several Fowlers afore and abaft, to be the Death of so many Men as shall enter. There are many other devised Things to be practis'd, which I refer to my Fifth Book, wherein I treat of Stratagems.

Now I will speak of Foremast Men, and the Abuse us'd in Pressing them, by Example of this last Voyage in 1635. The greatest part of these Men consist of Watermen, never before at Sea, and others of the same sort, altogether unserviceable; and herein are the Officers of the Navy to blame, who, to pleasure Friends, or for other Ends of their own, appoint T., Jrs, Porters, and others of that Rank, unworthy of the Hatches to lie on, and yet every one of these Men stands his Majesty in 1 l. 11 s. a Month, when they will think much to pay an able Seaman, that shall be absent at a Muster: So great a Power has Partiality with these Men, that they prefer the unworthy before the well deserving, and are willing to pay 1 l. 11 s. a Month to Taylors, rather than 14 s. to a Sailor.

The Sea Towns in *England* are not far behind these Abuses in Election of such Men, as I have found in this Voyage; for that in the Northern Ports, betwixt *Tarmouth* and *Newcastle*, never a Man appear'd in the *James* that ever had been at Sea; insomuch that if I had not pro-

cur'd a Warrant for one of my Master's Mates to look out for good Men, never Ship had been worse provided.

For Reformation whereof, I would advise, at the next general Press, that the Charge be committed to the Masters of their Mates that go in the Voyage: They are to repay to the Towns and Corporations on the Coasts, authorizing them with the Officers of the said Towns, to call all Seafaring Men there dwelling before them, and the Masters to examine their Sufficiencies, and according to their Abilities to Press them, and enjoin them to appear before the Clerk of the Checque at *Chatham*.

There is another great Mismanagement in his Majesty's Ships, which is fit to be amended, in order hereafter to redress it: By Allowance of the King, the worst of those Loyterers I have spoken of have as good Entertainment as the ablest Sailor, that is no Officer, and neither Captain nor other Commander can reform it, because Custom has so settled it: For a Reformation whereof, I do advise, that by Consent of Captain, Master and Gunner, every such Man's Pay be proportion'd according to their Sufficiencies, viz to take it from one and add it to another, but no way to charge the King more than with his ordinary Proportion.

If this Course were really taken, Seamen would be as willing to serve the King, as they are now refractory to his Service; it would be a great Cause to make them to obey and love their Commanders, and encourage them to exceed one another in their Labours, in hope to have their Pay mended. These People are to be governed by a Captain, Master, and other inferior Officers, which I have formerly treated of: And I will now describe the fitness of a Captain to be chosen to serve in the King's Ships.

The little Employment in Sea Affairs makes many Pretenders to the Place of Captain, when there is talk of Expedition; and very often there are Factions and Quarrels among such Pretenders: But to take away all Competition that may arise amongst them, and that his Majesty may distinguish of their Works, it were good, when such Captains shall be nominated and elected, to require them to present Authentick Testimonies of their Service and Fights they have been in at Sea, which will approve their Sufficiencies; for a Captain is chosen for his Warlike Part, as the Master is for the Conduction of his Ship.

A Captain of the King's Ship must be of Reputation and Government, Bountiful, and not Prodigal in his Expence; he must moderate his Expence according to his Pay, and the time it is likely to continue, that he may be the better able to maintain his Post after the Service is ended, both for the Honour of the King whom he serves, and for his own Reputation; for his After-Preferment must lie upon his former Behaviour and Demeanour: He must abandon the Beattlines of Drinking, and conniving at Drunkards, which are the general Disorders at Sea; tho' in reason no Man should more detest it; for they may know that Drinking is not the way to Preferment; for no Man was ever rais'd for his Vice, but it is made an Objection to hinder his Fortune.

As a Captain ought to be frugal in his own Expence, so ought he to be no less for the King's Profit; as first, in Victuals; there must be no conniving betwixt him and his Purser, nor betwixt the Purser and any other Officer; and what Victuals soever shall come into the Ship, that it be not imbezell'd, or secretly convey'd out of her; he must see an equal Carriage betwixt Purser and Company, without Advantage to either; for by this Reformation the King is only to receive Benefit. He must also have an Eye over the Gunner, as well to see the taking in of his Store, as the re-delivery of it; he may have a Servant to keep a private Account of the Expence of every Shot at Sea, to disprove any unlawful Account the Gunner shall unjustly charge himself withal.

I will end this Discourse with the Masters, who are the Conductors of his Majesty's Ships from their going out till their return home. There ought to be a general Election of these Men, and principally of such as have been practis'd, and serv'd in the King's Ships; for an experienced Commander is more to be requir'd in that case than a skilful Mariner.

The Masters that were employ'd in this last Voyage of 35. are all able Men in the Art of Navigation, which they profess, and of Sufficiency to take upon them the Conduction of a Merchant Ship to any Place or Port wheresoever they shall Trade; But for the Service in the Narrow Seas, where they have not been accustomed, or for managing the King's Ships, in which they have not been us'd, for want of Experience, they are much to seek, as will appear by what follows.

I confess, that since I serv'd in the Narrow Seas, I find so great a difference betwixt the Masters of that time and this,

that I may compare it to an ancient Art, that in long continuance of time has been forgotten, and lost for want of Practice and Use.

The Masters in those days were either ignorantly adventurous, or in this time providently cautious, which I may rather term over timorous; for we then little valu'd those Adventures, which now we properly call Dangers; tho' I am assur'd the Perils be alike, and not to be accounted Hazard.

But I impute the true cause of Security in the Masters, to that they have no other Ambition, but to carry out and bring home the Ship under their Charge, and to receive their Salary for it. I confess they are the more excusable, because their Breeding has not been to sail amongst Sands, or in Seas so narrow, that which way soever they turn themselves, they behold Land on all sides of them, which are subject to the change and shift of several Winds in every Port; for that Wind which is secure upon one Shoar, is death upon another; and Tides that sometimes are advantageous to them, at other times may prove dangerous.

This Reformation cannot be in the Masters themselves to amend, for it requires long Experience and Labour to make them perfect in our Seas, where the Service depends; and where they are Strangers in the Navigation, this Defect must be supply'd with expert and skilful Pilots, that make the Narrow Seas their daily Trade and Practice.

The King's Ships being thus provided, they have little cause to fear danger of Wind or Storms, but only Fogs, that take away the sight of the Land from them, which come not often, nor continue long upon our Coast; and in that case of dark and misty Weather, never Ships of the Kings of England were better fitted with Ground Tackle, or whole Shots of Cables, that they may ride in the midst of the Chancel: But whensoever the Fog shall vanish, and the Land appear, tho' it were in any part of the Seas, betwixt the North-Foreland in Kent and the *Dudman* in Cornwall, they will be able in few hours to Harbour themselves, howsoever the Wind proves that may endanger them; and therefore, in my Opinion, that which is called Care in some, may be rather term'd Fear in them.

These Masters that I term raw in the King's Ships, not being us'd to the Government of them, it is fit they be put into the right way by the Boatswain, who is best able to instruct them; tho' in these

Letter



latter times, that Ignorance has prevail'd against Knowledge, the Boatwains, by a strict Decree of the Officers of the Navy, are prohibited from taking Charge of the King's Ships, as Masters; but the inconvenience of this Law of theirs, I desire to Argue with our late Reformers.

Another Oversight and Error in these Matters I find, That they cannot distinguish betwixt the Discipline of the King's Service, and their accustom'd Sailing and Working in Merchant's Ships; for tho' in their Instructions in this Voyage they were Commanded to keep a good distance off one another, at their coming to an Anchor, such have been the Master's carelessness to observe this Order, that they have pres'd to be at an Anchor as soon, or as near the Admiral as they could, neither giving Place or Room to the Vice-Admiral, or other Ships of greater Charge or Burthen than themselves: Let this be a Caution to succeeding Times upon the like occasion, That wheresoever a Fleet shall Anchor, either at Sea, Harbour or Road, they suffer the three Flags first to Anchor, who must be careful to take a good Berth from one another, (which done) every Ship as they are divided in Squadrons, is to Anchor a convenient distance from the Admiral of its Squadron, and to take place according to the draught of the Ships, and the depth of the Water they Anchor in.

A Master must moreover observe, after his coming to an Anchor, to examine the Defects of his Ships, and to take Order

for the present Amendment of them.

Thirdly, he must have his Boats ready to fetch Water, Wood, and Ballast, that the want of them be no cause of his stay in Harbour, if he be suddenly Commanded to Sea; or if his Abode be longer than he look'd for, then to send his Men by turns, to walk in the Fields on Shore, some one day and some another, to take the Air, and exercise themselves for their Healths; this will give great satisfaction, and be a refreshing to them and the Ships, when People shall be absent, and the Ship made clean and sweet.

Fourthly, a Master is, at his first arrival in a Port or Rode, to let fall a single Cable and Anchor, unless the Weather force him to Moor with two, which if he do, yet as he shall see an appearance of fair weather, then to weigh One of his Two, that he may be ready to set Sail, if he be Commanded; for a Man of War is like a Post, that has Horse continually Saddled for the King's Service.

Many of these Abuses I confess began to creep in, like Rust into Iron, at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, by the unability of some Officers of the Navy, that then had the Charge of them, who did, as some now-a-days do, presume to order, and dispose of all things of the Sea, tho' they were never 20 Leagues from the Coast; as great a Presumption as for a bred Seaman to take upon him the Office of a Judge in Temporal or Spiritual Affairs.

### *Of the Harbours of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales; the Nature of them, their Depths, and how they bear from one another.*

**T**HE Island of *Silly* is from the Lands end of *Cornwall* 8 Leagues E. N. E. This Harbor of *Silly* has 20 Fathom, and there are Three goings out of it.

The next good Harbour is *Hellford*, little frequented, it has 6 or 7 Fathom Water.

From the *Lizard* to *Falmouth* N. and by E. 4 Leagues; *Falmouth* is in an excellent Harbour, and hath 12, 13, or 14 Fathom.

From *Falmouth* to *Dudman-point* E. and by N. 4 Leagues.

From *Dudman* to *Foy* N. E. 4 Leagues.

From *Foy* to *Ramhead*, 6 Leagues E. N. E. *Plymouth* lies from hence N. N. E. 4 Leagues, and has 4 or 5 Fathom.

From the *Ramhead* to the *Start* 8 Leagues, E. S. E. From the *Start* to *Dartmouth* 3 Leagues N. E. and has 10 or 12 Fathom.

From *Dartmouth* to *Torbay* 4 Leagues N. E. a good Road, at 8 Fathom for a Southwest Wind.

From *Torbay* to *Portland* 13 Leagues E. and by N. and within that Bay lies *Exmouth* and *Lime*. *Portland* is a good Road for a South and a South-west Wind, at 7 or 8 Fathom.

Within *Exmouth* lieth *Weymouth*, a barr'd Haven; and going from thence to the *Needles* in the *Ile of Wight*, lies the Harbour of *Pool*, where you shall have 5 Fathom at half Flood.

From



From *Portland* to the *Needles* 11 Leagues, E. and by N. From thence to *St. Helens* 7 Leagues.

Within the Harbour lies the Haven of *Lumington* and *Southampton*, and within that, *Water-Hamble*; and to the E. *Portsmouth*, an excellent Harbour; and in the Isle of *Wight*, *Newport* and *New-Town*.

From *St. Helens* to *Beebie* 16 Leagues, E. N. E. Betwixt them lies *Chichester*, *Arundel*, *Shoreham*, and *Newhaven*, all bad Harbours.

From *Beebie* to the *Shingle*, E. N. E. 8 Leagues. Betwixt them lies *Rye*, a dry Harbour.

From the *Shingle* to *Dover* 9 Leagues N. E.

From *Dover* to the *Downs*, and so to the N. *Foreland* 7 Leagues; there lies betwixt them *Sandwich*, a barr'd Haven.

From the *North-Foreland* to *Orford-Nefs*, leaving the Island of *Sheppey*, and the Course to *London* on the Larboard-side.

*Harwich* is the best Harbour upon all that Coast, and indeed the best betwixt it and the *Fribe* in *Scotland*.

From *Orford-Nefs*, the Coast lies N. W. 29 Leagues from *Flamborough-head*. There lies betwixt them *Sole*, *Leftock*, *Yarmouth*, *Cramer*, *Blackney*, *Burnam*; from thence to *Boston*, *South-East*, and to *Lynn West*, you pass many dangerous Sands in going into these two Places.

From *Boston* to *Hull* and *Burlington*, you must go N. and N. and by E.

From *Flamborough-head* to *Scarborough* 6 Leagues N. W. From hence to *Whitby* 5 Leagues.

From thence to *Hartlepool* 7 Leagues W. N. W. From *Hartlepool* to *Tinnmouth* N. N. E. 9 Leagues, and so up to *New-castle*.

From *Tinnmouth* to *Cockitt-Island*, N. N. W. 7 Leagues. And thus much for the Northern Coast.

Now I will return into the other parts of England and Wales.

From the Island of *Ramsay*, or the North part of *Wales*, lye the *Bishop* and the *Clerks*, Rocks of great danger; Two Leagues from thence lies the Island of *Grafhorne*.

From thence to *Milford-Haven* Three Leagues, and the going in is N. E. one of the best Harbours in the World; it hath a Rock in the middle of it at the Entrance.

From *Milford* to *St. Gore's Point* Two Leagues, and from thence to the *Nefs*, E. 17 Leagues; there lies betwixt them the Island of *Coarday*, *Tinnye*, and the Point called *Wormhead*.

From the *Nesse* to *Steeptorne*, E. S. E.

7 Leagues; from thence to *Bristol*, N. and by E. 12 Leagues; there is betwixt the *Nefs* and *Bristol* the Islands of *Barrey* and *Scilly*, *Cardiff*, *Newport* and *Chepstow*, all barr'd Havens.

Now to the English Shore.

From the *Holmes* to *Lundy*, W. S. W. 20 Leagues; there is betwixt them *Helford-Combe*, a narrow going in, but 3 or 4 Fathom within.

From thence to *Biddiford* S. S. W. 7 Leagues; it has Two Divisions, the one goes into *Barnstaple*, the other into *Biddiford*, barr'd Havens.

From thence to *Lundy*, N. N. W. 5 Leagues; here you may Anchor on both the sides of the Island, at 14 or 15 Fathom.

From *Lundy* to the Cape of *Cornwall* 28 Leagues S. W. and from thence to the *Lands-end* 5 Leagues S. there lies betwixt *Lundy* and the *Lands-end*, *Padstow*, *St. Ives*, and some other Creeks, all barr'd Havens.

The Coast of Scotland, and of the Islands.

The Island of *Sherland* is the place where the *Hollanders* begin their great Fishing, in the Harbour call'd *Brajsund*, which is an excellent Harbour, where all their Busses meet, and begin their Fishing the 23 of *June*. At the North Point of the Island, there is a good Harbour, call'd *Blansound*, which you may Sail through, from one side of the Harbour to the other.

There is another good Harbour call'd the *Magnus Haven*, and an Island where Ships may go, and ride about it; and behind it a Harbour called *Hamborough-Haven*.

West from *Scotland*, and North from *Ireland*, there lye many Islands, antiently call'd the *Hybrides*, in most of these Islands there are excellent Harbours.

The *Lewes* is the best of the Islands, which the *English* have now Planted, for conveniency of Fishing; it is in length 29 Leagues S. S. W. and N. N. E.

The Islands of *Orkney* are 21 in number. The Island of *Wayer* lies N. N. E. from *Catness* in *Scotland*, and but 5 Leagues from it; you may Sail through these Islands in many places by *Catness*, and S. from *Sanda*, and come out again.

From *Catness* upon the main Land, and the Promontory of *Scotland* to *Buckerness*, 21 Leagues S. E. Betwixt them are many good Harbours, *Dermecke*, *Ross*, and *Lew-ernesse*.

From *Buckerness* to *Aberdine* 13 Leagues S. S. W. From thence to *Mont-Rosse*, S. W. and by S. 4 Leagues; To *Dundee* S. and after S. S. W. From

From *Dundee* to the *Ile of May* S. W. 6 Leagues. From *May* to the *Baſt*, and up to *Leith*, 9 Leagues.

From the *Baſt* to the *Tape-Head*, W. 6 Leagues. From the *Tape-Head* to *Berwick* S. S. E. 5 Leagues.

*The Harbours in Ireland.*

The *Black Rock*, and *Cape Dunſie* S. and by W. 53 Leagues; and between them the Haven of *Galloway*.

From *Galloway* to the *Iſland of Arran*, 6 Leagues; From thence to *Limerick* S. 9 Leagues.

From *Galloway* to *Blisques* S. S. W. 16 Leagues. From *Blisques* to *Dunſeis* S. E. 21 Leagues.

From *Cape Cleer* to the *Old Head of Kingsſay* E. and by N. 12 Leagues.

From the *Old Head* to *Cork* N. E. and by E. a great League.

From *Cork* to the *East Point of Waterford* E. N. E. 20 Leagues; the whole Southern Coaſt lies E. N. E. and W. S. W. and betwixt *Cork* and *Waterford* lies *Yockill* E. N. E. from *Cork* 6 Leagues.

Five Leagues from *Yockill* E. lies *Dunſie*, lying in N. N. W.

From *Yockill* to *Waterford* E. N. E. 12 Leagues; the Haven of *Waterford* lies in N. and by W.

From *Waterford* to *Wexford*, the *Iſland of Saltes* lying in the way, you may goe betwixt it and the main Land E. from *Waterford* from *Saltes* to *Wexford* Five Leagues.

From *Wexford* to *Wexford*, N. and by W. 5 Leagues.

From *Wexford* to *Dublin* N. and by W. 5 Leagues.

Five Leagues from *Dublin* lies the Harbour of *Drogheda*.

From *Drogheda* to *Dundalke* 7 Leagues.

*An Obſervation I gather of the State of the Harbours aforeſaid, and the advantage an Enemy may take of them to annoy us.*

Of ſo many Harbours that *England* affords, and Towns ſeated upon them, as aforeſaid, there are but theſe following of any Importance to entertain Ships of Burthen (*viz.*) On the South Coaſt, *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, *Humbſe*; lying within the *Iſland of St. Nicholas*, *Dartmouth*, *Portsmouth*, and thoſe within the *Iſle of Wight*; to the Northward, *Harwich*, *Lyn* and *Humber*; the Two laſt are frequented moſt by Ships of their own, full of Danger and Sands, little known to any others, but to themſelves; I will therefore ſay little of them.

Over againſt the Harbours on the South

Coaſt of *England*, *France* is ſeated, and namely *Normandy* and *Picardy*, which we may thank God does not afford ſo good a Harbour upon all that Coaſt, as the worſt of theſe I have named; otherwiſe our Forefathers had taſted the danger of them many Ages before ours; and we in this time ſhould find it a dangerous thing to have Neighbourhood with good Harbours, now *France* labours to be great in Shipping.

The Harbours of greateſt conſequence, and for us moſt to fear, are *Breſt* and *Bluett*, 40 and odd Leagues aſunder, and both of them to the Eutward of *Uſtant*, the Head Land of *Britany*, which muſt be doubled before they can come into our Channel, and that Eaſtly Wind which brings them about *Uſtant*, will be againſt the Recovery of any Harbour in *England*. Or if they think by their Fleet to intercept our Trades, or to have any other Deſigns upon us, they will be brought betwixt *Silla* and *Caribba*; for betwixt their Coaſt and ours, it is not above 23 or 26 Leagues in moſt places; ſo that if they be taken with a Storm at N. W. they are caſt upon their own ſhore, where they ſhall find neither Harbour nor Road to receive them, but that the mercileſs Sea will devour them: And the like Effect they will find with a Southerly Wind upon our Coaſt, unleſs they were Reliev'd with our open Roads, which their own Coaſts yield not. In my Filth Book of Projects and Stratagems, I have ſpoken more largely to this Point; and to conclude, Tho' *France* ſhould be able to keep Fleets in our Channel in the Summer ſeaſon, when they ſhall find the Weather Fair, and the Night Short; on the contrary, in Winter with a Southerly Wind, Storms and long Nights, they will find themſelves deſtitute of Harbours on both ſides to Relieve their Ships, when they are in the Channel.

And as for *Milford Haven* in *Wales*, whoſe Harbour for Goodneſs exceeds all other Harbours in *Europe*, if an Enemy ſhould enjoy it, it would little avail him, for all Conquerors will covet to draw into the heart of the Country they enter, and where the greateſt Cities are ſeated, and moſt People reſorts to them. Let us compare it with *London*, 200 Miles from it, and let us enter into the Condition of *Wales*, and the Poverty of it; where the huge Mountains will hinder the Paſſage, and the Transportation of their Carriages; conſider likewiſe the time *England* will gain, to gather all its Forces together to withſtand them, and the diſtance an Enemy

Enemy shall march from their Ships if they be forced to retire, and shall be destitute of all other supplies or helps; this will be advantage sufficient for us: Neither can an Enemy steal so suddenly upon us, but that our Fleet will be ready speedily to bid them welcome. These Reasons consider'd, *Milford Haven* will be made as secure as any Port of England.

*The State of Ireland.*

There are many choice and good Harbours in *Ireland*, as commonly there are in most Countries where there is least Trade. The more and the better they are, the greater the Danger to *England*, because an Invasion in *Ireland* does as much concern us, as if it were attempted in *England*. Where there are so many Ports as in *Ireland*, they cannot so easily be fortified and made strong, as if they were fewer, whereby the Defence of that Kingdom must depend, upon the faithful Hearts of Subjects, who heretofore have been apt in all Ages to shew the contrary, as appears by their many Rebellions.

The Southern Coast of *Ireland* is in the Nature of *England*; a Southerly Wind being dangerous to both, and the greater to *Ireland*, because the Coast is more subject to Mists and Fogs, so that no Art or Skill can preserve a Ship, if she be forc'd to bear in upon a Lee Shore she has not made.

I have declar'd in my Fifth Book the Danger of an Invasion in *Ireland*, and the best Remedy to avoid it by a Fleet at Sea, to which I refer you; but the safest and securest Course I can think on to defend that Kingdom, is to draw the People, by Justice and good Usage, to Love and Obedience; for then shall their Hearts and Hands be join'd, and made to concur together, for defence of their King and Country. Both they and we see, that of late Years by Peace they are taught how to grow Rich, which before they were not: They find by his Majesty's conniving with them in Religion, it has mollify'd their Hearts, that they are not so hardned as formerly they have been, as appears by their voluntry Disbursements when his Majesty requires it of them.

I am of a contrary Opinion to an ancient Position held in former times by our Statesmen of *England*, that the safest way to Govern the People of *Ireland*, was by keeping them Under, Poor, Needy and Ignorant, like Men barbarously bred; whereas on the contrary, we see by Proof of late times, that by our good and friendly Usage they are made more tractable to Reason, and understand the difference

betwixt civil Conversation and their former Education. They are grown to that familiarity with us, and our Dispositions, that if Religion did not hinder it, they would make no more difference to marry with us than amongst themselves, and hold it for an Honour to derive themselves from *English* blood.

We must confess it for a Truth, that they made our King and both our Countries more famous of late years than in former times, by the esteem they have gain'd in our renown'd Actions of War, where they have serv'd; for those People that were wont to be call'd by the Name of *Kernes*, have obtain'd the prime Places of Honourable Employment, which I impute to Three Causes: The First is to their late Civil Breeding and Conversation, in comparison of times past. Secondly, That they are not prohibited serving any Prince or State, whereby all ancient Jealousies are taken away. Thirdly, They have that Liberty and Freedom, that they apply themselves to all Gentleman-like Exercises, both of Learning and Languages, by which they insinuate into the Acquaintance of other Nations and People, from whom they learn their Customs of Civil and Mannerly Behaviour, acknowledging that Preferment comes by Virtue and not by Vice. By this Alteration, his Majesty shall regain Sober Subjects, that have been seduc'd by Evil Magistrates.

*Of Scotland.*

*Scotland* in divers parts thereof, but especially in the Islands of *Orkney* and *Hybrides*, has many large and good Harbours, and more Ships of their own to uphold Trade than *Ireland* has, much to the shame of *Ireland*, which has a more fruitful Country, and lies by many degrees more convenient for Trade than *Scotland* does, to the rich Countries of *France*, *Spain*, the States, and all Southern Parts, which afford the greatest Plenty of Wealth; for from *Ireland* they may be sooner in those Places aforesaid, than from some part of *Scotland* to *Ireland*, where they are to begin their Voyage.

We and other Nations find that *Ireland* many times proves a safety to Ships, Men and Goods, as it is seated and placed; for Ships that are to pass into our Chanel from the Southward to *England*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, or any Part of the East Country, if such Vessels be taken with an Easterly Wind before they recover *Scilly* or *Falmouth*, or fail of Victuals, or otherwise distress'd, *Ireland* lies open to entertain them, which no other Shore can do

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with that Wind, and much less *Scotland*, which is so far to the Northward, and out of all manner of Trade.

It is pity *Scotland* is not placed where *Ireland* is, considering the difference of the Industry of their People; for tho' the Country of *Scotland* yields no Commodities worthy of Transportation, whereby to make them Rich, or can take off any Merchandize that is brought them, by reason of the Barrenness of their Soil, and the Coldness of their Climate, that produces nothing of value to exchange for it, yet they live not Idly and Lazily, as the *Irish* do, but maintain a number of Ships to carry out and bring back such Commodities as the Country affords, or their People stand in need of.

Another happiness to us, is, that *Scotland* can make no use of their Harbours to benefit an Enemy to our annoyance; for *Scotland* has two impregnable Defences, which are no less beneficial to *England*, viz. Hunger and Cold, that it can no way aid an Enemy to Invade *England* from thence, either with Victuals or other Provisions.

I have often marvel'd with my self, that in our Forefathers Days, who liv'd in the time of Hostility betwixt us and *Scotland*, they had not so much foreseeing Providence, as being Masters of the Sea, to en-

deavour to cut off all the Ships, Barques and Boats, that belong'd to their Kingdom, which had been easily effected, or without Resistance; for then they had left *Scotland* to it self, without help from abroad, and forc'd them to make use of their own Commodities amongst themselves; by which means they should never have tasted the deliciousness of Wines, or other delightful things of several kinds which other Countries produce: Thus would *England* have had a greater Power over them than by force of Arms, and would sooner have brought them to Uniformity and Obedience to us, than by any Course of Cruelty: The Seamen would have soon forgotten their Employment, and betaken themselves to their Trades for food. And one thing I must say in their Commendation, that their People are naturally apt to the Sea; they would soon attain to the Excellency of Pilots, which grows by their dangerous and difficult Navigations, which makes them more vigilant than otherwise they would be; and in the Places where they generally traffick, they are held worthy of the Charge they take upon them; they are no less esteem'd than trusted for their honest Contracts they make with their Merchants, and it is a Means they are sooner freighted than others that carry greater Reputation and Wealth.

### *A Proposition to the Parliament on all the foregoing Contents of this Book.*

I Need not make a particular Repetition of what is contain'd in this Third Book, because it is open to your Eyes to behold, view and read; it tends to the State of his Majesty's Navy, and the Abuse that is crept in by unexperienc'd Carelessness, if not corrupt Officers, and such as regard their own Profit more than the King's Service: Withal, I set down a Means of Reformation, which I presented to his Majesty, part whereof was written at the request of Sir *Robert Cecil*, not long before the Queen died; the rest I refer to my Fifth Book.

I will apply my self to you, the Lords and Gentlemen of Parliament, for these Reasons; The First, because it concerns you more than others, who are the Mouths and Men chiefly trusted by the Multitude of the Commonwealth, that makes Election of you, above others, to speak their Cause. Secondly, in matter of Security to the State, for you have the same Interest with them, as being embarked all

in one Ship; so that, if one drowns, the rest must be Shipwreck'd. And Lastly, because you are the People elected and chosen from the rest, for your Grave and Judicious Understandings, that can Distinguish and Determine according to Reason, what shall be propos'd for the good of the Commonwealth, which makes me say the less, but refer all to your wife Considerations.

The great, and indeed the greatest, Matter of Importance to the State, is his Majesty's Navy, properly call'd the Walls and Bulwarks of *England*; for our Ships flourishing bring Safety to the Kingdom, and Terror to others; your selves may challenge an Interest in this Royal Navy, as Jewels annexed to the Crown, that cannot be separated from it; for tho' the King have the disposing of them, and the only employing them, yet they are like his Houses and Lands that are Entail'd upon the Crown, and the King can use them but for Life.

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The Kingdom of Portugal falling to Philip II. King of Spain, who came in rather by the Sword, than Consent of the Subjects, yet they drew him to large Conditions for their Freedom: And amongst the rest, because that Kingdom stood upon Reputation of Shipping, they enjoyn'd him to annex 12 Gallies by way of Entail on the Crown of Portugal for so many brave Ships he there found, as appear'd by the goodly Vessel call'd the *St. Matthew*, which I knew, and saw broke up with Age, after she had been Admiral of the Fleet, with the Marquess of *Sta. Cruz*, who overthrew Monsieur *La Strazze* at the Islands of *Tercera* in 1580. and after she had been Admiral for England in 1588. with the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*; and lastly, in that Service and Fleet, that took Sir Richard Greenwill and the *Revenge* in 1591.

And seeing we have Precedents of other Times, and of other Countries, to parallel with us, for the preserving the Honour of England by our Navy, but especially because it concerns us more than the firm Land, we being an Island that can neither defend our selves, nor offend others, without the help of Shipping, I do humbly crave your favourable Ears to incline to my Propositions following.

That besides the ordinary and yearly Expence His Majesty contributes to the Ships in Harbour, you will please to add a certain Annual Proportion, and to confirm it by Act of Parliament, to be employ'd as the Parliament shall direct, or as the ensuing Project shall seem acceptable.

I know that whatsoever I shall propose by way of Imposition, the Word is obnoxious, and you will answer me with a general Negative, by Example of the Grants of Customs, that in continuance of Time are grown Hereditary: But let the Importance of this weighty Business concerning the King's Navy move you according to Reason, and to devise the easiest way, and with the least Charge, how His Majesty's Ships may be immediately sent to Sea upon an unexpected Occasion.

The Sum that shall come from you by a voluntary Gift, not to exceed 20000 *l. per Annum*, the Moneys to be rated and rais'd at the Discretion of Justices, Knights and Gentlemen of the Shire, a Treasurer and other Officers to be nominated by the Parliament; and if any Innovation shall be attempted to alter this form of Government, the Payment to cease.

That certain Commissioners be appointed

for Two Years space to view and provide, that all Materials and Provisions be kept safe in Magazines, and no other than themselves to dispose of them; and every second Michaelmas Term to meet and settle all Things in good order, that at the next Sitting of the Parliament it may be presented to the Two Houses.

This will prove more easeful to the Country, and less burthenome to the People, by ten degrees, than has been of late years taken, (*viz.*) To call upon them for great Sums, and to be suddenly rated and rais'd by the Assessment of one private Man, that shall for that present Year be chose Sheriff, and such a one, if Complaints be true, as carries a hand of too great Partiality.

By the good Husbanding and Management of this 20000 *l. per Annum*, there will always be ready in Cash so much Money as will, with little help from the King, be able to put his Ships to Sea, without otherwise being beholden to his Subjects; for it is to be suppos'd, that Kings will not have yearly occasion to employ their Ships, by means whereof the stock of 20000 *l.* will encrease.

Out of this 20000 *l.* there may be Provision made to allow 30 able and expert Captains, each of them 40 Marks or 40 *l. per Annum*, the time they are out of Employment, enjoining them to give their Attendance when they shall be call'd upon: Every Man shall know the Ship he is to command, and no Man will be so impudent, as to seek to put him from it when Employment is spoken of.

They shall hold their Places, their Pensions, and Employments, according to their civil Carriage and Behaviour; for by their Example, others that expect future Preferment must imitate them in their Rule of Life.

Of all Disorders, they must abandon Drinking, Quarrelling, and the Occasion that riseth out of such Vices; for if they consider it, Drunkenness is but a short Madness, and therefore unfit a Mad-man should govern others, that cannot govern himself. This will be the way to gain a brave Reputation in their Youth, and an Encouragement for Gentlemen to employ their Sons upon such Services, on hope of Preferment; and it may be a means for the King to take the Example of the King of Portugal, who instituted, That Gentlemen, according to their Degrees and Births, should have Employment at Sea, and Pensions of the King for Life, which they call *Fuero*. Every Gentleman takes his Place according to his Pension

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and Quality; and it is not amiss, seeing I am upon this Subject, to set down, That the occasion of the Discontent of *Ferdinand Magellaens* or *Magellan*, the Discoverer of that *Straight* which took Name of him, was upon this cause; for which, he left his King's Service, and became a Creature to *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, who employ'd him.

*Magellan* was a Gentleman well deserving, and on account of the Institution aforesaid, he w<sup>d</sup> to the King of *Portugal* for a Pension of three Ducats per Month for himself, and half as much for his Son, who was a towardly young Gentleman. The King willingly granted him Two and an half, but absolutely refus'd his Son; which he took for so great an Indignity, that he left the King's Service and fled in-

to *Spain*, where he was employ'd by the King and Cardinal *Ximenes* in that noble Voyage about the World, which was perform'd by his Ship, tho' he was slain himself. This Enterprize of his was prejudicial to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and he got the Name of a Fugitive and Traytor by it.

To make out this Degree of Gentlemen, and their Employment, I have spoken of, I was acquainted with it when Sir *Richard Lewson* and I took the *Carrack* in *Zezimbra* Road; for when I went aboard her to treat about her yielding, I found 400 Gentlemen of this Fraternity with Arms to defend her, all apparell'd like Courtiers for their Reputation they held by their Employment and Place.

### The beginning of our Resort to the East-Indies.

THO' the Queen was so wholly taken up with her Warlike Actions by Sea with *Spain*, which continu'd the space of 18 years, that neither she nor her Merchants had leisure nor opportunity to settle new Trades in far and remote Countries, as the *East-Indies*, and other Places, which King *James* of famous Memory did, when he enjoy'd both Crown and Peace, as shall appear when I Treat of his and King *Charles*'s Actions by Sea; yet because those Ages and Kings Reigns shall be honour'd as they truly deserve, I will speak of the famous Enterprizes undertaken in the Queen's time to the *East-Indies*: The first by Sir *Francis Drake* in 1578. the second by Mr. *Cavendish* in 1586. the third by Capt. *Raymond* in 1591. and the fourth by our Merchants of *London* in 1603. to whom the Queen granted her Letters Patents for the space of 15 years, which was after continu'd and enlarg'd by King *James* in the year 1609. to remain for ever. Whereupon the *East-India* Merchants built in the same year the goodliest and the greatest Ship that ever was fram'd in this Kingdom, tho' she prov'd not so fortunate to them as Ships of less burthen that I have spoke of in my Second Book.

The encrease of great Ships in *England* may be deriv'd from this beginning, and to make it the more wonderful, it is strange, if we consider the few Ships, and the small Burthen of them in the Memory of Man, to what they are now; for till of late, which perhaps few will believe, the greatest part of our Ships of Burthen was either bought or built out of

the East Country, who likewise enjoy'd the greatest Trade of our Merchants in their own Vessels.

And to bid Adieu to that Trade and those Ships, the *Jesum of Lubeck*, a Vessel of great Burthen and Strength in those days, was the last Ship bought by the Queen, which in the year 1564. was cast away in the Port of *St. John de Ulva* in *New Spain*, under the Command of Sir *John Hawkins*; and from that time to this, if we consider, the encrease of Ships which *England* Trades withal, but especially of later Times in the Reign of King *James* and King *Charles*, we have great cause to give God humble Thanks for his Blessing pour'd upon us, for our Strength of Ships, and Wealth of Subjects, both much increas'd by our Navigation.

I cannot say, our first Voyages to the *East-Indies* were by the way of Traffick, as our later years have produc'd: Captain *Raymond* was accompanied with the *Penelope*, a Ship of his own, with the Merchant *Royal*, and *Edward Bonadventure*, three prime Ships at that time both in Greatness and Goodness: Their Employment was to obstruct the Trade of the *Portugueses*, and to seize their Goods by way of Letters of Repriſal.

These three unfortunate Ships arriv'd at the Cape of Good Hope, where they resolv'd to send home the Merchant *Royal* with the sick Men, and to proceed on their pretended Voyage design'd in *England*; but Captain *Raymond* himself was unhappily swallow'd up in the Sea 50 Leagues from the Cape: The *Edward Bonadventure* per-

perform'd her Voyage, but fail'd as the rest did in the hope of Profit; for neither the Men nor the Adventurers were a Penny the better for that Voyage, and unluckily at her return, after she had pass'd many Miseries and Dangers, at last she arriv'd in the *West-Indies*, whither she went for Relief, being mightily distressed. And arriving at the Island of *Mona*, her Company resolv'd to cut her Cables to drive ashore, choosing rather to do such an unworthy Act, than to venture into *England* with her, their Case was so desperate.

Most part of her Men were sav'd, by a *French* Pirate that hover'd about that Island, one of whom, *Henry May* by Name,

was embark'd in the said *French* Ship, and in her return homeward was wreck'd on the Island of *Bermuda*, who gave us the first publick Knowledge of that Island; for before it was suppos'd to be enchanted, and possess'd by Spirits, tho' I knew the contrary; for above 20 years before this happen'd, I was acquainted with a *French* Captain, called *Russell*, who was also Shipwreck'd upon the same Island, and escap'd by means of a Boat, he and his Company made out of the Materials of the said Ship, in which with great hazard they arriv'd upon the Coast of *Newfoundland*, where they were reliev'd by Fishermen of their own Country.

### The Competition betwixt France and Spain by Sea, and Conclusion of the Third Book.

A *French* Man meeting a *Spaniard* or *Portuguese* beyond the Line, or in either of the two *Indies*, they hold it a thing justifiable by Law to seize upon either, especially if they make the first Shot at the *French* Man; pretending that he gave the first Offence, and that thereupon they offer'd him Violence, and that themselves are but Defendants.

The *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* answer to this; That the *French* being no Discoverers of Countries beyond the Line, or in the *Indies*, they can challenge no more Right to the Countries and Seas, than Pirates of other Nations can do; neither have they any colour to haunt those Shores and Seas but with a purpose to rob and spoil, seeing they and all Nations besides know the King of *Spain* prohibits any Traffick in those Parts, but to his own *Spanish* Subjects.

They further say, There is no Ship but will in her own Defence, being chas'd by another and ready to be assail'd and boarded, shoot first; for it is an old Rule in a Quarrel, *That he has the Advantage who gives the first Blow*: And therefore this lawful Resistance of a poor Merchant Ship, that goes not out of his way to seek others, but avoid meeting of all, cannot be reckon'd a Breach of Peace, and consequently a Forfeit of Ship and Goods; this is against the Law of Nature, for a Worm, if she be trod on, will turn.

And besides, whereas Merchant Ships go commonly Arm'd to defend themselves against Enemies; by this Law, and contrary to all Sense and Reason, their Safety must consist in going Unarm'd, that they may be unable to make Defence, lest

they be quarrell'd with, and thereby made a Prey to all Ships they shall meet at Sea.

The Assailant, whom you may properly call a Pirate, has sometimes other Pretences; as namely, the want of Victuals, or their Ship being leaky or ready to founder, to exchange Ships with them.

The *Spaniard* desires, That these deceitful Excuses, and false Pretences, may with Uprightness be consider'd To the first, they say, That a Merchant Ship that carries 10 Men, cannot afford two days Victuals to a Man of War that carries 100 Men, for ten days Victuals after that proportion is but half a day's Victuals to a Ship of War.

To the second, it is to be consider'd, that if one Ship be exchange'd for another at Sea, it must be the Stronger that compels the Weaker to it; and as a Thief that robs by Land makes the Offence much more horrible by committing Murder, so does the Ship in this case; for if 100 Men be not able to keep the Ship above Water with their Pump or Baling, what shall 10 Men do in that Ship, but sink or perish with Patience? Here is both Theft and Murder committed upon poor innocent People, that offer no Man Molestation, nor go out of their Course to seek Acquaintance: But if this stands for a Law, a Pirate will make no Conscience to bore a Leak in his own Ship to serve for an Excuse.

Therefore I conclude, it is not the first Shot that can be adjudg'd a Breach of Peace betwixt two Ships that accidentally meet at Sea, or that it shall make the Assailant's Cause the better; for in truth, the Offence is given by the Ship that chases,

and has no cause to do it, but only to give an occasion of Quarrel, that thereby he may rob and spoil him: He it is, I say, that deserves Punishment as a Pirate, and not the poor Defendant, that does no more than Nature and Reason oblige him to.

I would ask a *French Man*, whether if a *Spaniard* should meet him upon the Coast of *Canada*, where the *French* have a Plantation, and there chase him, and that the *French Man* for his Safety should fire at him, he would think it Reason that the *Spaniard* should take and enjoy him as lawful Prize? No, I am rather of opinion, that the *French Man* will believe as I do, that the *Spaniard* is worthy to be hang'd for a Pirate.

And yet the Comparison is not alike, for the *French* cannot account *Canada* their own, as the *Spaniards* may do the *Indies*, because *Canada* was first discover'd by the *English* in the days of *Henry the Seventh*, as all the World acknowledges, and none but the first Discoverers can pretend Title to any Land newly discover'd.

This is the Title by which the King of *Spain* holds his *Indie*, both *East* and *West*; and this is the Title by which the King of *England* holds that part of *America*, from 58 to 38 Degrees, and has held it since the Discovery of it by *Sebastian Cabor*, and not above two Years after *Columbus* found the *West-Indies*; and by this Right likewise the King holds the Islands of *Greenland* ever since the Year 1607. when discover'd by his Subjects: And moreover I say, that such Kings as are Discoverers of new or unknown Lands, are bound in Equity and Reason to defend one anothers Titles in this Point, and not to Connive or give Assistance to any other Prince or Country to break this Law and Custom, for other Nations to incroach upon them; for they had as good disclaim their own Rights, and suffer all other Dominions to usurp over them: It is the case of our *Fishing*, which *Holland* impugns.

When King *James* granted his Patents for the planting *America*, he would always admonish the Patentees to be sure to keep to the Northward, lest they should plant in such Places, as the *Spaniards* might challenge to be within the compass of their Discoveries; for he ever intimated, that he would defend them no farther than the Articles of Peace did warrant him, and if they did otherwise, they were to stand upon their own Legs. This I have been often told by the Secretary of State, who is acquainted therewith.

This Limitation Princes put upon their own Subjects in giving them Patents,

which Subjects duly observe. Queen *Isabel* of *Castile* would not suffer her Husband's Subjects of *Aragon* to go to the *West-Indies* many years after the Discovery of them, because she and her *Castilians* had the Honour and Fortune to find them.

The *Portugueses* to this day enjoy their ancient and accustom'd Trade to the *East-Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazile*, and the *Spaniards* are not suffer'd to go there, because the *Portugueses* were the first Discoverers of them.

Our King out of some Considerations prohibits the Trades of the *East-Indies*, *Russia*, *Greenland*, and *Turky*, but only to some particular Subjects, to whom he grants his Patent.

The *Hollanders*, who are refractory to all good Laws and Institutions establish'd by Kings, however observe this Rule among themselves, That they will not suffer any of their People to Trade to the *East-Indies*, but those whom they incorporate, and call, *The East-India Company*. And tho' *William Cornelius Scowden* has discover'd another Passage into the South Sea, than through the Straights of *Magellan*, a Voyage of Fame to the Undertakers and Nation; yet at his arrival in the *East-Indies*, where he thought to have found Succour and Relief from his Countrymen, most ungratefully and cruelly they seiz'd him, his Ship, and all he had, and us'd him as rigorously and unnaturally as if he had been a profess'd Enemy or Pirate.

The *French* above all other Nations have always impugn'd the Right of the first Discoverers, but not without the great Punishment and just Judgment of God upon them, as appears by many of their Actions; as namely, in *Canada*, which was taken and spoil'd by us in 1628. as also in *Florida* and *Brazil*, that was destroy'd and ruin'd by the *Spaniards*; and it is worthy of Note, That they never liv'd in any of these Colonies, but Civil Dissentions, Famine, and Murders, fell upon them; a just Reward for the Injustice they did.

The King of *Spain* is so cautious not to give Offence in this case, that when *Greenland* was discover'd by the *English*, some of his *Biscay* Subjects repair'd thither to kill the Whale for Oyl, being more expert therein than any other Nation: But the King of *Spain* considering what Wrong was done to the King of *England* by it, and that it might concern him in the like Case to have his *Indies* incroach'd upon, he prohibited his Subjects going to *Greenland* to molest or hinder the *English* in their

*Fish.*

Fishing, and afterwards gave Assistance to the *English*, and instructed them in the manner of their Whale-killing.

Subjects that desire to plant in Countries they have not discover'd, and therefore can claim no Title to them, run many desperate and unavoidable Perils; First, because the Articles of Peace do not warrant them, for by that Law of Peace we are only to enjoy our ancient and accusom'd Trades; secondly, they go upon their own Adventure, for the King will not breake League with *Spain* for their particular Cause; Thirdly, they live in perpetual Danger from their Neighbours near adjoining, whom they may term Enemies; but principally I would have them consider, what an excessive Charge they undergo before they can bring their Country to perfection, which affords nothing but Wood, Water, and Grass: To instance in an Island of 10 or 12 Miles in length, and half so much in breadth, which some *English* Men have with a wonderful Charge of late years planted, and I fear with little hope of Profit to return to them: But I make account no Man can be so ignorant as not to know, that such Undertakers do it for other Ends, or have other hopes of Gain, than to reap it out of the Earth of 10 or 12 Miles.

But it is rather suspected, they do it to nourish and uphold Piracies, that by the Spoils thereof they may be the better able to maintain that Island, or to give a Distast to *Spain*, with whom they desire His Majesty should have War, not considering what the End of War is, and how difficult it is to make a Peace after such a War is once begun by two great Princes.

But now to return to my former Proposition or Argument, of the Competition betwixt *France* and *Spain*, of the *French* surprizing the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* beyond the Line; I will conclude of nothing, only deliver my Opinion, what *France* had to say in its own Defence.

Sir *Francis Drake* returning from his famous and fortunate Voyage round the World in 1580. the Queen found, that by the Passage through the Streights of *Magellan*, which *Drake* had gone, there might be Convenience, if ever there happen'd Hostility betwixt Her and the King of *Spain*, to annoy him in the South Sea, from whence all his Treasure and Wealth was brought, and after dispers'd through the World. In the year 1582. she employ'd two good Ships as any in the Kingdom, except her own and Committee, the Conduction thereof to Captain *Fenton*,

and *Ward* to prosecute the same Voyage that *Drake* had happily perform'd and taught them.

But as nothing is more uncertain than the Chances and Successes at Sea, being govern'd by unconstant Winds and Waves; so did this Voyage of Mr. *Fenton's* prove most unlucky, for they fail'd in all their Designs, as you may find in Mr. *Hacklin's* Book, to which I refer you.

The King of *Spain* having Intelligence of the Design of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Preparations of the Ships aforesaid to perform her Intentions in the South Sea; and knowing it could not be brought to pass but through the Streight of *Magellan*, he directed his Letters to *Lima* in *Peru*, commanding one *Pedro Sarmiento*, a choice and perfect Navigator, to pass from *Lima* to the Streights of *Magellan*, that way by the South Sea, which was never before purposely attempted, for by reason of the forcible Westerly Winds that blow upon that Coast, which makes it a continual Lee Shore, it is not to be enterpris'd without great Peril to the Undertakers.

*Pedro Sarmiento* with two small Ships proceeded upon that Voyage as he was directed by the King, one of them return'd again to *Lima*, the other, in which *Sarmiento* was, recover'd the Streights, and so pass'd into *Spain*, giving the King an Account of the narrowness of the Streight, in order to fortifie it, and to endeavour to stop any Ships that should attempt to pass that way, but all was taste, and the King egregiously abus'd by his Report, for there was no Place within that Streight less than 3 Miles in breadth. He likewise gave a favourable Report of the Pleasantness and Richness of the Soil, to encourage Men there to inhabit; but in the end it prov'd the most unhappy and unfortunate Expedition that ever the *Spaniards* undertook.

The King being pleas'd with this Intelligence, hoping thereby he might intercept all Ships passing that way, and secure his Coast of *Peru*, *Chile*, and other Places, which afford him all his Treasure, he sent 23 great Galeons and 3500 old Soldiers under the Command of Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, a principal Commander by Sea; he also sent the said *Pedro Sarmiento*, with Commission to erect Fortifications within the Streights, and to take upon him the Title of Governor. But as I have spoken somewhat of the Mishap of our *English* Ships, so I must say the *Spanish* Fleet succeeded ten times worse, for of the 23 Galeons and the 3500 Soldiers aforesaid, few Ships or Men return'd, which

which was a great loss to *Spain* at that time; for in 2 or 3 years after ensid the Wars betwixt them and us.

Those Soldiers design'd for the *Streights* being cross'd with contrary Winds, and other Vexations, at last arriv'd there with their Governor *Sarmiento*, and there seated and fortifi'd themselves in two Places; but cunningly and secretly *Sarmiento* seem'd to go from one Place to visit another, and foreseeing the Calamity his Men and he were like to fall into, (for neither the Land nor Soil, or the narrowness of the Streight, was answerable to his Relation) and being altogether hopeless of Relief or Succour from *Spain*, he quitted the Place, and treacherously ran away in his Bark, pretending, after his arrival in *Spain*, that he was perforce put from his Cable and Anchor, he rid by, and could not return again for Wind and Weather.

In this base manner he left his poor Country-men in 1584, and in two years after, in 1586. Mr. *Gavendish* passing the *Streights* in his Voyage round the World, found but three of those poor Creatures living, and the Place so infected with the Carcasses of those Dead, that it was not to be endur'd. He found only 6 Pieces of Ordnance, which he brought away with him.

But as GOD is just, and a Rewarder of all Men, both in their Good and Evil

Actions, he accordingly chastiz'd *Pedro Sarmiento* for his ill Usage of his Country-men; for from *Brazil*, where he first landed in his way into *Spain*, he was met and taken by an English Man of War, (for at that time there was Hostility betwixt the two Nations of *England* and *Spain*) and brought Prisoner into *England*, where I became acquainted with him.

But now to return to *Diego Flores de Valdes*, who ranging the Coast of *Brazil* as his Course led him, had Intelligence of a Colony of *French*, planted on a River call'd *Parya*, joining upon the Sea with *Brazil*; whereupon he steer'd for that Port, where he met and seiz'd five *French* Ships, three whereof he burnt, and two he carri'd with him: The Men fled and dispers'd themselves amongst the *Indians*, where to this day are found many Savages that resemble *French* Men in Feature of Face, and may be easily distinguish'd from others of their Country-men.

I know not whether others may be of my Opinion or no; but in all likelihood the barbarous Usage of the *French* Colony might be the occasion of the Difference betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards* for the War beyond the Line; and as the Cause began by Blood, so it is like never to end but by Blood, for nothing is like to compose this Difference, so long as those two Monarchies continue in this Greatness.



# The Fourth Book.

## Discoveries and Enterprizes of the Spaniards and Portugueses, and several other remarkable Passages and Observations.

### To the Reader.

**I**N my First Dedication, I recommend the reading thereof to my dearest and most intimate Friends; in the Second, to the Captains and Commanders serving in the late Wars against Spain; in the Third, to all sorts of Seamen, from the highest to the lowest; and in this I prohibit none but the perverse Puritans, whose Stomachs are so feint and feeble, that any Praise that can be attributed to a Spaniard or Papist, will make them Sea-sick, and cast their Gorge.

I will therefore make a Turk Judge in this case betwixt the Spaniards and them, because every Christian will incline to favour one Sect more than another. Could God ever give a greater Blessing to Man, than to enable him to win and gain the Souls of them that had been led away in Infidelity and Blindness? Could he ever shew a greater Wordly Happiness to a Kingdom, than to send them, as it were out of a Cloud, a new World, that affords all Blessings and Riches? Could he ever give more Honour and Reputation, than Conquest over these People and their Land? Could he ever shew more Love to his Servants, than to discover those Countries, at the time the Moors and Turks infected and infested the Country of Spain and Hungary? Could he in any thing more shew his Wonders, than by such Miracles as are related and recorded, for the Means of the Conversion of those People? This shall Justice for the Will of God and Force of his Power; But as God chose the Spanish Nation, for some secret Judgment of his own, above all other People, to spread forth his Holy Name, so do I observe Three Things in them worthy of Reprehension; the one is, their Ingratitude; the Second, their Cruelty; and the Third, the base Condition of the Peo-

ple that were the Authors of their Prosperity.

Their Ingratitude appear'd towards Columbus, a Man of more Desert to the Christian World than any other ever God created; for all the good before-mentioned was wrought by God's Permission, and his Pains and Patience.

This Man, after his desperate and fortunate Attempt, was maliciously and innocently brought Prisoner in Irons, to answer the Calumniation of his Soldiers, which was not all, nor the worst; for this was an Offence only to his Body, the other to his Honour and Reputation.

For the Spaniards, to eclipse his Glory and Merit, for Discovery of the new World, on no other account but his being a Stranger, born in Italy, invented and devised many Fictions and idle Imaginations, to lessen his Praise: One while they say he was led to the Discovery by a Spaniard that lay in his House, upon his Return from the Indies, and taught him the way thither.

But they could never agree upon the Spaniard's Name, what Province he was of, where he arriv'd, or what befel of him; so it is evident all were false Aspersions, invented to lessen his Honour, and advance the supposed Spaniard's Praise; and God justly sent the Divisions afterwards in Peru amongst themselves, as a Punishment for their Ingratitude to Columbus; for an unthankful Man incited God to punish, and Man to abhor him.

The Second was their Cruelty to the poor Conquer'd Indians, occasion'd principally by Avarice, whilst the Revolt in Peru had almost hazarded their whole Enterprize.

But their Tyranny being made known in Spain, the Emperor, like a merciful and pious Prince, prohibited all rigorous Courses against the silly *Solangers*, which so enraged the Conquering Spaniards, that doubtless, had they border'd upon any Civil Country that could have given them Assistance, they would as well have spoken any other Language as Spanish.

My Third Observation was, the Quality and Condition of the Commanders in the Conquest of Peru; the principal whereof was such as no Man would own as his Son, nor they challenge for Father; their Education like their Birth, neither being taught to write or read; and yet daily Practice brought Francisco Pizarro to a civil familiar Behaviour, and Diego de Almagro to a vain glorious and high Carriage.

What these Two wanted in Birth and Breeding, was supply'd in Valour and Industry; for to speak truly, considering what they attain'd to by their excessive Travel and Labour, the Condition of the People they were to govern, and the Multitude of Enemies they subdu'd, no History, Ancient or Modern, can yield more Honour to Conquerors than they deserv'd; and I am of Opinion, the cruel Usage of the Indians proceeded from the Debauchery and Lewdness of their Soldiers and Followers; for their Enterprize in those days was not undertaken but by desperate Persons of Estate and Life, that thought nothing well gain'd that was not unlawfully gotten.

I may the rather confirm my Opinion, because Ferdinand Cortes, who was a Gentleman by Birth, and so famous for Valour, Government and Wisdom, that he was parallel'd with Marius and Scipio in the Roman State, carried his Affairs with that Honour, Discretion and Mercy, that he left, and there still remains, the Title of a Marquis to his House, when neither of the other two had ever lawful Child to descend from them to uphold their Names or Memory.

The Exploits of the Portugueses were no less Memorable and Victorious than the Spaniards; But seeing they are now both one Nation, and live but under one King, and that the ensuing Discourses will speak their Praises, I will say little more than in Pity to them, and attributing to many Crosses to the just Cause.

The Portugueses have been famous ever since the Victorie. Battel of Ourique, obtain'd by Don Alphon. the first King of that Country, in the Year 1139. Since then they have held Competition with Spain, es-

pecially of Late, that God made them famous in their Eastern Conquest, and so increas'd their Wealth, that the cruel and miserable Jews, who set their whole Felicity in Worldly Riches, crept in among them, and mingled with and infected their Blood with that Covardines and Covetousness, that is may be justly judg'd, they truly deserv'd God's Ire and Wrath cast upon them, viz. Betwixt 1578. and 1580. God sent them for their Punishment and Scourge Four Kings, and Five Governors that might be accounted Kings, that spent and spoil'd the Wealth of their Country, Don Sebastian by his Rashness, Henry by his want of Resolution, Anthony by Tyranny, Philip by Arms, and the Governors for their private Advantage.

Since those Years the Calamity that has befallen them is lamentable, by Spoils and Rapines committed on them by Sea in the late Wars with England, and since by the Loss of their Trade in the Indies, which was the first Cause of their Renown, and the first Enriching of their State.

They must impute their Misfortunes to God's Permission, for their joining and conniving with God's profess'd Enemies the Jews, for their own particular Ends and Gain.

It is written of Peru, That the Constellation under which it is plac'd, caus'd so many Divisions and Slaughters as were there committed, not only in the time of the Spaniards, but many years before.

The like may be said of the Molucco Islands, which, upon their first Discovery, bred such a Division betwixt the Spaniards and Portugueses, that tho' the Two Kingdoms were in Peace at home, yet there happen'd continual Encounters betwixt their Subjects in those Parts when they met there; but the Portugueses had always the best.

Not many Years since, the like befel the English and the Hollanders upon the like Cause, and about the same unfortunate Islands, where they had many Bickerings, notwithstanding the Two States continu'd Friends.

To conclude, I will concur with Charles the Fifth, the Emperor, who was wont to say, It had been well those Countries had never been discover'd, or at least not so much frequented; for we have Enrich'd the Infidels with the Wealth of Europe and America, and decreas'd the Trades of all the civil and known World, as we of England have Proof, by our unprofitable Traffick thither. And now to the Discovery of the several Countries,

## The Discovery of several Countries and Islands.

**B**Efore I treat of the Discovery of either of the two Indies, I will take the Canary and Tercera Islands in my way, because they were known many years before the others; and in the next place, for that there is a necessity for Ships to see those Islands in their Navigations, the one in going, the other in returning, from the Indies.

The Canary Islands, which are Seven in number, were Conquer'd by the Spaniards in the Year 1493. in the time of King Henry III. of Spain.

The Tercera Islands, being as many in number, were said to be discovered by the Netherlanders, but by whom by Name, or by whom they were employ'd, or the Year of our Lord, is not set down.

Guinea was discover'd in the Year 1471. in the Days of Don Alonso, the Fifth King of Portugal.

The Cape of Good Hope, and 150 Leagues to the Eastward of it, as far as the Haven of Infanta, was discover'd by Bartholomew Dias, in the Days of King John II. of Portugal, in 1489.

Calicut, and the other Places in the East-Indies, were discover'd by Vasco de Gama, in 1497. and in the Reign of Don Emanuel King of Portugal.

The Country of Brazil was discover'd in 1500. by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, upon the second Voyage that was gone to the East-Indies in the time of Don Emanuel afore-said.

The River of Plate was discover'd by Americus Vespasian, in 1500. as he was going to find out a Passage to the Moluccas, and employ'd by the same King Emanuel; But it is rather thought that Dies de Salis, and not Americus, was the first Discoverer of it.

The West-Indies, and especially the Islands of Lucayos, were discover'd by Christopher Columbus, in 1492.

The Country of Bacalaos, alias Newfoundland, was discover'd by Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, by the Directions of Henry VII. King of England, Two Years after the Discovery of the West-Indies.

The Country of Florida was discover'd on Easter-day, 1513. by Ponce de Leon, who went to find the Island of Bayno, being told by the Indians there was a Well there, that by drinking of the Water, it would make old Men young.

The Country of Pamco was discover'd by Francis de Garay, in 1513.

The Country of Yucatan was discover'd by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, in 1517.

Nombre de Dios, the Islands of Jamaica, the Honduras, and many other Places, were discover'd by Columbus.

Darien was discover'd by H. Jeda and Nicusa, where they endur'd many Calamities, Hunger and Mutinies, and Hurts.

The River of Amazon, and the River of Orellana, and all that Coast, was discover'd by the Pinzones, in 1500.

The South Sea, which was the happiest Discovery of all others to the Spaniards, for that it led them to Peru, which yields them all their Treasure, was found by Vasco Nunez de Balboa, in 1513. a Man in Disgrace at that time with Charles the Emperor.

The Country of Chile was discover'd by Diego de Almagro; And whether Lima was in the Circuit of Chile or Peru, was the Difference betwixt Pizarro and Almagro, which cost both their Lives, and bred their Ruines.

The Country of Maldivia, near Chile and Peru, was discover'd and conquer'd by Peter Maldavia.

The Cape of California was discover'd by Pedro Alvarez, in his Voyage from Port Navidad to the Moluccas.

Gonsalves was sent to discover a Passage out of the South Sea into our Ocean, at the time when the Question was betwixt the Kings of Spain and Portugal about the Trade of the Moluccas.

The Country of Cinaloa and Quivira was discover'd by Francisco Vasques Coronado, as also the Country of Granada.

The Phillipine Islands were discover'd by Michael Lopez, in 1564. He was employ'd by D. Lewis de Vellasco, Vice-Roy of New Spain.

The Islands of Solomon, in the South Sea, were discover'd from Lima in Peru, by Alvar de Mendolia, in 1568. and Pedro de Sarmiento his Lieutenant, whom I knew.

The Streights of Magellan were discover'd by Ferdinand Magallans, a Portuguese, in 1520. employ'd by Charles V. then King of Spain.

The Island of Madera, short of the Canaries, was discover'd by Machan, an Englishman, in 1344.

Russia, or Muscovy, was discover'd in the Year 1553. in the Reign of Edward VI. King of England. Sir Hugh Willoughby was sent upon the Discovery, but he and his Company perish'd in the Harbour of Ur-

*sena* in *Lapland*. *Richard Chaudler*, being Captain of another Ship, proceeded upon that Discovery. *Cbery Island* in *Greenland* was discover'd by *Marmaduke of Hull*.

*Julius Agricola* was the first that sail'd about *England* and *Scotland*, and was the first that discover'd the Islands of *Orkney*, which he subdu'd.

### *The Portuguese Discoveries on the Coast of Guinea, Castle de la mina, and in the East-Indies.*

**G**uinea was discover'd, as you have heard, in the Year 1471. and in the Reign of Don *Alonso I.* who pretended Title to Spain by his Wife *Joan*, call'd the Excellent. King *John II.* of Portugal, and the 13th in Descent, imagin'd that the Spices that came into Europe might be brought by Sea, and hearing there were Christians in those Parts of the World, both these things encourag'd him to undertake the Discovery.

*Bartholomew Dias*, an Officer in the Store-house in *Lisbon*, was sent from *Castile de la mina* to discover the Length of the Land of *Africk*, and found out the Cape of Good Hope; from thence he sail'd to the Eastward 150 Leagues, to a Port which he nam'd *la Infanta*, and gave Names to all Places where he pass'd.

The King would not only rely upon his Relation, but sent a *Franciscan* Frier to find out the *Indies* by Land, but the Frier, for want of Language, return'd from *Jerusalem*; after that he sent two of his Servants, that were skilful in the *Arabick* Language, the one call'd *Peter de Covillao*, the other *Alphonso de Paiva*: They departed from *Cintra* the 7th of May, 1487. and coming to the *Red Sea*, they parted Company; *Paiva* went to *Prefter John's* Country, where he dy'd; *Covillao* travell'd to *Calicut*, and other Places of the *Indies*, where he inform'd himself fully and substantially of the whole Country: In his Return home he met with Two Jews, that were sent from the King of Portugal to meet him, and to wish him to inform himself of the State of *Prefter John*.

One of the Two Jews he sent back, with a Relation of the State of the *Indies*, the other he carry'd with him to *Ormuz*, from whence he likewise sent him to the King, to give an Account of his Voyage, and himself went to *Prefter John*, where the King, whose Name was *Alexander*, us'd him courteously; but he dying, the other that succeeded him detain'd him Prisoner, so that he never liv'd to return to Portugal, or to send more Information to the King his Master.

The King having Information sufficient, by Letters the Jew brought him, he im-

mediately cut down Timber, and built Two new Ships for that Discovery in 1495. and the 25th of October.

King *John* in the mean time dy'd, and Don *Emanuel* succeeded, who added great Fame to the Kingdom of Portugal: He furnished the Two Ships aforesaid, the one of 120 Tuns, and call'd her the *Angel Gabriel*, the other of 100 Tuns, and nam'd her the *Raphael*, with one Carvel he bought, and one other to carry Victuals.

He appointed for General a Servant of his, call'd *Vasco de Gama*, well experienc'd in Sea Affairs: *Paul de Gama*, his Brother, went Captain of one Ship, and *Nicolas Coelho* of another, both of them being the King's Servants. *Bartholomew Dias* was to accompany them to *Mina* in *Guinea*.

The 8th of July, 1497. he embark'd at *Belem* with 148 Men; the Pilot was *Pedro de Alanquer*, who had been Pilot with *Bartholomew Dias* in his former Voyage; and if they lost Company, the Place of meeting was in the Island of *Cabo Verde*. They pass'd by the *Canaries*; and off the River of *Oro* they lost Company for 8 days in a Storm, but met again at the Island of *St. Augustin*, where they refresh'd themselves for 7 days.

The 3d of August *Vasco de Gama* went from thence, and left *Bartholomew Dias* behind; the 4th of November he spy'd Land, and call'd it *St. Helena*, supposing it had been 30 Leagues from the Cape of Good Hope: The People in this Place would have betray'd him.

The 20th, being Wednesday, he doubled the Cape; on Sunday he came to *St. Blaise*, being a Watering-place, 60 Leagues from the Cape: Here he stay'd 10 days, and departed the 8th of December; and in going to the River of *Infanta*, he endur'd a great Storm: Here he found gentle and civil Negroes; one of his Company could speak the Language of the Negroes; he nam'd it *Terra da boa gente*, and the River *Cobro*.

The 15th of January he sail'd along the Coast, and met with Negroes of great Civility in their Boats, who gave him light of the *East-Indies*, and he call'd this River *Bons Sinan*: Here he stay'd 32 days to

trim

trim his Ships, and erected a Mark, which he call'd *St. Raphael*: The Place was Infectious, and his Men began to be sick.

The first of *March* he came in sight of *Mosambique*, where they were taken to be *Moors*, and at first well us'd, but finding them to be Christians, they would have betray'd them: Here they had News that *Calicut* was 900 Leagues from thence, and took in a Pilot that had been there, which comforted them much.

The first of *April* they came to certain Islands which they call'd *Acontada's*, because finding the Pilot in a Lie, here they whipp'd him, and he confess'd he brought them thither to have cast them away, as also that he would have entic'd them to *Quiloa*, making them believe that Christians dwell'd there. In this Course the *St. Raphael* struck upon a Shore, and was miraculously preserved, and this Shelve they call'd *St. Raphael*.

The 7th of *May* they came to *Mombasa*, where the People knowing them to be Christians, and what had pass'd with them in *Mosambique*, they practis'd to betray them.

They came to *Melinde*, 18 Miles from *Mombasa*, a City built like the Houses of *Portugal*, the King a *Moor*, but courteous, and glad of the *Portugueses* coming thither; He furnished them with Pilots to *Calicut*; and here he met with Four Ships of Christians of the *Indies*, who were wonderful glad to see them: Those Christians gave them warning not to trust the *Moors* of *Melinde*. The King entered into Friendship with the King of *Portugal*.

The 22d they departed from *Melinde*, and cross'd over the Gulph, being 700 Leagues, which they sail'd in 32 days, and never saw Land.

The 24th of *May* they discover'd Land near *Calicut*, and there they found a *Moor* of *Tunis* in *Barbary*, who knew the *Portuguese* Nation, and ask'd them in the Devil's Name how they came thither. The *Moors* of *Calicut* contriv'd all Treasonable Practices they could against the *Portugueses*, and so prevail'd with the King, that Wars ensu'd betwixt them, and so continu'd a long time after.

They return'd from *Calicut*, where they escap'd great danger of Treason, and in their way fell with divers Islands, where the People were willing they should erect a Cross with the Arms of *Portugal*: This Place he call'd *Porto de Santa Maria*. He came to the Island of *Anchedivi*, where he trim'd the Ship, and water'd: Here was a Spy sent to discover his Forces, which

Spy counterfeited to be a Christian, and born in *Italy*, but he was suspected to be as he was, and they rack'd him three times, and then he confess'd his Villany. The General carry'd this Spy into *Portugal*, where he became a good Christian, and gave great light of the Affairs of the *East-Indies*, which stood the *Portugueses* in great stead.

Before they arriv'd at *Melinde* they endur'd great Misery, and if God had not instantly miraculously succour'd them, the General's Brother and *Nicholas Coelho* were resolv'd to have return'd to *Calicut*, and put themselves to the Mercy of the King, but at last they spy'd Land, which prov'd the City of *Migadoca*, fairly built, and inhabited with *Moors*, 117 Leagues from *Melinde*.

The first of *February* they came to *Melinde*, where they were well entertain'd, and the King accepted of a Pillar, to be set up in Sign of Friendship with the King of *Portugal*, and sent an Ambassador thither.

The 17th of *February* they departed, and the 20th following they burnt the *St. Raphael*, for want of Men, and took the General's Brother out of her.

The 20th they came to the Island of *Zanguebar*, where the King us'd them courteously, and from thence to *Mosambique*.

The 3d of *March* to the Islands of *St. Blaise*; the 20th they doub't the Cape of *Good Hope*, and then sail'd to the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, where the General's Brother fell sick, and hir'd a Caravel to carry him to *Portugal*, because his own Ship was weak and leaky.

Before his Arrival at *Cabo Verde*, *Nicholas Coelho* willingly lost his Company, that he might carry the first News to the King of his Discovery of the *Indies*, and came to *Cascais* on the 10th of *July*, 1499.

The General came to the *Tercera's*, where his Brother died, and in *September* to *Belline*, where the King did him great Honour, and made him Earl of *Vidigueira*: He gave him the Royal Arms of *Portugal* for his Scutcheon, at the foot whereof were Two Doves, alluding to his Name *Gama*.

In his Second Voyage he went General of 13 Ships and two Caravels; He was most fortunate in that Voyage, and discover'd many Lands and People, that afterwards prov'd both wealthy and profitable to the *Portugueses* by their Trade.

Betwixt his first Voyage and this second, there were two others; the General of the one was *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, who departed



parted *Lisbon* the 7th. of *March* 1500. In his way to the *Indies* he discover'd the Country of *Brazill* in 10 Degrees, and Sailing to the Southward in 17 Degrees and a half, he came to a Harbour, which he call'd *Porto Seguro*.

*Cabral*, upon this Discovery, sent a Pin- nace to the King to inform him of it, which at this day is more profitable to *Portugal* than the Trade of the *East-Indies*.

*Cabral*, the 29th. of *May*, setting out from the Coast of *Brazill*, was taken with the most violent Storm that ever was read of; the Day seem'd to be as Black as Night, the Sea to burn like Fire; Four of his Ships were swallow'd up in the Sea, and *Bartholomew Dias* the Discoverer of the *Cape of Good Hope* in one of them.

The unlucky Entertainment in *Brazill*, made after amends to the *Portugueses*; for at this day their Sugars, and the Wood of *Brazill* yields them more profit than the Precious Stones, Spices, or other Merchandizes of the *East-Indies*.

The First Inhabiting of *Brazill* was with small Charge and Adventure, the People that went were desperate, and of the worst kind, rather to be banish'd for Offenders, than any hope of Profit that should acrew unto them; but the Country proved so Plentiful and Rich, that altho' they have receiv'd great Detriments by the *Hollanders* in *Baya* and *Fernambuco*, yet it will quickly be redeem'd again by Peace.

### Some other Particulars concerning the East-Indies.

1. **B**Efore I Treat of any particulars of the *East-Indies*, give me leave to put you in mind of some Observations of mine, which will not be unworthy your perusal, seeing they are to be attributed only to God, who is the searcher of all Hearts, and the discoverer of hidden Secrets.

2. It is strange and surprizing, That out of so many flourishing Nations as God hath Created and Civiliz'd, he should Elect and Chuse the Kingdom of *Portugal* to perform this great Work of his; a Country in those Days of less Esteem and Reputation, of less Renown and Fame, and of less Ability and Valour than any other Christian Monarchy, we can call to mind; and to assign them such a time to effect it, when they enjoy'd a happy Peace with their Neighbours, and had no Enemy to oppose or hinder their Designs.

3. The first Discovery, as you have heard, was to *Guinea* in 1471. where nothing appear'd to the *Portugueses* but Barbarous Blacks; a strange and unseen Sight to them, and not to be believ'd at their Return, if process of time had not made it familiar to them, by after Traffique to confirm their Report.

4. This Discovery gave the Light and Way to all others that ensu'd upon it, as shall appear; like an Art begun, that others take from one to another; but we must confess, the *Portugueses*, to their Honour, were the first Breakers of the Ice, to give passage to all other strange Countries; and as *Guinea* yielded a Complexion to their People, that differ'd from us, as much as

Black from White; so did *America*, which was not long after made known to us, produce a sort of People, differing from the *Europeans* in Whiteness, and the *Africans* in Blackness; but a Mean betwixt both, and a Colour like an Olive; which to as many as have seen it, seems strange, considering that *Guinea* and *America* lie East and West, all in one paralell; so that in reason there should be no such difference.

5. This change in Complexion, and the plentiful increase of Gold in those Climates, is attributed both to one Cause, which is the heat and operation of the Sun, and in my Opinion not improperly as may be gather'd out of the ensuing Reasons.

6. The Sun rising to the Eastward, betwixt the Two Tropicks, runs its course Westward, over *Asia* and *Africa*, till it come to the *Ocean Sea*, in which Circuit its extreme heat ingenders the rich Metal of Gold and changes the Complexions of Creatures to a Black hue, which the Heat reflects from the Earth.

7. Coming to the *Ocean* aforesaid, it passes the distance of 8 or 900 Leagues over the Air of the Sea, and is cooled by it, as it was formerly heated by the Land; that by the time it draws near the Continent of *America*, it has lost great part of its Vigor and Force, and not able to produce that Effect, as in *Africa*; and therefore is not able as it were to mellow the Earth, and make it become Gold, as after it does when it has run its course, the breadth of *America*; where its heat again ripens that Matter and Substance of Gold; For we see by Experience, that the greatest quantity

city of Gold is sent out of Peru into Spain, it being the Westermost Part of America; when to the Eastward most part thereof, as *Guiana* and other places nearest us, never afford Gold, and this for the Reasons aforesaid, as I conceive.

8. But to return to the Discovery of the *East-Indies*, I will recite some particular Blessings and Benefits, that God hath poured upon the World in general; upon Europe in particular, and upon the *Portugul* Nation especially; for as they were the first Discoverers, to their Immortal Honour, so all Attempts by other Nations, in other Countries, must be attributed to them, as a People that trod out the first Path for others to walk in, as I will shew by Reason hereafter in this Book, when I come to Treat of it.

9. This Eastern Discovery has Refolv'd one Doubt that no Ecclesiastical or Modern History could do before, which was the Life and Martyrdom of that Holy Apostle *St. Thomas*, as the Monument there make it manifest; and as a Remnant of some Christians in those desolate places, gave an infallible Testimony.

10. And whereas in continuance of Time, many Errors were crept in amongst those silly Christians, inclining to the *Greek Church*; yet by the Pains, Travel and danger of Life, the *Portuguese* have brought them to the light of the Truth, and have since increas'd the Flock so abundantly, that the Name and true Worship of Christ is propagated in the uttermost parts of the World; yea, as far as *China* and *Japan*.

11. By the Eastern Discovery the length of *Africk* is butt'd out as far to the Southward, as the *Cape of Good Hope*; and from thence to the Eastward as far as the *Cape of Guarda Fu*; in which Course we have found the *Red Sea* to fall into the Eastern Ocean, which before was not known to us in Europe.

12. By the Eastern Discovery, and our Access to *China*, we have found out that Guns, Powder and Printing, were in use with them many hundreds of Years before they were known to us Western People; we may likewise add many other curious Works, which to this day we cannot equal or imitate them in.

13. By this Discovery we have discover'd that Opinion of the Philosophers, and other Learned Writers, who maintain'd the impossibility of inhabiting under the *Torrid Zone*, for the excessive Heat, which our daily Voyages beyond the Line have made familiar with us.

14. By this Discovery we have Authentically proved by Fact, Antipodes, a

thing before held ridiculous by many (*viz.*) that one Peoples Feet are opposite to anothers, which till *Magellan* Sail'd round the World, could not be made plain.

15. By this Discovery we found the Two Poles equal in their Nature; and that the same Effect the North Star produces unto us on this side the Line, the South does the like on the other side; but with this difference, that when it is Summer with them, it is Winter with us; and when it is Summer with us it is Winter with them.

16. By this Discovery we have found the strangeness of Winds, to blow contrary to our Climate, and should not have believ'd it, if Experience had not shew'd it; as namely, the certain constancy of a Wind to blow from the *Canaries* to the *West-Indies*, betwixt the North and the East, and never to change; and then again, from the Coast of *Brazill*, towards the *East-Indies*, as far as *China*, we find a limited Wind, certain in some places for Three Months, and in others for Six; the Day of their Entrance and Change being known to all People: And these are called the *Monsons*; but from whence the name is derived, whether before the *Christians* Access into those parts, I cannot find.

17. By this Discovery we have found out strange and unheard of Fishes; amongst the rest, and of most wonder, is the *Remora*, whose nature is to stop the way of a Ship, and to bring her A-Stern, tho' the Wind be strong and large to carry her forward.

18. This Fish has been heretofore writ of, and look'd upon as a Poetical Fiction, till a Voyage in a Carrack to the *East-Indies*, put all Men to silence; for the Beak Head of that Ship was clasp'd about with a *Remora*, to the Fear and Wonder of the Mariners; for they found themselves by the height, to be 100 Leagues A-Stern of their ordinary course; and at last finding the Cause with Labour and Pains, they got this Monster unglu'd; and at last the Carrack arriv'd at the Port of *Goa*, where for the memorableness and strangeness of it, this Ship, her Captain, the Day it happen'd, and her arrival is publicly Pictur'd, and to be seen to this day.

19. By this Discovery we are come to the knowledge of many Islands and Rocks, not known before; and some of them not above a Quarter of a Mile in compass; as namely *La Peana de St. Pedro*, in Four Degrees to the Northward of the Line; all

all White, and like a Sugarloaf. The Island of *St. Helena*, Two Miles in compass, Healthfully seated, that yields plenty of Water, Fish, Goats and Fruits, as well to us in our Navigations from the *East-Indies*, as to the *Portugueses* in times past. The Island of *Ascension*, wholly barren, not affording so much as Water. But the strangeness of these Rocks and Islands, is, That they are plac'd in the midst of the Ocean; the nearest of them not being within 1300 Miles of any main Continent.

20. We are come to know the Goodness and Operation of the Bezoard Stone, and of the Beast it self that yields it. The Cocoa of *Maldivia*, and the strange growth of it, upon Trees 5 or 6 Fathom deep in the Sea; the Vertue whereof far exceeds the Bezoard Stone.

21. By this Discovery we have learnt many means for Health, by Druggs, and choice things of Nature for Man's Body; the place of their growth, and the strangeness of them. We know the Abada or Rhinoceros, a Beast that has a Horn in its Forehead, and is thought to be the Unicorn; but it is not so, tho' it had the same Vertue, for Unicorn there is none.

22. By this Discovery, we are now serv'd with our Spices, Drugs, Precious Stones, and all other *India* Commodities, immediately from thence, by the Shipping of *Europe*, which was wont to be receiv'd by the way of *Turky*, at unreasonable Prices, and at the Will of the *Turk*.

23. By this Discovery the *Portugueses* have brought in, and settled the *Portuguese* Language, which is now grown familiar and frequent in those parts of the World; they have built many Famous Cities and Towns; erected Bishopricks, Churches and Monasteries; they have establish'd Temporal and Spiritual Laws, and the same Form of Government they enjoy and live under in their own Country.

24. By this Discovery, they have found many strange Kings, who Govern their People with much Civility, their Towns and Cities anciently built, their Pallaces of great Majesty and Pomp, and all things else answerable to their excellent Policy, Rule and Government.

*The Names of the Towns the Portugueses have in the East-Indies; with their Form of Government.*

|                             |                |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Soffala.</i>             | <i>Daman.</i>  |
| The Island of <i>Mo-</i>    | <i>Boçain.</i> |
| <i>sambique.</i>            | <i>Cbau.</i>   |
| The Island of <i>Ormus.</i> | <i>Goa.</i>    |
| <i>Din.</i>                 | <i>Oncr.</i>   |

*Bargalar.*  
*Mangalor.*  
*Cananor.*  
*Cranganor.*  
*Cochim.*  
*Cortlan.*

*Columbo* in the Island  
of *Ceylon.*

*Negapatan.*  
*St. Thomas.*  
*Molacca.*  
*Molucco's* Islands.  
*Ternate.*  
*Tylore.*  
*Banda.*  
*Beyna.*

*Goa* is the Metropolitan City of all the *East-Indies*; lies in the Kingdom of *Decan*, and is an Island 20 or 30 Miles in compass, both pleasant and fruitful: The Vice-Roy resides in this Town, as does the Metropolitan Bishop of the whole *Indies*.

The Carracks arrive from *Portugal* in this Port of *Goa*, unless they be forc'd about the Island of *St. Lawrence*, which if they be, they can fetch no Harbour nearer than *Cochin*, which is the place the Carracks use to take in their Lading in their return to *Portugal*.

The Winter in *Goa* begins the 15th. of *May*, with very much Rain, and so continues till the 15th. of *August*; and during that space no Ship can pass over the Bar of *Goa*, because the continual Showers of Rain drive all the Sands together near a Mountain call'd *Ogbana*; whence they spread themselves over the Shoals of the Barr, and into the Port of *Goa*, whence they can find no way out, but continue there till the 10th. of *August*, when the Rain ceases, and the Sea drives the Sands away again.

*How a new Viceroy is Declar'd, in case the old one dies, and of the several Titles given to Persons serving in the East-Indies.*

If a Viceroy die in the *East-Indies*, there are always Five *Via's*, as they call them, which are Letters under the King's Seal, Figur'd 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. which they open according to their Figures, beginning with Number 1, and so on, in case those nam'd in the first be dead, till they light of one whom the King has appointed Viceroy, These Letters are kept by the Jesuits, and open'd at Mass, in the presence of all the Nobility and others, with great Solemnity and State.

*Fidalgo da casa del Roy noſſo ſenbor*; This is a Gentleman of the King's House, and the chief Title.

*Mofus Fidalgos*; an Honourable Title, and are commonly Gentlemen's Sons, or advanc'd by the King's Favour.

*Cavalleiros Fidalgos*; This is a Title of a Knight, and much abus'd by base People that are made so.

*Mafos de Camara*; These are the King's Servants, some of his Chamber, some of his Accounts, and some for other Service, and this is the first degree of Credit; and as they deserve, so they are advanc'd to better.

*Efcudeiros Fidalgos*; These are Esquires.

*Homes Honrados*; This is the meanest Rank amongst them; every Man that serves the King in the *Indies*, is paid according to those Titles; and when they return with their Certificates into *Portugal*, under the Hand of the Vic-roy and *Mairicola-General*, the King prefers them according to their Titles and Places

The several Countries from whence East-India Commodities are brought.

Cloves from the *Molucco-Island*; Mace and Nutmegs from *Banda, Java and Malacca*; Pepper from *Malabar*; Cinamon from *Ceylon*; Pearls taken at a place call'd *Baborem* in the *Persian Gulph*, in *June, July, August and September*; Sandel from *Cebon and Malaca*; all *China* Commodities from thence, as Quick-silver, white Suckett, Camphir, Lignum Aloes, *China* Roots, fine Silk and Lattin; Galls from *Cambaya, Bengala and Siria*; Ginger from *Cambaya*, and many other parts: Wax and long Pepper from *Bengala*; Musk from *Tartary* by the way of *China*; Coco de *Maldivia* from the Shores of *Maldivia*; Indico from *Zindi and Cambaya*; Long Pepper from *Bengala and Malaca*; Opium from *Pegu and Cambaya*; Aloes Soccatrina from the Island of *Soccatora*, where *St. Thomas* was Shipwrack'd; Manna and Wormseed from *Persia*; Rubarb from *Persia, and China*; Callicoe from *Callicur*.

Some particulars of the Carracks Navigation to the East Indies.

Every Man that goes, puts in Security to perform the Voyage; and if he goes not, pays dearly for it.

The Master and Pilot have for their Pay Outward and Homeward, 75 *l.* each, but the room allow'd them to carry Commodities, they commonly Let out for 5000 Ducats; no Officer that goes, but buys his Place of the Provisor.

The Boatwain has for his Wages 125 Ducats, and 3000 Ducats Freight; the Quartermaster has for his Wages 175 *s.* d. per Month, and 2600 Ducats Freight; and every other Officer according to his Rate and Proportion. The Factors and the Purfers have no Pay, only their Cabins allow'd, which will Stow 20 Pipes of Wine apiece, and a Cabin aloft to lye in.

There is no difference in their Allowance of Victuals, every Man has 32 pound

of Flesh a Month, Onions, Garlick, dried Fish eaten at the beginning of the Voyage. Sugar, Raisins, Honey, Prunes, Rice, and such things are kept for Sick Men.

Every Man makes his own Provision to Dress his Meat, as Wood, Pans, Pots, &c.

There are Officers for the King that give the same Allowance to the Soldiers; for the Soldiers and Sailors are serv'd apart.

In their Return the King pays no Soldiers; and such Soldiers as come home are Passengers, and have no Allowance, either of Meat or Wages.

The Sailors in their Return have no Allowance of Meat, only Bread and Water, till they come to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and then they make Provision themselves; they are only allow'd the Stowage of their Chest below, which if they will Sell, they may have 80 Ducats for it.

No Soldier that comes home, as afore-said, can depart the *Indies* without a Pais from the Viceroy, and they must serve there Five years before they can have it.

In Sailing to the *Indies*, sometimes they keep too much to the Coast of *Brazil*, and are forc'd home again, because they cannot double the Shores of *Ambrois*.

The Ship that goes from *Mosambique* to *Goa*, no Man can adventure in, but the Captain of *Mosambique*, and such Persons as are Marry'd in the Town; for none but Marry'd Men are suffer'd to live there, because of Peopling the Place, which is very unwholsome, and infectious.

The Government of *Mosambique* is worth to the Captain for his Three Years, 300000 Duckers; but after his Three Years, he is bound to Serve at the Command of the Viceroy Three Years more, unless he have a special Patent from the King to the contrary.

The brave Exploits of the Portugueses at Adem and other Places.

The great Success of the Portugueses purchas'd them both Fame and Envy, as well from Christian Princes as Turks; and *Soliman the Magnificent* in the Year 1537. attempted by his Bassa *Soliman* in *Egypt*, a Voyage against the Portugueses at *Adem*, upon the mouth of the Red Sea.

He furnish'd himself with 80 brave Ships, 25 Foits, 4 Galeasses, 20 Gallies, and 7 other Vessels; all which he carried from *Cairo* to *Suz* in pieces, being 89 Miles by Land.

With these Forces he resolutely Besieg'd *Adem*, which was defended by greater Valour by the Portugueses and their Governour *Francisco de Almada*

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The Turks were forc'd to retire with great shame; carrying some few Portuguese they had taken Prisoners to Constantinople, and committing most barbarous Cruelty upon them.

Don Alonso de Albuquerque with 30 Ships won Calicut: With 21 he took Goa: With 23 Malacca: With 26 he entred the Red Sea; With 22 he recover'd Ormuz:

Lopes made a Voyage into the Red Sea with 37 Gallies: Lopes de Sequeira with 24 Ships laid Siege to Guida.

Henry de Menezes wasted Patana with 50 Ships: Lopes Vas left in the Arsenal 136 Ships of War, very well furnish'd: Nuno d'Acuna undertook the Expedition to Dia with 36 Ships.

### The Famous Exploit of Ferdinand Magallaens, who first Sail'd round the World.

THE Honourable Exploits and Enterprizes of the Portuguese Nation ceased not, but still one or other of them was in Action, and would not be satisfy'd till they had brought to light the Western parts of the World, as by their Endeavour and Labours they had done the Eastern; for it seems they had an Opinion of the World's Roundness, and that by a Ship Sailing Westward, and another Eastward, they might meet together by consent, if the Western Sea could be discover'd.

The Man that first undertook to resolve this Doubt, was Ferdinand Magallaens, a Portuguese by Nation, and a Gentleman by Birth, who having liv'd Seven Years in the East-Indies, and pondering with himself, that the World was round, thought there might be another way to the Molucco Islands, besides the common known Course by the Cape of Good Hope; and was the more embold'n'd to it by a Kinman of his own, Juan Serrano, who dwelt in the Molucco's.

Upon his return to Portugal, what the occasion was, is unknown; but he and another Gentleman, call'd Rui Falero, left the Service of their King in 1516. and offer'd it to Cardinal Ximenes, then Archbishop of Toledo, and Governor of Spain upon the death of King Ferdinand.

Don Emanuel King of Portugal hearing of the flight of these Two Servants of his, sent to expostulate their Departure; accusing them as Fugitives, and his Subjects, and unfit for any Prince to entertain, and sought to divert their Proposition of a new Discovery, but could not prevail with the Cardinal.

Rui Falero was so highly concern'd for leaving the King's Service, and the Dishonour that would Redound to him by it, that for very Grief he run Mad, and Dy'd. But Magallaens being Honour'd with the Order of Knighthood of St. James, proceeded upon his Voyage, and set Sail the 20th of September from St. Lucar, and in the Year 1519. he arriv'd at Teneriff, one of the Canary Islands, on the 26th of the same year.

Then coming into 22 Degrees, on the Coast of Brazil he found a Harbour, and call'd it the River of Serrano, after the name of his Pilot; from thence he went to Port St. Julian, where he Winter'd, and there his Death was conspir'd by some Captains, and others of his company, who were executed for it in the said Port of St. Julian.

Mr. Douty, that conspir'd the death of Sir Francis Drake (as Sir Francis seem'd to pretend) was there executed; and in this Island they found a part of the Magallaens Gallows, on which his Men were hang'd; from hence Magallbaen came to the River of *ma Cruz*, where one of his Ships was lost, but the Men sav'd. Sailing 30 Leagues further, he came to a Cape, which he call'd by the name of *Ursula*, because it was upon St. Ursula's Day he there entred the Streights, and one of his Ships forsook him, and return'd home, whereof Stephen Gomes was Pilot.

He found the Streights 130 Leagues in length, and 2 in breadth, the Shore deep, and Land full of Snow, tho' it lay but in 52 Degrees; the Point from whence he discover'd the South Sea, he call'd Cape Descado, and plac'd a Cross on it, as a Token for his Ship, which he did not think was returned; now did he conjecture the Moluccos were not far from him, but therein he was deceiv'd.

From the Streights he Sail'd Three Months and never saw Land, and was put to wonderful Extremity for want of Victuals, and many of his Men dy'd with Hunger: The First Island he fell in withal, he found uninhabited; and being 200 Leagues one from another, he call'd them *Unfortunate Islands*; then came he to other Islands which he called *Ladrones*, because they were all Thieves and like Gipsies.

The 18th. of March 1521. he Landed upon an Island call'd *Zamal*, 30 Leagues from the *Ladrones*, uninhabited; yet he staid there to refresh his Men upon it; and after arriv'd at an Island, call'd *Zaloon*,



Island, where he found Civil Usage; and so many Islands there together, that they call'd the Sea *Archipelago de Lazaro*.

He pass'd by the Islands *Senalo*, *Haynan*, and many others, till he came to the Island of *Borinan*, where he was civilly Entertain'd, and at *Catagan*.

He went, by the help of Pilots from one Island to another, till he came to *Cebu*, which is the best Island of the rest. The 7th of April, he sent to visit the King of *Cebu*, who us'd him courteously; and here he met with some *Moors*, who told the King of their Countrymen the *Portugueses* being at *Malaca*, and in the *Indies*; the King of *Cebu*, with his Queen, and all the whole Island was Baptiz'd, the King call'd *Charles*, after the Emperor, his Son *Berdinand* after his Brother; and here they destroy'd all their Idols.

Not far from *Cebu* there is another Island call'd *Matan*, where the King refus'd to pay Tribute to *Magellan* in the Emperor's behalf; whereupon he made War with him, and was unfortunately slain, with eight of his company, which in my Opinion was great Folly in *Magellan* to adventure his Life against a People and Island, that never Christian was likely to come to more.

After his Death his Company chose *John Serano* and *Barbosa*, *Portugueses*, for their Commanders: *Serano* was after betray'd by his Interpreter, and himself and 30 of his Men slain, and as many taken prisoners: Upon this Disaster the King of *Cebu* Renounc'd his Religion, beat down the Churches and Crosses, and return'd to his Ancient Idolatry; Eight of the Thirty that were taken prisoners were Sold into *China*; and within few days after *Magellan's* Death, they had news of the *Molucco-Islands*. Going from *Matan* they found an Island call'd *Bobolli*, where they burnt one of their three Ships to furnish the other two.

They came to the Island call'd *Ponagotto*, the People being most black; from thence they went to *Chippit*, to *Cagayan*, and to *Pulon*; to the Island of *Barneo*, where the King entertain'd them with great Magnificence.

They arriv'd at the Island *Ciumbabon*, where they staid 40 Days to trim their Ships, to take in Water, Wood, and other necessaries: Some of the Men by this time were altogether without Cloaths, and there they found Leaves, which when they fell from the Trees, would move and stir as tho' they were alive; and being cut, Blood would come out of them.

In Sailing to *Tugimner* and *Solo*, they

pass'd the Sea of *Weeds*, and in those Islands found great Pearls; and then they went to the Island of *Bayan* and *Callagan*, where they took a Canoe, that inform'd them of the *Molucco Islands*, and passing by many other Islands, on the 8th. of November 1581. they arriv'd at the *Molucco's*, and the Island of *Tydore*, where they were Honourably Entertain'd by the King: he told them, he had seen in the Heavens certain Signs, that such Ships, and such Men as they were should come to that Island; and for the more Friendship with the Emperor, he would have his Island call'd no more *Tydore* but *Castille*, this King was a *Moor* by Religion.

The King of the Island of *Gilolo* was a *Pagan*, but came to them with great Friendship; both these Kings accompany'd them to the Island of *Mare*; and when they parted it was with Tears. From thence they came to the Islands of *Chacovan*, *Laguna*, *Sicbo*, *Gracke*, *Criphe*, *Chilacco*, *Lumitola*, *Teremon*, *Ambion*, *Budia*, and many others, till they came to *Gallion* and *Moula*, where they staid 15 Days to mend their Ship.

They arriv'd from *Moula* to *Tymor* on the 15th. of January 1522. and here the Men Mutiny'd. In this Island they found great store of White Sanders, and in it the French Pox is very rife and common; and coming to *Tuida*, they had plenty of Cinamon; from hence they directed their course to the Cape of Good Hope, shunning the sight of the Island of *Sumatra*, or any other Land.

After many days Sailing with contrary Winds, at last they came to the Cape of Good Hope, and finding their Want and Extremity so great, many of them mov'd to return to *Mojambique*, and to submit themselves to the mercy of the *Portugueses*; but most Voices wish'd it; tho' half the Men were dead.

After a long Navigation they came to the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, and set their Boat on Shore, where 14 of them were betray'd by the *Portugueses* of that Island; and *John Sebastian Cano*, then Captain, who had out-liv'd all the other Commanders, perceiving the Fallhood of the *Portugueses*, he hoisted Sail, and directed his Course to *St. Lucar* in *Andaluzia*, where he arriv'd on the 6th of September 1522. with only 18 *Spaniards* of all those he carry'd with him, having been upon the Voyage Three Years wanting Fourteen Days, and celebrated Monday for Sunday (that is to say) one Days difference in computation.

The other Ship turn'd back, by reason of her weakness, towards *New Spain*; and being cross'd Five Months with contrary Winds, was forced back again to the *Molucco Islands*, where she met a Fleet of Five Ships of the King of *Portugal's*, Commanded by one *Brito*, who took both Ship and Goods, and sent the Men prisoners to *Malaca*; this afterwards bred great Contention between the two Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

*An Addition of the Authors, concerning this Voyage of Magellan.*

This Voyage of *Magellan* decided a long and difficult Controversie amongst the Learned, as well Divines as others; some being of Opinion that the World was round, others not; and amongst the rest, that Famous Father of the Church, *St. Augustin* held that the World was not round, as is apparent by his Works.

But *Magellan's* Ship having Sail'd about it, as by his Voyage is manifest, has quash'd the erroneous Opinions of those that deny'd the roundness of it.

In my Opinion, if the World had been certainly known to be round, as no doubt but it was imagin'd by *Columbus*, it might be a great motive, and indeed an unanswerable Reason to animate and encourage him to the discovery of a new Land, after the open Sea of the *Cape of Good Hope* was known, and the *East-Indies* found out by the *Portugueses*.

For he could not be so ignorant, but understand, that by running a Westerly Course from the *Canary Islands*, if he were not interrupted by a Land, the Sea would conduct him to a Place discover'd by the *Portugueses* in the *East-Indies*; and then, if the worst befell him that could, yet he should be able to shake Hands with the *Portugueses* his Neighbours in the most remote Regions of the World.

*A difference betwixt the Spaniards and the Portugueses about the East-Indies.*

The *Streights* being newly discover'd, which took the name of *Magellan*, and gave an entrance in the *South Sea*, and by consequence unto the *Molucco Islands*, added Fuel to the Fire before kindled between *Charles* the 1st. Emperor and King of *Spain*, and *Don John* the 2d. of *Portugal*, about the Right of those Islands, to whom they should belong, upon the division of the new World.

This bred a long Question between the two Princes, till it was accommodated, as shall appear in my Discourse of the Northern Passage.

As all good Successes encourage Men to follow the Steps of the Treaders out of the way; even so did this Discovery the more animate them, because it brought with it both Honour and Profit, not only by the places Discover'd, but by the known Wealth they yielded; and out of hope that other Enterprizes might prove as Famous and Commodious, the *Spaniards* neglected no occasion to second this late Discovery; and therefore in the year 1525. this Tract and Passage was attempted by *Gracia de Loaisa* a Knight of *Maliba* with 7 Ships and 450 Men.

He departed from the *Groyn* with unfortunate Success, himself pass'd the *Streights*, but Dy'd in the Voyage; some of his Ships were lost, others put into *New Spain*, his own Ship arriv'd at the Island of *Tyder* in the *Molucco's*; another came to the Island of *Bacbian*, where the King thereof Entred his Ship under colour of Friendship, slew the Captain, his Brother, and took all the Men Prisoners: Another was lost in *Candiga*; and to conclude, they all fell into the hands of their Enemies, either *Portugueses* or Islanders.

*Vargas* Bishop of *Placencia* sent Seven Ships out of *Bilboa* to the *Molucco's*, only one of them pass'd the *Streights*, and arriv'd at *Arequipa*, a Port in the *South Sea*, and went no further; this Ship was the first that Discover'd the lying of the Coast of *Peru*.

Notwithstanding the many Disgraces and Losses the *Spaniards* received by this new found *Streights*; yet it did nothing dishearten them; but they tried by all ways and means how they might have access to the *Molucco Islands*, by another way than by the *Cape of Good Hope*; and *Ferdinand Cortes* the Conqueror of *New Spain*, by Order of the Emperor, sent two Ships with 400 Men, in the Year 1528. the General *Alvaro Serou*, to seek the *Moluccos* from *New Spain*, which succeeded no better than the rest had done; neither was the *Streights* let off, but often attempted by these that follow.

The Second Enterprize after *Magellan*, was by two Ships of *Genoa*, which arriv'd at the Mouth of it, and one of them with a Storm was cast away at the River of *Plate*, the Captain call'd *Pancalco*; the other in 1526. return'd home.

*Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, would have pass'd the *Streights*, but could not; he return'd to the River of *Plate*, being then employ'd by *Don Emanuel* King of *Portugal*.

*Americus Vesputius* was sent likewise by *Don Emanuel*, to find the *Streights*, but neither

neither could find the *Streight*, nor yet the River of *Plata*.

*Simon de Alcasara* went with divers Ships and 440 Spaniards, but before they came to the *Streight*, they Mutiny'd, and 10 or 12 being slain, return'd.

From this Year, till the Year 1577. the attempt of the *Streights* lay dead, not any one seeking to Enterprize it, till Sir *Francis Drake* had it in agitation, and perform'd it with as great a Resolution, to the

general Honour of our Nation.

It was after this, and in the Year 1586. begun and perform'd by Mr. *Candlish*. The time of his Departure from *England*, his Days of Sailing, the space he was abroad, and the time of his Return, shall appear in a brief Repetition I have made by way of Journal, with some Addition of Sir *Francis Drake* himself, which is the next that follows.

### An Introduction to Sir Francis Drake's Voyage about the World.

I Have labour'd in all my Relations to walk uprightly, and with Integrity, neither swaying to the one hand, or bending to the other; I have endeavour'd to carry my Intentions so equally, as not to deserve Blame for too much commending, nor Reproof for detracting, more than Truth leads me; and as I have begun so Indifferently, so will I continue as sincerely, and say somewhat of this Noble Gentleman Sir *Francis Drake*, who is to enter into the next Rank of my Discourse.

There is no Man so perfect, but is fit to be amended, nor none so evil, but he has something in him to be prais'd: And comparing the Imperfections of Sir *Francis Drake*, with his Perfections; the World and not I shall truly judge of his Merits.

His Detractors lay to his Charge the baseness of his Birth and Education, his Ostentation, and Vain-glorious Boasting; his High, Haughty and Insolent Carriage; and except against his sufficiency for a General, tho' they allow him to be an able Captain.

His Friends and Favourers answer in his behalf, That the Meanness of his Birth was an Argument of his Worth; for what he attain'd to was by no other means than Merit: They say, that every Man is Son to his Works, and what one has by his Ancestors can scarcely be called his own; That Virtue is the Cause of Preferment, and Honour but the Effect; That a Man is more to be esteem'd for being Virtuous, than being call'd Worshipful; the one is a Title of Honour, the other of Desert.

*Marius* being upbraided by *Sylla* in the like manner, for the Baseness of his Birth, and Haughtiness of Courage, answer'd, That he was not of so great a Family as *Sylla*, yet *Sylla* could not deny but that he was the better Man; for in *Sylla's* House were Painted the Acts of his Forefathers; but in his were hung up the Banners that he himself had won from his Enemy.

In vindication of Sir *Francis Drake's* Ostentation and Vain Glory, they say it was not inherent to him alone, but to most Men of his Profession and Rank: It is true, he would speak much and Arrogantly, but Eloquently, which bred a wonder in many, that his Education could yield him those helps of Nature. Indeed he had four Properties to further his Gift of Speaking (*viz.*) His Boldness of Speech; his Understanding in what he spoke; his Inclination to Speak; and his use in Speaking; and tho' Vain Glory is a Vice not to be excus'd, yet he obtain'd that Fame by his Actions, that Facility in speaking, and that Wisdom by his Experience, that I can say no more, but that we are all the Children of *Adam*.

His Friends further say, That his haughty and high Carriage is somewhat excusable, when it appears not but in his Command; for a General ought to be Stern towards his Soldiers, Courageous in his Person, Valiant in Fight, Generous in Giving, Patient in Suffering, and Merciful in Pardoning: And if Sir *Francis Drake* was to be prais'd for most of these Virtues, let him not be blam'd or condemn'd for one only Vice. Many times where a Man seeks Obedience, it is imputed to his Pride and high Carriage; but if Peoples Hate grew upon Envy, (as it is likely) it appear'd greater than if it had been grounded upon Injury.

The Exceptions against him by those that Condemn him as an ill General, are his neglect of furnishing his Fleet to the *Indies* in 85. His not keeping *Sancto Domingo*, and *Carthagena* when he was possess'd of them in that Voyage; his weak Preparation for such an Expedition as that of *Portugal*; his Promise to go up to *Lisbon* that Voyage, and non-performance; the taking of the Pinnace in his way to the *Indies*, which discover'd his Directions in 95. All these I formerly handled; and refer

reter the Reader to the Place where they treated of; tho' something I will say of him as he was a private Captain, and especially of his renown'd Voyage about the World, being the first Attempt of that nature that ever was perform'd by any Nation, except the *Spaniards* themselves: And it was the more Honour to him, in that the *Streights of Magellan* were counted so terrible in those days, that the very thoughts of attempting it were dreadful; Secondly, in that it had been but once pass'd, and but by one Ship that ever return'd into *Europe*, and that above 69 Years before his Enterprize. His Praise was, That he could carry a voluntary Action so discreetly, so patiently, and so resolutely, in so tedious and unknown a Navigation, the condition of Seamen being apt to repine, and murmur. But lastly, and principally, that after so many Mischances and Exemities he endur'd, and almost two Years spent in unpractis'd Seas, when reason would have bid him sought home for his Rest, he left his known Course, and ventur'd upon an unknown Sea in 48 Degrees, which Sea or Passage we know had been often attempted by our Seas, but never discover'd.

This Attempt alone must silence all his Detractors; for it shew'd an extraordinary Resolution in his Person, a special De-

fire to enrich and benefit his Country, and a singular Patience to endure the Disasters and Mischances that befall them.

And yet he must not go so clear without Stain or Blemish: For you must know, that tho' he deserv'd well in the Direction and Carriage of his Journey, yet the Ground of his Enterprize was Unjust, Wicked, and Unlawful; his Design being to steal, and thereby to disturb the Peace of Princes, to rob the poor Traveller, to shed the Blood of the Innocent, and to make Wives Widows, and Children fatherless.

No Man had more Experience of the Inconstancy of Fortune than he, for the nature of Fortune is to bite when she flatters, and to strike when she is angry.

What his Birth and other Deserts were, needs no Reiteration. Fortune did much for him, but at his Death she was angry with him: First, in that there was a Doubt whether it was Natural: Secondly, and the best his Friends can say, That it was caus'd by Grief, for failing of his Expectation in that Voyage: Thirdly, after his Meritorious Services, his Heir was persecuted and perplex'd for Debts and Accounts to the Crown: And lastly, dy'd like *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, without a Child to succeed him, and perpetuate his Memory.

### Sir Francis Drake's Voyage round the World.

Sir Francis Drake departed from *Plimouth* with 5 Ships and a Pinnace on the 15th of December, 1577. The 25th he fell in with the Coast of *Barbary*; the 29th of December with the Isle of *Mayo* and *Cape Verde*; the 13th of *March* he pass'd the Equinoctial Line; the 5th of *April* he fell in with *Brazil*, and in 30 Degrees, and so to the River of *Plate*, where he lost the Company of two of his Ships, but meeting them again, took out their Provisions and cast them off.

The 29th of *May* they came to *St. Julian's* Port, where the People were extraordinary tall of Stature, and *Magellan* term'd them Giants; this was the Place where Mr. *Douty* was executed the 7th of *July*, 1578. and in the same Island where *Magellan* executed his Mutiniers, as I have shew'd before.

The 20th of *August* he fell in with the *Streights of Magellan*; the 25th of *September* he pass'd them; the 25th of *November* he came to *Macho*, a Port in *Peru*, in 30 Degrees, where he had appointed a Meeting if the Ships had lost Company, but

Captain *Winter* was return'd home after he had pass'd the *Streights*. The 25th of *December* he came to *St. Jacob*; the 29th to *Cippo*, where the *Spaniards* arm'd 300 Men against them.

In *February* he arriv'd in *Chile*; the 15th at *Lima*; the 16th of *March* at *Acaulco*, where he felt a terrible Earthquake in his Ship. From the 16th of *April* till the 5th of *June*, he sail'd without seeing Land, and arriv'd in 48 Degrees, thinking to find a Passage into our Seas, which Land he nam'd *Albion*; the People were courteous, and took his Men for Gods; they live in great extremity of Cold and Want: Here they trim'd their Ship, and departed the 25th of *July*, 1579. standing his Course for the *Molucco's*.

The 29th of *September* he fell in with certain Islands, where he met with the worst-condition'd People of all his Voyage; the 19th of *October* he came to *Mendiana*, where he Water'd; then to the Islands *Tagolada* and *Saron* the first of *November*; the 4th he had sight of the *Molucco's*, and coming to *Ternate*, was kindly and

and civilly us'd by the King: The 10th of December to Celebes, and here his Ship struck upon a Rock, but was most miraculously preserv'd; he came near to Berauin, where he was retir'd, but found the People cruel. The 16th of March he came to Java Major, thinking to go from thence to Malacca, but Necessity forc'd him to direct his Course homeward. The 25th of March, 1580. he departed from Java. The 15th of June he pass'd the Cape of Good Hope, having 57 Men, and but three

Buts of Water. The 12th of July he came under the Line; the 16th he fell in with the Coast of Guinea, and there Water'd; the 22d of August into the height of the Canaries; the 11th of September into the height of Tercera; the 24th in sight of Silly; the 25th to Plimouth, where we was well welcom'd, and his Ship afterwards carri'd to Depiford, where he lies to this day for a Monument, and himself Knighted in her, as he worthily deserv'd.

### A short Account of Mr. Cavendish's Voyage round the World in the Year 1586.

**T**his Voyage into the South Sea was often attempted byundry English Men after Sir Francis Drake had led the way, but never any of them had the Fortune or Happiness to perform it, but only Mr. Cavendish, whose Voyages I briefly Treat of next.

Mr. Cavendish having spent his best Means at Court, thought to recover himself again by a Voyage into the South Sea, for then the Wars with Spain began, and it was lawful to make any Spoil upon the Spaniards: According to his hope, he enrich'd himself with a greater Fortune than was left him at first, if Discretion had taught him how to manage it.

He built two Ships from the Stocks for this Voyage, and departed from Plimouth on the 21st of July, 1586. the 5th of August he fell into the Canaries; the 27th of September he departed from Sera Leona in Guinea; the 25th of October he fell in with the Coast of Brazil; the 6th of January he put into the Straights of Magellan, where he found but 22 Spaniards alive of 300, which Diego Flores de Valdes left there in his unfortunate Voyage he undertook to intercept the English in their Passage that way.

The 27th of February they were out of the Straights; the 14th of March came to the Island of St. Maria and Chile, after to Marmorano, and the Town of Irica; the 4th of May, 1587. he came to Pissa, from thence to Cheripa, to Paiza, and to the Island of Puma.

The 12th of July he pass'd the Equinoctial; the 28th he came to Acapulco, which he burnt; the 13th of August to the Port of Navidad, and then to St. Jago; the 3d of September to the Bay of Compostella, the 12th to the Island of St. Andrew; the 26th to the Bay of Massedan, and so to the Port of Aquicara, near the Cape of

California, where he lay till the 4th of November, and took his great and rich Prize that came from the Philippine Islands.

In 44 days he went to the Islands of Ladrones, being nigh 2000 Leagues from thence; the Island he fell in withal was call'd Guana: The 14th of January to the Philippines, he fell in with Tandaya, then to Manila, and so to the Malucco's; he pass'd by the Islands of Mindanao, Sibolla, and Borneo; the 28th to Java Major; the 29th of May he fell in with the Cape of Good Hope; the 7th of June with the Island of St. Helena; the 4th of July, 1588. he pass'd the Line, being the 4th time he had pass'd it.

The 24th of August he saw Flores and Corvo; the 3d of September he met a Flemish Hulk, that told him the good Success of our Navy against the Spaniards in 1588. the 5th he met with Captain Clarke of Southampton, who had taken a Brazil Man, and entering into our Chanel, he was in a more violent Storm and imminent Danger than in his whole Voyage, as he told me himself; the 9th he came with great Joy to Plimouth, and was receiv'd with much Applause for his honourable Enterprize, as he well deserv'd.

As there were divers English Men that attempted this Voyage to the South Sea, and only two perform'd it, as you have heard; so there were two others that pass'd the Straights, but not with the like Success, (*viz.*) Sir Richard Hawkins in 1593. who found the Spaniards better provided than when Drake and Cavendish were there; the Spaniards having Intelligence of his coming, after a long and cruel Fight, took and carri'd him and his Ship to Lyma, where he remain'd Prisoner till 1597. and was then brought for Spain, in that Fleet I met and fought at the Tercera Islands.

The



The other that pass'd the *Streights* was Mr. *John Davies*, the Discoverer to the North-West, who being Captain of the *Desire* with Mr. *Cavendish* in his Second Voyage, and the same Ship he had perform'd his Voyage about the World in, repass'd the *Streights* when Mr. *Cavendish* could not, but by contrary Winds and foul Weather was forc'd to return back again.

Captain *Davies* was after slain in his Second Voyage to the *East-Indies*. These two Voyages of *Drake* and *Cavendish* prov'd so happy, that they encourag'd not only *English Men*, but *Hollanders* to Enterprize it, hoping to annoy the *Spaniards*, those *Streights* giving a Passage to *Peru*, which afforded the greatest Wealth in the World.

### Of such English Men as attempted the Passage of the Streights, and fail'd.

IN the year 1582. and two years after *Drake's* return, Her Majesty sent two Ships and two Pinnaces, under the Command of Mr. *Edward Fenton*, to try his Fortune in the South Sea; which the King of *Spain's* hearing, he employ'd *Diego Flores de Valdes*, (who was after General of the *Cytle Squadron* for *England* in 1588) to way lay *Fenton* as he pass'd the *Streights* of *Magellan*: Which Mr. *Fenton* being inform'd of when he arriv'd at *Brazil*, and in the same Port where two of *Flores* his Ships had stay'd, and with whom he had a small Encounter, and perceiving it was in vain to proceed any farther, he return'd home without seeing the *Streights*.

1582. This Voyage of *Flores*, from the beginning to the latter end, prov'd most miserable and unfortunate; for besides the loss of the greatest part of his Fleet and Men in going and coming, he built a Fort within the *Streights*, and plac'd in it for Governor *Pedro Sarmiento* with 500 *Spaniards*, who perish'd, as before I have express'd.

1586. The Earl of *Cumberland*, on the 26th of *June*, sent two Ships and two Pinnaces to pass the *Streights* in the year after the War broke out betwixt *England* and *Spain*. These Ships arriv'd in 44 Degrees upon the

Coast of *Brazil* to the Southward of *Line*, intending to prosecute their Design for the South Sea; but being in want of all things necessary for such a Voyage, they proceeded no farther.

Mr. *Chidley* being encourag'd by the good Success of Mr. *Cavendish*, who the 9th of *September* before arriv'd from his prosperous Voyage, sold the better part of his Estate to furnish him in this Expedition for the South Sea; but his Success prov'd most lamentable, himself and most of his Men dying without seeing the *Streights*, or returning a Penny Profit towards his Expence.

Mr. *Cavendish* having spent what he got in his former Voyage, attempted a Second, but with the like Success as Mr. *Chidley*, both as to Death, and failing of the sight of the *Streights*, except in his Ship the *Desire*, which I have spoken of.

Mr. *Benjamin Wood*, a Mariner by Profession, but more Understanding than ordinary Mariners, undertook this Voyage with one Ship and a Pinnace belonging to Sir *Robert Dudley*, but there was never any News of Ship or Man, being suppos'd to be cast away upon the Shoals of *Abrolhos*, which lie in 17 Degrees to the Southward upon the Coast of *Brazil*.

### Of such Holland Ships as have pass'd the Streights, but to little Purpose or Profit.

1597. Five Ships went from *Holland*, and pass'd the *Streights* of *Magellan*, only one of them return'd by the Cape of *Good Hope*: In those Ships there went several *English Men*, and particularly one call'd Mr. *Adams* of *Lymebouze*. This Man afterwards arriv'd at the Island of *Japan*, where he was much esteem'd by the People of that Country, and found means from thence to give advertisement into

*England* of his being there, and the State of that Country, with desire that our Merchants would undertake the Trade of *Japan*: He was so industrious and careful to benefit his Country, that if he had liv'd, he intended to have attempted a Passage from thence to *England* by the North-East, which has been often enterpriz'd from hence, but still fail'd. But I do not approve of his Opinion herein, for that in

Win-

Winter the *Monson* a Season of continuing Northerly, it should pass.

1614. Five other Ships *Streights*, only the way before the end Ships and Captain

1623. The *Nassau* Fland with the great of Profit that Melterm'd the *Nassau* Prince of *Orange* ruler in them; an extraordinary Men both of Sea passing the *Streights* South Sea, they alter'd in those *Pavendish's* being the offer'd to land, Loss and Shame they could not p

America was *Vespucius* opinion, there was that Honour, of them to discover ver hear of any no not so much a Plate, when he of it.

No Man deserv'd call'd after his first Discovery ly and unthank *Spaniards* in *Hisp* vernor; for they Spain in Chains *Isabel* his Wife a Hand in this hearing of his releas'd; and he did him the great done to Subject in their Prelen

The *Spaniards* their Ingratitude account; for Credit to their a Carvel that ly Wind upon return'd but w in *Columbus's* F the Light of h But no Author or the Carvel

Winter the *Monsons* always blow Southerly, a Season of continual Night; and in Summer Northerly, full in their Teeth as they should pass.

1614. Five other Ships of *Holland* pass'd the *Streights*, only their Pinnace was cast away before the enter'd the *Streights*, which Ships and Captains I well knew.

1623. The *Nassau* Fleet departed from *Holland* with the greatest Pride and Assurance of Profit that Men could do: They were term'd the *Nassau* Fleet, because the Prince of *Orange* was the greatest Adventurer in them; they were furnish'd with an extraordinary Expence, and choice Men both of Soldiers and Sailors; but passing the *Streights*, and coming into the South Sea, they found the World much alter'd in those Parts since *Drake's* and *Cavendish's* being there, for wherefore they offer'd to land, they were repuls'd with Loss and Shame; so that in conclusion, they could not perform so much with 14

or 15 choice and brave Ships, and 2 or 3000 Men, as Mr. *Cavendish* had done with one Ship alone of 120 Tun and 30 Men, he having landed in several Places.

*Cornelius van Scouton* discover'd a new Passage into the South Sea, 3 Degrees to the Southward of the *Streights* of *Magellan*, in which Voyage he arriv'd at many Islands, in his Course to the *East-Indies*, that were never discover'd or known before, where he found People of several Complexions; but none of those Places where he arriv'd gave any great hope or promise of Profit, if the Navigation thither had been easy.

This shall suffice touching Matters of the *East-Indies*, and the *Streights* of *Magellan*, until I have occasion hereafter to mention them: And another while I will direct my Course unto *America* and the *West-Indies*, which was discover'd within few Years after the *East*.

### The Discovery of America by Columbus.

**A**merica was so call'd, after *Americus Vesputius* a *Florentine*; but in my opinion, there was least Reason to do him that Honour, of all those that took upon them to discover in his time. I could never hear of any thing he did of Fame, no not so much as the finding the River of *Plate*, when he went upon the Discovery of it.

No Man deserv'd to have that Country call'd after his Name, but *Columbus*, the first Discoverer of it, who was unworthily and unthankfully dealt withal by the *Spaniards* in *Hispaniola*, where he was Governor; for they sent him Prisoner into *Spain* in Chains: But King *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* his Wife are to be excus'd from any Hand in this unworthy Act; for they hearing of his Usage, caus'd him to be releas'd; and before this happen'd, they did him the greatest Honour that ever was done to Subjects, for they made him sit in their Preference.

The *Spaniards* cannot be excus'd for their Ingratitude to *Columbus* on another account; for they write, tho' few give Credit to their Relation, that a Pilot in a Carvel that was forc'd with an Easterly Wind upon the Coast of *America*, and return'd but with three Men alive, died in *Columbus's* Houfe, from whom he had the Light of his Discovery.

But no Author either names the Pilot's or the Carvel's Name, or where he ar-

riv'd, or to what Province in *Spain* he belong'd; but confusedly one saith, he was a *Portuguese*, another a *Spaniard*, another a *Biscayner*, another that he belong'd to the Island of *Madera*, another to *Tercera*, and they differ as much in the Place where he arriv'd. This was foully done of the *Spaniards* to detract from *Columbus*, for no other reason but that he was a Stranger.

*Christopher Colon* or *Columbus*, as we call him, was born in *Genova* in *Italy*, his Original a Mariner; afterwards he betook himself to make Sea-Cards, and had this Voyage in his Thoughts a long time, but was much troubled how to undertake it for want of Means; for he saw the King of *Portugal* busy in his Conquest of *Africa*, and in his Enterprize in the *East-Indies*; the King of *Spain* was as much taken up in his Wars of *Granada*: Whereupon he sent his Brother *Bartholomew Colon* to *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, who was both rich, and free from War, but the King gave little Credit to him; and indeed the three Kings did rather deride him, than accept of his Offers, looking upon him as a Cheat, and as an Impostor.

*Columbus* being at *Lisbon*, embark'd for *Palos de Moguer* in *Spain*, where he spake with one *Alonso Pinson*, a skilful Pilot, and a *Franciscan* Frier call'd *Perez Machino*, a learn'd Cosmographer: The Frier desir'd him to recommend his Design to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and the Duke of *Me-*

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*dina Celi*, who had Ships at that time in *St. Mary Port*; but they rejected him as the Kings had done, and look'd upon his Proposal no better than a Dream. Then the Frier advis'd him to go to the King and Queen, who were at the Siege of *Granada*, and writ to another Frier in his behalf call'd *Ferdinand de Talavera*, the Queen's Confessor: He came to the Court in 1480. and deliver'd his Petition to the King and Queen; but being a poor Man, a Stranger, and evil Apparel'd, was scorn'd, only *Alphonso de Avila*, Contador Mayor, gave him his Diet. This Contador one day carri'd him to *Pedro Gonçales de Mendoza*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, who brought him to the King and Queen, and promis'd to furnish him for his Voyage when the War of *Granada* was at an end, which happen'd not long after; and because the King wanted Money, an Officer of his, call'd *Lewis de St. Angel*, lent him 16000 Ducats.

The Discovery of the *Indies*, and beating the others out of *Spain*, after they had been there 770 Years, fell out both in one Year.

*Columbus* was furnish'd with 3 Caravels and 120 Men at *Palos de Moguer*. *Martin Pinson* was Pilot of one, *Francis Pinson* of another, and *Detra Pinson* of the third, all three Brothers, and departed the 3d of August, 1492. They came to the Island of *Gomera*, one of the *Canaries*, where they refresh'd; from thence he sail'd 34 days West without seeing Land, inasmuch that his Company murmur'd, and contriv'd his Death, but he satisfi'd them with good Words and Promises; at last he spy'd a thick Cloud, which prov'd Land, on the 11th of October, whereat they all rejoic'd, thank'd God, and kiss'd *Columbus* his Hands.

The first Land they fell in with, was call'd *Guinaya*, one of the Islands of *Lucayos*: From thence he went to *Hispaniola*, then call'd *Haitu*, where the Admiral's Ship was lost, but all the Men and Furniture sav'd.

The *Indians* fled from them, all but one Woman, whom they took and cloath'd, and us'd courteously, and let her go again; which did so much embolden the *Indians*, that they resorted to the *Spaniards*, and help'd them to unlade their Ship that was lost, and do them other Services, and with the good Will of the King they built a Castle of Wood, and left 38 *Spaniards* in it under a Captain; and this was the

first Footing the *Spaniards* had in the *Indies*. *Columbus* took ten Parrots, some *Turkies*, and other Things the Land afforded, and return'd to *Palos* in *Spain* in 50 days.

The King and Queen were at *Barcelona* when *Columbus* arriv'd, whither he went with his *Indians* and other Rarities the 3d of April, a Year after he departed from thence.

At his coming to the King the *Indians* were baptiz'd, the King, Queen, and Prince being present, who were their God-fathers and Godmothers: They caus'd *Columbus* to sit by them, which was never done to any Subject. They confirm'd the Privilege of the Tenth, and gave him the Title of Admiral of the *Indies*, and to his Brother *Barbolomeu* that of *Adalantado*.

The Queen favour'd this Discovery more than the King, and would not for a while let any *Aragonians* go to the *Indies* without Licence. The King rewarded many of *Columbus's* Company; but the Mariner, who first discover'd the Land, not being recompens'd to his Content, fled into *Barbary*, where he turn'd Turk.

The *Indians* confess'd to *Columbus*, that there were many Prophecies amongst them, That they should be subdu'd with white Men with Beards, with Apparel on their Backs, with bright Swords that should cleave a Man in sunder, and should girt their Swords to their Sides.

*Columbus* in his second Voyage had 17 Ships and 1200 Men, Mares, Sheep, Cows, and Corn to sow. The first Land he fell in with was the Island of *Desada*, and coming to *Hispaniola* he found his 38 *Spaniards* slain, through their own Fault, for injuring the *Indians*: He built a Town, and in honour of the Queen call'd it *Isabella*. And now began the *Spaniards* and *Columbus* to disagree, as I have shew'd before.

What afterwards befel the *Spaniards* in their Discoveries, and Conquests of the *Indies*, has been sufficiently handled by several Authors.

I will only treat of the famous Exploits of *Francis Pizarro*, and *Ferdinando Cortez*; the one, Conqueror of the rich Countries and Mines of *Peru*; the other, of the famous Countries of *New Spain* and *Mexico*. Their Births, Originals, and Adventures, are such, and so strange, that former times cannot shew the like, and perhaps in future Ages they will scarce be believ'd.

*Of the first Discovery of the South Sea by Vasco Nuncz de Balboa, which was the first step to the Discovery and Conquest of Peru.*

**V**asco Nuncz de Balboa, an Industrious Man, but in Disgrace with his King, undertook the Discovery of the South Sea, with but a few Spaniards, and performed it with prodigious Labour, Sufferings, and Danger from the Indians, with whom he often fought, but still came off Victorious. On the 25th of September 1513. from the top of a high Mountain he spy'd the Sea to the Southward of him, which so much rejoyc'd him and his Men, that it amaz'd the Indian King.

An Indian King on the South side Treated him with much Courtesie, carrying him in his Canoes to the Island of Pearls; and on this side Vasco built the Town of St. Michael, the first the Spaniards had there.

Vasco having discover'd the Sea and Coast, settling Friendship wheresoever he came, and gathering much Wealth, return'd to Darien, whence he first set out, and was receiv'd with much Joy and Triumph; thence he sent away a Messenger to give the King of Spain an account of his Success, who pardon'd his past Offences, and made him *Adelantado* of the South Sea.

Vasco Nuncz de Balboa continuing at Darien, Pedrarias d'Avila arriv'd there, being sent from Spain to take upon him that Government, and receiv'd by Vasco with extraordinary Honour; but had Vasco's Messenger arriv'd in time, Vasco had been appointed Governor. Pedrarias carry'd 1500 Men, but he and they behaved themselves so cruelly in all parts, that they brought much Destruction upon the Spaniards.

Vasco and he fell out, but were reconcil'd by the Bishop, and Vasco Marry'd his Daughter. Vasco being upon the South Sea, the place of his Command, Pedrarias sent for and got false Witnesses to accuse him, That he should say he would not Obey him, but would be upon his Guard with his 300 Men he had with him, if any body offer'd to wrong him: Upon this false Suggestion Pedrarias put him to death; at which the King of Spain was much offended, and Pedrarias gain'd the Ill Will of all Men; for Vasco was generally Belov'd and Respected, and the Sentence given against him was unjust, being procur'd by false Witnesses, and out of a private Grudge.

*The Actions of Francis Pizarro, Conqueror of Peru.*

**B**efore I speak of Francisco Pizarro, his Deeds and Exploits, I will set down his Birth and Education, that his Actions may seem the more strange and admirable: He was Baltard to Captain Pizarro, serving in Navarr, and was left an Infant at the Church Door, where no body would own or take compassion of him; till at last his Father for Shame took him home, and brought him to do all kind of Drudgery; and one day sending him to keep his Hogs in the Field, he gave them a sort of Poison, which kill'd several of them. The Boy not daring to return home, ran away and went to Seville, and from thence shipped himself for the Indies, and by degrees came to be Ensign, and afterwards Captain.

Pizarro and Diego de Almagro being at Panama, were desirous, like other Undertakers, to try their Fortunes in Discoveries. Almagro being rich, drew to him one Ferdinand Luque, a Schoolmaster and Priest of that Town, who was likewise

Wealthy; and all three undertook a Discovery, with a Vow one to another, equally to divide the Profit that should accrue. It was determin'd amongst them, That Pizarro should undertake the Conquest; Almagro go and come with all necessaries to relieve them; and Luque to make Provision for Supplies. This happened in the Year 1525.

The first Voyage that Pizarro made, was with one Ship, and 114 Men; he Sail'd 100 Leagues, and went ashore several times, where he found sharp Encounters, lost some of his Men, and was himself hurt in several places, which forc'd him to return to Chincama, not far from Panama; repenting of his Enterprize.

Almagro w<sup>as</sup> staid behind Pizarro, to supply him, as you have heard, went after him with 70 Men, and came to the River of St. John, and finding no sign of Pizarro's being there, return'd; but at his going back he landed at some places where he found Pizarro had been, and where he was hurt.

Almagro



*Almagro* flew and hurt several Men, and return'd to *Panama*, thinking *Pizarro* had done the like; but understanding that he was at *Chinama*, he went to him, and by consent furnish'd two Ships, and carry'd 200 *Spaniards* and some *Indians*. They arriv'd at a Marshy and Waterish place, where the People live in Trees; they are Warlike, and kill'd many *Spaniards*, and call'd them the *Scum of the Sea*, having no Fathers; and said they would have none in their Country that had Beards, or that would break their Customs.

*Pizarro* and *Almagro* had a great desire to Conquer that Country, because of the show of Gold and Stones, but could not do it with that small Force, because many of them were dead. *Almagro* return'd to *Panama* for Four-score Men more, but before his coming back, *Pizarro* endur'd great want of Victuals.

Upon *Almagro's* Return, they found their Forces so small, the Country so barren, and unhealthful, that they left it, and went to *Chinama*, where they found plenty of all things, and thought to make themselves so Rich, that they needed not to proceed further; but they were deceiv'd, for the *Indians* were their Enemies, and so many that they durst not Fight them. *Almagro* was to go back for more Men to *Panama*, and *Pizarro* to stay in the Island of *Guara*.

The *Spaniards* were so weak and tir'd, and so discontented, that they desir'd to retire with *Almagro*, and to leave their hopes of Gold; but *Pizarro* would not suffer them, either to Go or Write, lest they should have discredited the Country; and so *Almagro* would have got no Soldiers: But notwithstanding this Prohibition, the Soldiers Writ, and hid their Letters in Bottoms of Thread, by which means their Miseries came to be known, and complain'd of to the Governor, who Commanded, That no Man should stay with *Pizarro* against his Will.

At *Almagro's* coming to *Panama*, one *Pedro de la Rios* was arriv'd for Governor, who Proclaim'd, That no Man should stay with *Pizarro* against his liking; and sent a Messenger to *Pizarro* to let him know so much; whereupon most of his Men left him, and those that *Almagro* took up, run away from him; so that *Pizarro* had but 12 Men left with him, whereof one was a *Grecian*: He went to an Island called *Gorgena*, where he liv'd upon Snakes, Herbs, and Crab-fishes, till *Almagro* his return from *Panama*, and then he went over to the Main Land, and put the *Greek* ashore, who brought him news of the Riches of

that Country, and the Plenty of Victuals, with the state of their King *Atabaliba*, which was great Joy to them all; for the South Sea was the Fountain and Happiness of all their Discoveries.

*Pizarro* hereupon return'd to *Panama*, and from thence into *Spain*, to carry the Emperor news of this rich Country, which he desir'd the Government of. He left two *Spaniards* behind him to learn the Language, Customs and Riches of the Country; but they were afterwards slain by the *Indians*. *Pizarro* was above Three Years upon this Discovery of *Peru*, and endur'd as much Hunger and other Miseries as Man could do.

*Pizarro's* return to *Panama*, thence into *Spain*, and thence back again to *Peru*.

At *Pizarro's* arrival at *Panama*, he imparted the hope of his Discovery to *Almagro* and *Luques* his Associates, who were grown poor by their Undertakings; but yet furnish'd him with 1000 pieces of Gold for his Journey into *Spain*, most part of which they borrow'd.

At his arrival in *Spain*, the Emperor gave him the Title of *Adelantado* of *Peru*; and to encourage Men to go with him, *Pizarro* promis'd more Riches than he knew of, tho' not so great as after it prov'd. He carry'd with him three of his Brethren, *Ferdinand*, *John* and *Gonsalo*, *Ferdinand* only Legitimate, the others Bastards: They arriv'd in *Panama* in great Pomp and Pride; but *Almagro* was offended with *Francis Pizarro*, because he had taken upon him self all the Honour in *Spain*, and excluded him who was at all the Expence, and part of the Labour and Pains. *Pizarro* excus'd himself, which gave but little Satisfaction.

The Expence of the *Pizarro's* was so great, and their Means so small, that they could not proceed upon their Enterprize, without the help of *Almagro*; whom *Francis Pizarro* labour'd to win again. In conclusion, by mediation of Friends, *Almagro* furnish'd him with 700 Pieces, and such Arms and Victuals as he had; so that *Pizarro* proceeded with two Ships, and as many Men as he could carry: He came to a place call'd *Coaque*, where he found much Wealth, but endur'd much Misery. From hence he sent to King *Atabaliba* for Friendship, who answer'd, If he would return the Wealth gotten, and clear the Country, he would be his Friend; or else not. A Fryer was sent to persuade him, but all in vain, so that they came to a Battle; many of the *Indians* were slain, and their King taken Prisoner; and



not a Spaniard killed or hurt, but only Francis Pizarro in the Head, as he was snatching at the King to take him.

Before this, Pizarro took the Island of Puna, and gained great Wealth, which he gave to his Soldiers that came to him lately. Here his People fell sick of the Pox, a natural Disease of those parts; and here he deliver'd 70 Prisoners that had been taken by the Islanders, and sent them free to Tumbes, whence they were. Notwithstanding this Courtesie, they incensed the People against the Spaniards, and slew three that were sent in Civil manner to Treat with them; which so enrag'd Pizarro, that he took their Town and brought them to Obedience.

These things happen'd before the taking of Atabaliba Prisoner, who now being in their hands, offered for his Ransom, as much Silver and Gold as would fill a great and spacious Room wherein he was; which he truly perform'd, but the time was so long before it could be brought 200 Miles, that Ferdinand Pizarro adventur'd to go for it, and in that Journey he learnt much of the Secrets of the Country.

Francis Pizarro divided the Treasure thus gotten, and gave to every Man his due; never Soldiers in the World were so rich: he dealt justly with Almagro, and gave him what was his due; all things grew exceeding dear, a Shirt at 10 l. a Quart of Wine at 5 l. 1250 l. a Horse. Pizarro sent his Brother Ferdinand to the Emperor with his Fifths, and a Relation of what had happen'd; many Common Soldiers went, who carry'd, some 20, some 30, some 40000 Duckets in Piste.

There was an Indian called Philip, a Christian, and Interpreter to the Spaniards, who fell in love with one of Atabaliba's Wives, and thinking to Marry her after his Death, accus'd him of plotting the Destruction of the Spaniards, for which he was Condemned and Executed; but whether justly or no, is a question. Before his death he desir'd to be Baptiz'd, but whether from his Heart or no, that is uncertain.

Pizarro hearing the Fame of Cusco, Marched thither and took it, where he found as much Wealth as he had by the Ransom of Atabaliba, and it is thought there was as much hid that never came to light.

Almagro had Commission from the Emperor to be Marshal of Peru, and Governor of 100 Leagues of Land further than Pizarro: Whereupon he took upon him

to Govern Cusco, and this was the first beginning of the Strife betwixt them two, but for the present accommodated; and Almagro went to discover the Country of Chile in 1535. where he endur'd much Hunger, Cold, and other Disasters.

Ferdinand Pizarro return'd out of Spain, and came to Lyma, after Almagro's departure to Chile; and brought a Patent to his Brother, wherein he was made a Marquis, and to Almagro the Government of new Toledo.

He requir'd all the Silver and Gold that was receiv'd for the Ransom of Atabaliba for the Emperor; the other being a King: But the Soldiers answer'd, they had paid their Fifths, which was their due. This caus'd a sudden Mutiny; but Pizarro appeas'd it, tho' with the ill Will of his Soldiers. Mango, whom Pizarro had made King, Rebell'd against him, and had almost taken Cusco; in the Conflict he slew divers Spaniards.

Almagro hearing the Emperor had made him Governor, as aforesaid, return'd out of Chile and took Cusco by force, alledging it was in his Government. He imprison'd Ferdinand Pizarro: Mango the Indian King Besieg'd it, and now began Broils betwixt Almagro and Pizarro; and now did Francisco Pizarro receive many Losses by the Indians that Rebell'd against him. Pizarro sent Forces to regain Cusco from Almagro; but by Mediation of Friends they were to meet and Consult before they Fought, but to little purpose; for that Treaty broke up, and they fought a most cruel Battle, in which Almagro was taken, and put into the same Prison he had put the Brother of Pizarro, who there Condemn'd and Executed him. If the Indians had taken advantage of this Division, they had defeated the whole Power of the Spaniards.

Almagro was of mean Birth, and never known who was his Father; he could not Read, but was Valiant, Frank, Merciful, and Vain-glorious. Francis Pizarro, upon this accident, sent his Brother Ferdinand into Spain with the Emperor's Fifths, and to excuse the Death of Almagro: He came to Valladolid in great State, and with much Wealth; but within a while after was committed to Prison.

Francis Pizarro went on with his Victories, and endur'd great hardships; yet he prevail'd, got great Wealth, and made Peace with the Indian Kings. Gonzalo Pizarro was a Principal Man in all these Undertakings.

Francis

## Francis Pizarro his Death.

Francis Pizarro returning from the City of the Kings, endeavour'd to be reconcil'd to Diego de Almagro, Son to him that was put to death, but he would accept of no Conditions of Friendship; neither would John de Rada advise him to it, who was left in charge of him at his Father's Death, with Command to seek Revenge of the Pizarros; and tho' Francis Pizarro was still inform'd of the Practice against him, yet he little esteem'd of it; but notwithstanding his Security, on the 24th of June, 1541. John de Rada and Ten others entered upon him whilst he was at Dinner, and slew him; he was a Man neither Liberal nor Covetous, nor would he proclaim what he gave; he was a good Husband for the King, and a great Gamester, not regarding with whom he plaid; he would never wear Rich Apparel, and yet sometimes would put on a Garment that Ferdinand Cortes lent him; he took a Pride to wear white Clothes, and a white Hat, in imitation of Columbus the Great Captain; he us'd his Soldiers well, and got their Loves; he was Gross, Valiant and Honourable, and negligent of his Health or Life.

Upon his Death, his and Almagro's Faction had many Bickerings, and at last those of Almagro's Party seditiously Proclaim'd there was no other Governor in Peru but Diego de Almagro. He appointed John de Rada his General; they committed many Infolencies, Murders and Cruelties; they divided all the Goods of the Pizarro's and their Friends, and plac'd whom they list'd in Command, meaning to make Diego de Almagro their King.

The Emperor hearing of those Tumults in Peru, sent one Vaca de Castro, a Doctor, with Authority to punish them; and he coming thither, those who stood for the Emperor repaired to him: Whereupon Almagro prepar'd all his Forces to meet him, where they fought a cruel Battle, in which Almagro was overthrown; tho' more Men were slain on the other side; few Captains escap'd, and those that were hurt, Dy'd, by reason of the great Frost and Snow that was in the Country.

Vaca de Castro executed 30 of the Principal Offenders, and banish'd divers others. Almagro fled to Cusco, thinking to find Relief; but his Lieutenant he left there, hearing the success of the Battle, apprehended him, and Vaca de Castro at his coming thither cut off his Head.

This Diego de Almagro was a Bastard, whom his Father had by an Indian Wo-

man in Panama; but he was braver than the Mellissos us'd to be; he was the first that ever took up Arms against the King in the Indies: His Followers were so Loving and Constant to him, that tho' they had often offers of Pardon, they would not leave him.

Vaca de Castro settled things in good order, gave the Indians content, who now begun again to cultivate their Grounds, which before they could not do for the Wars; and about this time many Mines were discover'd.

The Emperor being informed of the Revolts in Peru, and the ill usage of the Indians, he displac'd his Commissioners there, and chose others, giving them an Oath to deal Justly, and to order things Uprightly. He made Forty Laws, and Sign'd them at Barcelona the 20th. of November, 1542. but these Laws were ill taken in Peru.

He sent Blasco Nuñez Vela, with the Title of Viceroy, with the Laws aforesaid, wherein the Emperor gave great Freedom to the Indians, which discontented the Spaniards, tho' no doubt the Emperor did it out of a good Conscience.

These things bred so great a Heart-burning in the Spaniards, that with one consent all the Towns of Peru Revolted, and made Gonzalo Pizarro their General. The Viceroy Arm'd as much on the other side; and first sent the Bishop to perswade Pizarro; but he would admit no Treaty. The Viceroy was hated of all Men, and especially for Murdering the King's Factor, that was taken Prisoner in the City of the King's.

Now began great Garboils, what with the imprisoning of the Viceroy, and the coming of Gonzalo; but before this hapned, the Viceroy had imprison'd Vaca de Castro, and the Five Commissioners that came with him out of Spain, for the better appeasing of things, and sent Castro Prisoner into Spain.

Pizarro came to the City of the King's, and caused the Emperor's Commissioners to admit him for Governor. Those that had the Charge to carry the Viceroy Prisoner into Spain, set him at liberty, which prov'd an unlucky Service; for if he had been carry'd into Spain, Pizarro would have agreed with the Commissioners. Pizarro strengthened himself as well by Land as by Sea, and sent Ferdinand Bachicao with 50 Men, who was esteem'd a Coward, but did much Mischief: He increas'd his two Brigantines to 28 Ships, and came to Panama, where he did what he pleas'd, like a Tyrant. His Death

was practis'd in *Panama*, which he hearing, prevented, with the Death of those that intended it, and returned to *Peru* with 400 Men, to the Defence of *Pizarro*, who followed his Victory, and put his Enemies to many Straights. They committed great Cruelties one against another when they were taken on either side.

*Pizarro* hearing of the great Spoils that *Baebicao* made at Sea, by Consent of his Council displac'd him, and put in *Pedro de Hinojosa* in his room.

*Pizarro* sent *Hinojosa* to scour the Seas, lest they should make head against him, and to give Satisfaction for the Spoils that *Baebicao* had made; but they of *Panama* were jealous of him, till at last they agreed he should enter the Town with 40 Men,

and afterwards to return to *Peru* to *Pizarro*.

The Vice-Roy, *Blasco Núñez* and *Pizarro*, came to a Battle, in which the Vice-Roy was taken Prisoner, and being known to one that had loved him, he cut off his Head, and the next day buried him, *Pizarro* mourning in Black for him.

After this *Pizarro* governed with great Justice and Uprightness, till he was drawn into Tyranny by *Francis Carvajal*, and others, who would make him King, saying, They might do it, because the Country was gained by them, as well as *Pelains* King of Spain when the *Moor* entered it. They would have condition'd to have *Ferdinando Pizarro*, who was Prisoner in Spain, set at Liberty; Others proposed to bring in the Turk amongst them.

### *Gasca sent out of Spain to quell the Rebellion in Peru.*

THE Emperor hearing of the Tumult in *Peru*, occasioned by the Commissioners proceeding against the Vice-Roy, and the Insolencies of *Pizarro*, being then troubled with his Wars of Germany, chose out a milder Man than *Blasco Núñez* to govern in *Peru*, which was *Pedro de la Gasca*, a Priest; a Man whose Wisdom was tried in other Affairs. He went with little Shew of Pride; the Commissioners he chose to be such as he could trust, and he had the Title of President. The Emperor writ to *Pizarro*, and dated his Letter from *Venlo* in Germany in February 1646.

*Gasca* arriv'd at *Nombre de dios*, and carry'd himself mildly, saying, He came not to make War, but according to his Profession to make Peace, and revok'd the Rigour of the Laws that caus'd the War. From *Panama* he sent the Emperor's Letters, and writ himself to *Pizarro*, telling him, He was come to pardon all Offences, to draw him to Obedience, to give Satisfaction to his People, and if he refus'd this Grace, to make War.

*Pizarro* was enrag'd at the Receipt of these Letters, and would not suffer the Gentleman that brought them to sit down, which the Gentleman took for a great Affront. *Pizarro* call'd for his Friends, to consult what Answer to give the President's Letter. *Carvajal*, the chief Incendiary, was absent, and therefore it was hop'd he would accept of Grace; yet every Man delivering his Opinion, some advis'd to take and raze *Panama* and *Nombre de dios*, that the Emperor might have no Place to relieve his Men

and Shipping, and they having all the Ships in the South Sea, might without Fear enjoy *Peru* to themselves, and then doubted not but to make New Spain Revolt too, or at least they would rob all the Towns on the Sea-Coast, and live by Spoil and Rapine, which indeed they might have done, having the General of the Sea true to them.

*Pizarro* cunningly answer'd *Gasca's* Letter, by Consent of Thirty of his Men, under their Hands; That they understood of his coming by *Hinojosa*, General of the Sea, and the fair Shew of Good he pretended, but it was too late, after so many Murders, occasioned by the Vice-Roy's; perswading him to return to inform the Emperor, That they would receive no Governor but *Pizarro*, and offered to send some Man of Quality into Spain to make their Case known to the Emperor. *Carvajal* diverted *Pizarro* from all good Intentions, and would not suffer him to make any Acknowledgment to Spain: They sent these Letters to *Gasca*, and offered to give him a great quantity of Money to depart home, and if he refus'd it, they writ to their Admiral *Hinojosa* to apprehend him. These Letters being brought to *Panama*, put *Gasca* in fear that he should be kill'd; for they absolutely refus'd to receive him in *Peru*.

*Gasca* dealt so cunningly with *Hinojosa*, that he brought him to submit himself and Fleet, and became a true Servant to the Emperor. This was the Overthrow of *Pizarro*; and *Hinojosa* was continu'd General, and none of his Captains displac'd. *Gasca* now prepar'd again for War,

and furnish'd himself for his Journey to Peru; and before his Arrival sent a Pardon to all the common fort. In his Expedition he carry'd himself courteously, lovingly and friendly.

*Gasca's* Carriage, and the Submission of the Ships, made a great Change amongst the Rebels; for happy was he that could appear for the Emperor. *Pizarro* was much griev'd to hear of these Alterations, but, like a Courageous Captain, sent to all his Friends to come to him with their Forces, but most part of them forsook him, and the Town of *Lyma*, *Cusco*, and the rest, took part with the Emperor.

When *John de Casta* came to *Pizarro* to *Arequipa*, they consulted what to do, having 450 Men in the whole Country against them: He resolv'd to go to *Chile*, where never *Spaniards* had been; but he was followed by one *Centeno*, with a loyal Party for the Emperor, between whom was fought a cruel Battel, *Pizarro* gaining the Victory: He lost 220 Men, and *Centeno* many more. *Centeno* fled, but the others having so great a Loss did not follow him. *Pizarro*, upon the Victory, divided his Forces into several Parts. *Cepeda*, a principal Man of Account on his side, perswaded him to make Conditions with *Gasca*, which he would not do, but was angry at the Motion, and grew suspicious of him.

*Gasca* came into Peru with 2000 Men, where he heard of the Overthrow *Pizarro* had given *Centeno*; and his Men being sickly, and finding the Corn green, and not to be eaten, they were much discouraged; but *Centeno* coming with the remainder of his Forces, put them into Heart; whereupon he went in the Pursuit of *Pizarro*, but had great Trouble in passing the River *Apurima*. *Pizarro* being advertis'd of it, departed from *Cusco* with 1000 Soldiers. *Donna Maria Calderon* speaking against the Tyranny of *Pizarro*, *Fran. Calderon* entred her Chamber one Morning, and strangled her in her Bed. Now came their Armies in view of one another, every one taking advantage of the Place: *Gasca* delay'd giving Battel, in hopes that most of *Pizarro's* Men would leave him, but they did not, and he being forced by Snow, Cold and Hunger, engag'd in the heat of the Action. *Cepeda*, who (as I said before) advis'd *Pizarro* to accept of Conditions, fled to *Gasca*, which much disheartened *Pizarro's* side. This Example, and others that did the like, made most of them yield.

*Pizarro* seeing it, chose rather to submit than fly, and yielded himself to *Villa*

*Vicentia*, Serjeant-Major, who carried him to *Gasca*. Never such a Battel was fought, in which the Heads and Chief Commanders were Doctors and Scholars.

*Gasca* sent Forces to cut off those that escap'd in their way to *Cusco*, and to secure the Town. The day following, being the 5th of April, 1548. *Gasca* committed the Cause of *Pizarro* and other Offenders to Judges, who condemn'd him and 13 more to Death, whereof *Francisco Carvajal* was one, and indeed the chief Promoter of all the Mischief in those Parts. He was 84 years of Age, and had been an Ensign in the Battel of *Ravenna*: He was Soldier to the great Captain *Gonzalo Fernandez*, and the most noted Soldier in the Indies, yet never counted valiant nor skilful. It was a By-word, *As cruel as Carvajal*, because he had been the Executioner of 400 *Spaniards*. *Pizarro* caus'd to be put to Death after *Blasco Nuñez* came into Peru, carrying Blacks with him continually for that purpose. *Pizarro* was never overthrown but in this Battel, though he had fought many.

*Gasca's* Soldiers look'd for a better Reward than was given them, tho' indeed they were well dealt with, yet they mutiny'd upon it, but were soon quieted.

*Gasca* took a Course for the Ease of the Indians, and to reduce them to the Christian Religion, as also for the peaceable Government of the Kingdom.

When *Gasca* arriv'd at *Nombre de Dios* out of Spain, he brought not 100 Men with him, nor Money; but procur'd Credit, and at his going away paid all Debts, and carried with him to the Emperor almost Two Millions, but for himself not a Penny, being the first Man in Authority that ever did the like; for Covetousness was the Bane of all the Spanish Affairs.

No Man that had Commanded in Peru had escap'd Death or Imprisonment but this *Gasca*; *Francisco Pizarro* and his Brothers beheaded *Almagro*; *Almagro's* Son murdered *Francisco Pizarro*; *Blasco* apprehended *Vuaca de Castro*; *Gonzalo Pizarro* slew *Blasco Nuñez*, and *Gasca* did as much to *Gonzalo Pizarro*. There were slain 158 Captains and Men in Authority, which is to be imputed to the Genius and Riches of the Country; for the like Divisions happened before the *Spaniards* came thither, which made a long War amongst them.

When *Gasca* had settled all Things in good order, he prepared for his Return into Spain, and came to *Panama*, leaving much Wealth there, which he could not carry; but it happened that Two Sons



of *Rodrigo Contreras*, Governor of *Nicaragua*, with 200 Soldiers, enter'd the Town, and took the Treasure, and as much more as they could get. One of the Two Brothers got himself with his Wealth into Two or Three Ships, the other follow'd *Gasca*, thinking to rob and kill him. They murder'd many, and slew a Bishop, because he sent to their Father into *Spain* on account of their Villanies: They drew to them all Factious and Discontented People that favour'd the Party of *Pizarro*.

*Gasca* hearing of those Disorders, return'd with speed, fought with and overcame them; One of the Brothers was drown'd in passing a River: He dispatched Ships after the other, and took him and all his Wealth. This prov'd a fortunate Success to *Gasca*, and got him great Honour.

He embark'd at *Nombre de dios* for

*Spain* in 1550. with much Wealth for others, and Reputation to himself: His going, coming, and staying, was little more than Four Years.

The Emperor made him Bishop of *Placentia*, and sent for him to *Ausburg* in *Germany*, where he then lay, because he would be inform'd by word of Mouth of all Proceedings, and the State and Condition of the People of the *Indies*.

This shall suffice for so much as concerns the Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of the *Spanish* Conquest of *Peru*, which were full of Difficulties, Hazards, and cruel Murders among themselves. For what concerns particular Men, Towns, and Countries, I refer you to divers Authors, as well in *Spanish* as *English*: And will now proceed to the Conquest of *New Spain* and *Mexico*, by that Renowned and Fortunate Gentleman Don *Ferdinand Cortes*.

### The Exploits of Don Ferdinand Cortes, Marquis del Valle.

*Ferdinand Cortes* was the Son of a Gentleman, but of small Fortunes; and seeing his Father could not maintain him in the Port of his Birth, he desir'd to put himself into the World, and, with his Father's Blessing, and little help otherwise, he made shift to get into the Wars of *Italy*, where he staid not above a year, through Want and Sickness, and being forced by Necessity to return for *Spain*, was forced to beg till he got to *Sevil*, knowing his Father's Circumstances could not relieve him at home.

Not long after his Arrival at *Sevil*, there happen'd a Fleet to depart from thence to the *Indies*, in which he procur'd a Passage, and being taught to write and read, put himself into the Service of a Scrivener, and by degrees, through his own Industry, advanced himself to perform those Actions you shall read in the following Discourse.

After running through several Employments in *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, he became familiar and intimate with the Governor of that Island, *Diego Velasquez*. This Governor, upon the Report of the Wealth of *Jucatan*, had sent his Nephew *John de Grijalva* to discover along that Coast, who returning with a promising Account of the Riches, not only of that Coast he was sent to, but of that afterwards call'd *New Spain*, *Velasquez* fitted out a Fleet at his own Expence to conquer that Country, and gave the Command of it to *Cortes*,

whom, upon second Thoughts, he design'd to have removed, which *Cortes* having Intelligence of, he halted away with his Fleet upon his Discovery.

Being arrived at *Vera-Cruz*, and receiving there Information of the vast Wealth of the King of *Mexico*, he set forward towards him on the 16th of *August*, 1519. with 500 Foot, 15 Horle, and 1300 *Indians* to carry the Bagage.

After Four Days March he came to a goodly Country, called *Chinibeca*, but before he came thither he had pass'd high Hills, full of Snow and Ice, tho' it was in *August*.

Next he came to *Tlafcalla*, a People who were Enemies to the *Mexicans*: *Cortes* overthrew them in Three Conflicts; The Town had 20000 Houses, very fair, and handfom Markets and Fairs: *Cortes* took it by night, and returned to his Camp, where he found his Men in mutiny, but appeas'd them, out of hope they should spread abroad the Gospel of Christ.

From thence he went to *Chalcoacan*, a Country no less fruitful, where he was entertain'd with their kind of Musick, but they were set on by the King of *Mexico* to betray him, which was discovered by an *Indian* Woman; and *Cortes* suddenly set upon them and overcame them. The King of *Mexico* sent to excuse himself of this Treason, and to lay it upon the People of the Country: He sent to invite

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Cortes.



Cortes to Mexico, and as he pass'd the Country he was well entertain'd, especially in *Tlatelulco* and *Xalisco*, the one Friend, the other Enemy to the *Mexicans*.

When Cortes came within half a Mile of *Montezuma*, the King sent 1000 Courtiers, all in one Garb, to meet him, who saluted him one after another, first touching the Ground with their Fingers, and kissing it; then came *Montezuma* with 200 better Apparel'd, two and two together, without Shoes, tho' they use Shoes at other times; he lean'd upon two of his Nobility, to shew that he was upheld by his Nobles.

Cortes was told, he must not touch the King, for that it was the Custom of the Country; he presented the King with a Chain of Bugles, and some Diamonds in it, which the King took in good part, and gave him in Requital another of Gold wrought in Snails, Crabs, and such Toys. He lodg'd Cortes in his Palace with great Solemnity, and made liberal Provision for his Army. The King erected a curious Throne of State, where he directed his Speech to the Spaniards, as follows:

*Noble Soldiers, and merciful Captains to them that yield, you are welcome into this Country of ours; I would have you know, that our Fore-fathers have told us, and our Chronicles declare it, That we are not anciently of this Land wherein we live, but brought hither by a King, who left us here, because we refus'd to return with him in Company: Our Fore-fathers marry'd, had issue, built Houses, which we Enjoy; and we have ever been of Opinion, that they will come to us again, and make us Subjects to them, as they have formerly been to our Ancestors. And therefore considering from whence you come, and that you are sent from a great King, we yield to you all Obedience and Service, and make account you are enter'd into your own Houses.*

*I am not ignorant of what hath happen'd to you by the way, and that the Cempoalans have spoken ill of me; they are my Enemies, and I pray you believe them not: I know they tell you my Houses and Walls are Gold, and that I make my self a God: But I pray you behold my Houses that are made of Wood, Lime, and Stone, and my self a filthy Man like others. Indeed I have Plate from my Ancestors, and what I have shall be yours. I must now depart, but will so provide, that neither you nor yours shall want.*

Cortes answer'd, "That what he said was true, and that the King of Spain was the King they look'd for, and that he was sent thither purposely to let them know so much. After they had pass'd six days in great Jollity, Cortes had News

that some of his Men were murder'd by the King's Appointment; for which he was glad, thinking to take that occasion to subdue and conquer him and his Country.

Cortes sent for the Malefactors, and put them to Death: They accus'd *Montezuma*, whom likewise he imprison'd, but within a while after he set him at liberty: He confess'd his Fault, and promis'd his Allegiance ever after.

The King chose rather to dwell in the Palace with Cortes, than at Pleasure abroad. To give him Satisfaction, he sent to discover Mines for him, and procur'd a great quantity of Wealth to present him; he wish'd and advis'd his Nobles to obey Cortes, and labour'd how he might subdue *Cacomacsn*, his Vassal, who wholly refus'd to submit to Cortes. This Act of his was affirm'd by Publick Notaries in Writing by the Consent of all the Nobility, and interchangeably given to one another.

*Valasques*, the Governor of *Cuba*, envying Cortes, sent *Narvaes* with 18 Sail of Ships, to command Cortes to go out and quit *Mexico*; whereat Cortes was amaz'd, and in a Dilemma; for if he made head against *Narvaes*, the Indians would presently have revolted, and if he did not, *Narvaes* would in time possess himself of the Country: Wherefore he resolv'd with 170 Men to go against *Narvaes*, leaving a Garrison in *Tenustitlan*, which he commended to the Care of the King. *Narvaes* had 800 Spaniards, and 19 great Pieces; nevertheless Cortes set upon, took him, and the rest yielded themselves.

In this interim, the Citizens of *Tenustitlan* revolted against the King and Spaniards, and assaulted the Castle, alledging, their Dislike to the Spaniards was for breaking down their Idol.

Cortes hasten'd thither with 70 Horse, and 500 Spaniards, which gave Heart to them in the Castle; the Indians were desperate, and desir'd rather to die than live: They put Cortes to a Retreat, which imbolden'd them much.

Cortes afterwards us'd many Engines, and other Inventions; and tho' he slew multitudes of Indians, yet they valu'd it not: *Montezuma* looking out of a Window, thinking to dissuade the People from their Violent Courses against the Spaniards, was struck with a Stone, of which Wound he dy'd within three days. He was a Man of a good Nature, Wife, and Prudent; the Spaniards gave the *Mexicans* his Body to bury, and offer'd the Indians Conditions of Peace; which they wholly refus'd, vowing to thrust the Spaniards out of

of their Country, tho' it were with the loss of 1000 Men to one. Yet within a day they deceitfully made a Proposition of Peace, which Cortes accepted of; and to give them the more Content, he set a Priest of theirs at liberty, thinking it would have wrought more heartily; but the day following, when Cortes had the least suspicion of them, and sat quietly at Dinner, they attempted one of his Houses: Whereupon he suddenly rose from Table, and with his Horse charg'd the Indians, where he lost divers Men, and was himself fore wounded, and scarce able to retire. It was now come to that pass with the Spaniards, that they must either perish, or quit the City, and that night they resolv'd to fly with *Montezuma's* Children, and Treasure; but the Indians having notice of it, pursu'd them, recover'd the Prisoners, slew 150 Spaniards, 41 Horses, and 2000 Indians that took their part. Now did Cortes endure great Misery and Famine, and had but one dead Horse to feed on in five days, till he came to *Tlascalla*.

The *Tlascallans* entertain'd him courteously, where he stay'd ten days; he built many Fortresses for his own safety and theirs, and sent for Aid into *Hispavola*: In the mean time he gain'd the Love of many Indians, who took Part against the Mexicans.

Cortes built 13 Boats; and on the other side, the new King of Mexico prepar'd for War, and made certain Pikes to annoy the Horse, which they fear'd more than the Men. Cortes cut a Passage into the Salt Lake, for his Boats to have a Passage to the Siege of *Tenustitlan*: These Ships intercepted all Provision, and annoy'd the Indians infinitely. Cortes assail'd the Town in four places, having in his Army 120000 Men; some came for Fear, some for Liberty, some for Friendship, some out of Gain: This Siege lasted ten Weeks, and wasted 10000 People with Famine, and other Misfortunes. Cortes by chance took the new King, as he was stealing away secretly by the Lake: He subdu'd *Tenustitlan*, and 14 Towns by the Lake side; as also all the Mexican Realms, and Provinces to the Crown of Spain, giving great Spoil to the Soldiers, and reserving the Fifth to the King.

Cortes deserv'd more Honour than all the rest of the Spaniards, for his Conquest in the Indies; he subdu'd *New Spain*, and gave it that Name because it was like Spain; he may very well be compar'd to *Marius* and *Scipio* in the Roman State: His House remains great to this day, and has the Title of *Marquis del Valle*, which he left to his Posterity.

Cortes being afterwards Captain General, and *Mendoza's* Vice-Roy of *Nova Espana*, there happen'd many private Grudges between them, but yet they join'd together for the finding out of the Passage from those Seas to ours, which we properly call the North-West Passage; as also in the Conquest of *Sibola* and *Quivira*, where they were perswaded by certain Friars, That the People worship'd the Cross, and had other Tokens of Christianity: But all prov'd false, and few Spaniards return'd home, their Misery was so great, and the Country so cold and barren, the People cruel, and 300 Leagues from Mexico.

Cortes, after his taking Mexico, sent to discover the Northern Parts, and his People arriv'd in a Country where *Ticoantipe Cician* Pipe was King, who receiv'd them lovingly, and sent an Ambassador to Cortes, thinking he was come out of the Clouds, and that their Vessels were great Whales: They wonder'd at their Horses, and accepted a friendly Peace, offering Cortes 30000 Men to assist in conquering *Tutepec*, who was his Enemy for using the Christians well.

Notwithstanding that *Ferdinand Cortes* had deserv'd as much Honour as could be laid upon him, to the Disgrace and Shame of that Time and Age, he was call'd from his Command, and at his arrival in Spain was unworthily dealt withal.

He afterward went the unfortunate Journey with *Charles the First* to *Argiers*, not having so much Command as to be admitted a Councillor of War. In that Expedition he lost two Emeralds in the Field, which could never be found again, valu'd at 100000 Crowns. He dy'd the same Year, and much about the same time that *Henry the Eighth*, King of England, di'd.

*The Names of the First Governors of the Island Hispaniola, where the Spaniards made their First Habitation, and from whence they discover'd other Parts of the West-Indies; with an Account of all those Discoveries.*

**C**hrisopher Columbus was Governor 8 years, during which time he and his Brother Bartholomew conquer'd and peopled the greatest part of it, and made it beneficial to the King.

Francis de Bovadilla succeeded Columbus, and sent him Prisoner into Spain; he govern'd 3 years, and well.

Nicholas de Ovando was next, and went thither with 30 Ships, into which Bovadilla put all the Wealth he had got for himself and the King, which was the greatest the Indies had afforded till then; but all these Ships with their Wealth, except six, were cast away in a Storm. Ovando was a Religious Man, and govern'd 7 years with much Wisdom. When he went thence, he was so poor, that he was forc'd to borrow Money for his Expences, tho' his Revenue was 2000 l. a year. He would not suffer any scandalous Person to live among them; he conquer'd some Provinces not subdu'd before, pacify'd others, and was made Chief Commendary of *Alicantara* when he return'd home.

James Columbus govern'd 6 or 7 years, but was remov'd, and in Disgrace with the King, with whom he had several years Suits for his Father's Right to the Indies.

F. Luis of Figueroa, Prior of the Monastery of *Mayorano*, was sent by Cardinal *Ximenes*, who govern'd after the Death of King *Ferdinand*, and his Queen. He took from the Courtiers all their Indians, because they being in Spain, their Servants us'd the Indians very ill. He put them to School to be instructed, but many of them died of the Small-Pox. In his time the planting of Sugars in that Island was much improv'd.

After him went *Marcello de Villalobos*, but with the Title of President, which still continues.

The first Bishop of *Sto. Domingo* was D. F. Garcia de Podilla, a Franciscan. Many Miracles were wrought in the first Conversion of the Indians. The first Archbishop of *Sto. Domingo* was *Alfonso de Fuca Mayor*.

In the Island the Spaniards found no sort of four-footed Beasts, except three sorts of Coneyes; but they have now all sorts of Cattel, and of one Cow there came 800 in 26 years. Many of the Dogs the

Spaniards carry'd, turn'd wild, and did more harm than Wolves; and the Cats they carry'd out of Spain would not Caterwaul there.

*The Islands of the Lucayo's.*

These Islands are 400 in number, lying to the Northward of *Hispaniola*, and the first discover'd by Columbus. The People are fairer than in *Cuba*, and Indians us'd to come from other Places to live with those Women. They had no Flesh, and when the Spaniards carry'd them to *Hispaniola*, and gave them Flesh to eat, they dy'd. They thought, that when they dy'd they were carri'd into the Northern Regions, and from thence to Paradise in the South.

Seven Inhabitants of *Hispaniola*, amongst whom was *Lucas Vazquez de Aylon*, a Scholar, and Auditor of the Island, fitted out two Caravels at *Puerto de Plata*, in the year 1520. to fetch Indians from the Islands *Lucayos* to work in their Mines; but they found no Men there, and therefore resolv'd to go Northward for some, because they would not lose their Labour. They came into 32 Degrees, where is now Cape St. Helen, and the River *Jordan*. The Indians took their Ships for great Fishes, and entertain'd the Spaniards well, who brought away two of those Indians, one whereof was cast away in one of the Caravels, the other starv'd himself to Death.

*Lucas Vazquez*, by the Report of an Indian, suppos'd the Country to be rich, and therefore went into Spain to beg Leave of the Emperor to conquer it. Leave was granted, and he being made a Knight of the Order of St. *Jago*, return'd to St. *Domingo*, where he fitted out some Ships in the year 1524. but his Admiral Ship was lost in the River *Jordan*, with many Men; and this was his End.

*S. John de Puerto Rico, or Borriquen.*

The People of this Island were braver than those of *Hispaniola*. Columbus discover'd it in his second Voyage, and *John Ponce de Leon* went to inhabit it in 1509. The King and Queen receiv'd him courteously, and became Christians. At first they thought the Spaniards were immortal, wherefore to try it by Consent, they drown'd

drown'd one *Salcedo*, whom they much fear'd; and seeing he dy'd when they threw him into the Water, they took Heart, revolted and kill'd 500 *Spaniards*. They much dreaded a Dog call'd *Bezerillo*; his Master receiv'd Pay of the Emperor for him, and the Dog did great Service. He would distinguish betwixt the *Indians* that were Friends and Foes; at last he was kill'd with a poison'd Arrow. The first Bishop of this Island was *Afonso Manso*, Anno 1511.

#### Florida.

The Admiral *Columbus* taking *John Ponce* from his Government at *Borriquen*, and he being left without Command, and rich, fitted out two Caravels, and not finding the Island *Boynea*, where the *Indians* told the *Spaniards*, there was a Well that made old Men young, he discover'd the Coast of *Florida* on Easter Day, An. 1515. He fitted out 3 Ships at *Sevill*, came to *Guadalupe*, where putting Men ashore for Wood and Water, and to wash their Clothes, the People of that Island slew them. Thence he went to *Florida*, where the *Indians* standing on their guard, wounded him, and many more, and he died of his Hurt at *Cuba*, after losing much of his Wealth. He sail'd with *Columbus* in the year 1493. and was a good Officer, and did good Service.

*Ferdinand de Soto*, who had been in the Wars of *Peru*, and was grown rich by the Ranom of *Atabaliba*, desir'd the Conquest of *Florida*, whither he went, and spent 5 years in the Attempt: but he and all his Men dy'd without doing any thing.

After the Death of this *Soto*, many su'd for the Conquest of *Florida*, and in 1548. *Julian Samano* begg'd it; but the Emperor thinking it no good course to convert the *Indians* by force, sent several Friars to convert them; but the *Indians* kill'd four of them at their first landing.

#### Panuco.

Fifty Leagues from *Florida* is the River of *Panuco*. The first Discoverer of it was *Francis de Garay*, who only sail'd along the Coast; but he that undertook the Conquest was *Pamphilo de Norvaez*, with the Tide of *Adelantado*. He sail'd from *S. Lucar*, with 5 Ships, 600 Men, 1000 Horses, and all other Provisions, in the year 1527. and suffer'd much by the way through the Ignorance of his Pilots: Yet he proceeded with 300 Men; but his Fault was, that he did not inhabit where he landed. Of the 300 *Spaniards* that went ashore with him, only four liv'd, who wander'd

6 years up and down naked, and wrought many Miracles, as healing of Diseases, and raising a dead Man to Life. This *Norvaez* was he that went to oppose *Cortes* in *New Spain*. A *Morisco* foretold it to him, That his Fleet should have an ill End, and few of it escape.

*Francis de Garay* fitted out 3 Caravels at *Jamaica* in the year 1528. intending to attempt *Florida*, which they thought of to be an Island, for they were more willing to inhabit Islands than the Continent. Attempting to land, all his Men were either kill'd or hurt; but he got to *Panuco*, and return'd to *Jamaica*, where he refitted his Ships, and recruited his Forces, but had worse Success than before. He vy'd with *Cortes*, hoping to gain as much Honour as he had done, because the Country promis'd well. He therefore provided 11 Ships, with 700 Men, 150 Horses, and all Necessaries, and sail'd to *Panuco*, where he lost all, but himself, who escap'd to dye afterwards at *Mexico*. *Nuño de Guzman* was also Governor of *Panuco*; he carry'd but 2 or 3 Ships, and 80 Men, and yet reveng'd the Slaughters the *Indians* had made.

#### Jamaica.

*Columbus* discover'd *Jamaica* in his Second Voyage. His Son *James* conquer'd it, when he was Governor of *Hispaniola*. *Francis de Garay* was the richest Governor it ever had, but for his Loss in the Expedition to *Panuco*. This Island breeds the best Hogs in the *Indies*: The chief Town is call'd *Sevil*. The first Abbot it had was *Peter Martyr of Angleria*, who writ the Decades of the *Indies*.

The Discovery of *New Spain* is before, with the Actions of *Cortes*.

#### Cuba,

Was discover'd by *Columbus*, and call'd *Fernandina*, from King *Ferdinand*: *Nicolas de Ovando* began the Conquest of it when he was Governor of *Hispaniola*: The chief Town and Port in it is the *Havana*. The first Bishop was *Hernando de Mesa*, a *Dominican*. Many Miracles were wrought in this Island, by which means it was the sooner subdu'd.

#### Tucatan.

*Francis Hernandez de Cordova* discover'd it, Anno 1517. having 100 Men with him. Here landing to take water he was oppos'd, and had 20 Men kill'd, 50 wounded, as he was himself in 33 places, and two taken, whom the *Indians* sacrific'd. He return'd to *Cuba* troubled for his Loss.

but



but glad that he had found such a fruitful Country.

*Ponce de Montojo* went next to conquer it, with 500 *Spaniards*, in Ships of his own, and built a Town call'd *Santa Maria de Victoria*. Here he endur'd much Hunger, and other Miseries, but outliv'd them, and continu'd 20 years, marrying an *Indian* Woman, and following the Customs of the *Indians*. He refus'd to go with *Cortes* upon his Conquest.

His Companion *Aguila* peopled *Campeche*, *Amerida*, *Villa Rica*, *Salamanca*, and *Sevil*, where he liv'd quietly and peacefully with the *Indians*, who in this place worship'd the Cross, and had Temples and Altars, which made the *Spaniards* conceit, that some of the *Gorbs* fled thither when the *Moors* subdu'd *Spain*.

#### *Honduras*.

*Columbus* discover'd all this Coast, thinking to find a Passage into the South Sea. *Francis de las Casas* found *Trunillo* in the year 1525, by order of *Cortes*. Here the *Spaniards* imprison'd and kill'd one another.

The People are ill natur'd, but very obedient to their Masters. The first Bishop's Name was *Pedrasca*; the first Governor was *James Lopez de Salzedo*, kill'd by his own People. Next to him was *Vasco de Herrera*, who was kill'd in the same manner, as were other Governors.

#### *Nombre de Dios*.

The Country about it was call'd *Veragua*, discover'd by *Columbus*, Anno 1502. *James de Nicuesa*, who went with *Columbus* in his Second Voyage, obtain'd the Government of it, and fitted out in *Spain* 9 Vessels with 780 Men in 1508. He coasted along to *Cartagena*, where he found the Company of *Alonso de Hojeda*, his great Friend, in Distress, the *Indians* having kill'd 70 of his Men; which they reveng'd, entering their Houses by night, and killing and taking them all Prisoners.

After this, *Nicuesa* pass'd from *Hojeda* with two Caravels, appointing the rest to follow him. *Lopez de Olano*, who had the Command of a Vessel, mis'd of him, and went to seek him in the River of *Chagre*; there they went ashore and sunk their Vessels, intending to make it their Residence, and chose *Olano* for their General, till the coming of *Nicuesa*. Three of *Nicuesa's* Men came to them in a Boat, telling them where he was, and that he had lost his two Caravels, and endur'd great Hunger for three Months.

*Olano* hereupon sent one of his Boats to fetch him out of that Misery, but when he came to them he basely imprison'd *Olano*, accusing him of usurping Command, and destroying the Ships.

He would not stay here, tho' they were within Three Months of reaping their Corn, for fear *Olano* should have the Honour of the Undertaking.

Out of the other Barque they made a Caravel, and went to *Porto Bello*, so call'd by *Columbus*, because of its Goodness. Here the *Indians* slew 20 of his Men. He left half his company, and went away to *Cape Marmol*, where he built a Fort, *Nombre de Dios*. Of 780 Men he left not above 100 left alive. Here grew great Contention between *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, and *Francis Enciso*, about the Command, which was the cause they Landed not, but return'd.

*Nicuesa*, seeing they were gone, went to *Hispaniola* to complain, but was Drown'd by the way; but first he went ashore by the way and writ on Barks of Trees, which were afterwards found, *This way pass'd the Unfortunate James de Nicuesa*. He was the first that discover'd *Darien*, where he was reduc'd to such Extremity, that his Men were forc'd to eat Dogs, Toads, and one another. After this *Philip Godofre* desir'd the Government of *Beragua*, but with no better Success, by reason of Famine; this was in the Year 1513.

The Admiral *Lewis Columbus* stopper *Peña* to People there, who suffer'd much by Famine. By agreement betwixt the King and *Columbus*, he was created Duke of *Veraguas*, and Marquis of *Jamaica*, Ann. 1546.

#### *Darien*.

*Hojeda*, *Nicuesa*, and *Bastida*, as you have heard, were the Discoverers of this Country; and after many Calamities, Mutinies, Famine and other Misfortunes, *Hojeda* dy'd a Fryar at *S. Domingo*, and left *Francis Pizarro* his Lieutenant.

In 1502, *Bastida* fitted two Vessels at *Cadiz*. He had been with *Columbus* in all his Voyages, but lost his Ships at *S. Domingo*, by the Worm that eat them. He was imprison'd by *Bovadilla*, for Trading with the *Indians* without leave; but the King gave him 200 Ducats a year in lieu of *Darien*. When those *Indians* fought with the *Spaniards*, they would put Gold at the end of their Arrows, thinking they would stoop for it, and they might kill them.

*Pizarro* seeing the 50 Days expir'd, wherein *Hojeda* had promis'd to return (who, as was said above, was become a

Friar)



Friar) being in great want of Victuals left that Country, and put to Sea with two Caravels; one of them was call away in a Storm, and the other had her Rudder struck off by a Fish; which made them all conclude themselves lost, but by good luck they got to *Caribogena* almost Starved.

In his way he left *Enciso*, whom *Hojeda* had left to follow with Victuals. *Pizarro* told him how *Hojeda* was turn'd Friar, but *Enciso* thought it was an Invention of his own, and that *Pizarro* had fled from him; but being fairly d, he caus'd him to return, tho' *Pizarro* offer'd him 2000 Ounces of Gold, not to go back, the Country was so unfortunate.

They landed at *Comagre* to take in Water; and tho' the Indians were Man-eaters, yet they us'd them kindly when they under stood that neither *Hojeda* nor *Nicuesa* were there. Going into *Vraba* their Ships struck, and their Mares, Hogs, and all they had, was lost.

This disaster made *Enciso* desperate, thinking they must all perish; and they all Swore to one another, rather to Die by the hands of Men than by Hunger. They Landed with 100 Men, and were beaten. Thence they went to a Country close by, and built a Village, calling it *Guardia*: At first the Indians were quiet, but afterwards became their Enemies, whom they overcame, and possess'd much Wealth of theirs.

Now began great Factions between *Enciso* and *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*; *Nuñez* refus'd to obey him, or pay the King his Fifths, and thus they continu'd a Year.

*Henry Colmenores* went with two Caravels from *Sto Domingo*, to relieve *Hojeda's* Men. After many Dangers he arriv'd at *Careja*, and put 55 Men ashore, whom the Indians slew, excepting 7, that hid themselves in a Tree; but they were taken and eaten. *Colmenores* fearing the Indians would attempt his Caravels, remov'd to the Gulph of *Vraba*, and firing his Guns, was answer'd with Fires by the Spaniards ashore. There was great Joy for their meeting, and all of them made up 150 Men; a sufficient number against the Indians.

The Factions continu'd, and to appease them *Colmenores* advis'd, That *Enciso* should Govern, he having the King's Patent for it. *Nuñez* refus'd, and would not allow of it; but afterwards took *Enciso* and confiscated all he had. *Enciso* got into Spain to complain of him, and obtain'd a severe Judgment against him, which came to nothing; because afterwards *Nuñez* was the cause of finding the South Sea, and all

the Wealth obtain'd by it. *Nuñez* had done many other good Services, and Conquer'd *Castilla del Oro*.

*Nuñez* having the absolute Power, endeavour'd to Govern well, and had 250 Spaniards; and in the Town of *Nasfira* *Señora el enigma del Darien*, with 120 of them he went out to find Victuals for the rest; an Indian King refusing him Relief, he took two of his Wives and Children, and carry'd them away; in the plundering the Town he recover'd three Spaniards that had been taken of *Nicuesa's* company, who told him, how well that King had us'd them; whereupon he releas'd his two Wives and Children, and took their Oaths to Aid him against *Ponca* their Enemy, and to relieve them with Victuals.

*Nuñez* sent his Friend *Maldonado* to *Sto Domingo* for more Men, because the Country promis'd Gold, and with him a Process against *Enciso*: He Sack'd a Town two Leagues up the Country, where he had Gold, but could not take *Ponca*; and fearing to be so far in the Country without more help, he return'd to *Comagre*, and made Peace with him. *Comagre* had a fair built House, plenty of Victuals, and liv'd in a Civil manner. He had 7 Wives and 7 Children, his eldest Son gave him 70 Slaves to serve the Spaniards, and much Gold. As they were weighing the Gold, two Spaniards fell out, which the King observing, he struck down the Scales, saying, 'If I had known, *Christians*, you would have fallen out for my Gold, I would not have given you any; for I love Peace, and I wonder that you who are Friends should fall out for so vile a thing. If your Country be so Civiliz'd as you report, it had been better you had kept in it, than to come so far to Quarrel. We live here and content our selves with indifferent things, and you call us Barbarous; but we will not kill one another for Gold; but I will shew you a Country where there is Gold enough.'

The Spaniards were astonish'd to hear the young Man talk so rationally; and caus'd the three Spaniards that were taken, to ask how for that Country he promis'd was off, and how call'd. He told them 7 Days Journey, and that the name of it was *Termenana*; but advis'd them to carry more Men, because the way was Mountainous, and the People Men eaters.

*Nuñez*, hearing him talk of another Sea, embrac'd him with great Joy, and besought him to become a Christian, which he did, and was Baptiz'd by the Name of *Charles*. He was a great Friend to Christians, and promis'd to go with them to the other Sea; provided

provided they would carry 1000 *Spaniards*, for fewer would not Conquer *Temenana*; if they mistrusted him, he offered to go bound; and if he told a Lye, they should hang him; and this was the beginning of the Discovery of the *South Sea*.

*Núñez* return'd with great Joy to *Darien*, and divided his Wealth: The King's part came to 15000 *Pesos*, which was cast away going to *Spain*. *Núñez* endur'd great Misery, the Corn they Sow'd being spoil'd with Rain. Men were sent out with great danger for Food, who return'd with Gold; but all full of Sores made by the biting of Gnats.

*Colmenores* went another way with 70 Men; they met together, and went among the People that live upon Trees. The *Spaniards* desir'd a Peace with them, which they refus'd, relying on the height of their Trees; but when the *Spaniards* offer'd to cut them down, which they imagin'd they could not do, till they saw it, they then offer'd them Peace and Victuals. Gold they did not use, but promis'd to fetch some, yet came not again, being gone to perfwade other Kings to join with them against the *Spaniards*. They gather'd 5000 Men in Boats, which was discover'd by a Woman *Núñez* had with him. He prevented their Treason, and slew most of them; and they never after attempted any Treachery against the *Spaniards* in those parts.

*Colmenores* was sent to the Emperor with this news; but his Wife they kept as a Pledge. *Colmenores* had been a Soldier under the Great Captain.

*John Sebado*, a Franciscan, was the first Bishop of *Antigua* in *Darien*, and the first Priest that ever was in that new World. *Núñez* was a Gentleman by Birth, Industrious in War, and belov'd by his Soldiers. This Country is unwholsome, subject to much Rain, and many were there kill'd by Thunderbolts.

#### *Zenu*

Is a River, a Town, and Port, Ten Leagues from the Sea, which has a good Trade for Fish. The *Indians* there work their Plate curiously. *Bascada* discover'd it *An. 1512*. but *Hoyeda* and *Enciso* did most good there.

*Enciso*, being ready to give Battle there, told the *Indians* they were *Spaniards*, and peaceable Men, who came thither from afar, in great danger, and desir'd Victuals. The others answer'd, There was little sign, they were such Men, and desir'd them to be gone, for they would admit of no Stranger among them. The *Spaniards* per-

suaded them to own the true God, and told them that Country was given them by the Pope, who had the Command of Souls; and that they came to take possession of it. They answer'd, Laughing, That they approv'd of the Service of one God, but would not dispute of Religion; That the Pope was very free of what was not his own, but had nothing to do with them; and that either the King of *Spain* was very poor, to desire their Country, or very bold to threaten them; and that if he came thither himself, they would set his Head upon a Pole. To conclude, they Engag'd, and the *Spaniards* overthrew them with the loss of Two Men.

#### *Cartagena.*

*Juan de la Costa*, who was Pilot with *Bastida* in 1504. set out four Caravels, offering to subdue the *Indians* of this Place. He came to *Cartagena*, where he found Captain *Lewis Guerra*; they join'd together, and took 700 Men, and return'd without doing any great matter.

*Peter de Herrera* went Governor with 100 Men, 40 Horles, and 3 Caravels in 1532. He Peopled it; but a Mutiny hapning among the *Spaniards*, he and his Brother were brought Prisoners into *Spain*.

The People here are taller than in any other part of the *West-Indies*. They are now *Christians* and have a Bishop.

#### *Santa Marta.*

*Bastida* Discover'd and Govern'd this Land in 1524. but it cost him his Life; for his Soldiers Mutiny'd against him, because he would not give them the spoil of Gold, saying, He valu'd the *Indians* more than them. His Death was procur'd by his Friend *Peter Fuentes*, who thought by his Death to Rule all.

*D. Pedro de Lugo* succeeded him, and set him his Son, both of them exceeding Covetous. Here *Pedrarías d'Avila* Land-ed, when he went Governor to *Darien*, and had a great Engagement with the *Indians*, who were much daunted at the Cannon firing from the Ships; for they thought it had been Thunder and Lightning.

#### *New Granada*

Is 18 Leagues from *Santa Maria*, and was Discover'd by *Gonzalo Ximenes*; He found out the Mines of Emeralds, by means of the King of *Bigonja*, who us'd the *Spaniards* civilly. This King had 40 Wives, his Subjects were Obedient to him, and would not suffer him to spit on the Ground. They kept a Lent Two Months

in

in the Year, during which time they were not to know Woman, nor eat Salt. In 1547. the Emperor sent a Governor to *New Granada*.

#### Venezuela.

The first Governor here was *Ambrose Alfinger* a German, in behalf of some Merchants the Emperor Mortgage'd it to. In 1528. he was kill'd, and his Men reduc'd to such Misery, that they eat three *Indians*, *George Spira*, another German, succeeded him.

Queen *Isabel* would not consent that any but her own Subjects should go to the *Indies*; but after her Death, the King gave leave to the *Aragonians*. The Emperor open'd this gap to Strangers, by this Contract with the Germans, yet now none can go but *Spaniards*.

*Venezuela* is now a Bishoprick; it is so call'd, because seated like *Venice*: The Women are more familiar than in any other part of the *Indies*; but their Religion and Attire is no better.

#### Cumana and Cubagua.

*Cumana* is a River that takes the Name of the Province. Here was a great Fishery for People, and certain Friars built a Monastery in the year 1516. *John Garcia* being their Vicar. Three of them went to convert the People up the Country, but were slain; yet afterwards the others brought the People to Civility, and their Children to learn. Thus it continued Two Years, at the end whereof they revolted and slew 100 *Spaniards*, entered the Town, destroyed the Monastery, and killed all the Friars.

*James Columbus* being Governor of *Sto. Domingo*, sent 300 *Spaniards* to revenge this Wrong, under the Command of *Gonzalo de Ocampo*. At his first coming he pretended to the *Indians* that he came out of *Spain*, which embolden'd them to come aboard him. When he had as many as he thought fit, he seized them, made them confess all their Villany, and compelled them to build the Town of *Toledo*, which is within half a League of the Sea.

When the aforesaid Monastery flourish'd, *Barbolomeu de las Casas*, a Priest, that had lived in *Sto. Domingo*, begg'd the Government of this Country, promising the Emperor more Wealth, and that the *Indians* should be better us'd than before. By means of Count *Nassau*, and other *Flemings*, he obtain'd it. He was furnish'd at the King's Expence, and carried 300 Labourers, with every one a Cross on his

Breast, like a Knight. At his coming he found *Ocampo* there, and the Country in another Condition than he had expected. He requir'd *Ocampo* to obey him, which he refus'd till he had Orders from *Columbus*, who employ'd him, and would not allow him to come into his Town of *Toledo*, but oblig'd him to build a great Barn of Clay without for his Labourers. Both went to *Sto. Domingo* to complain, by which means *Toledo* was unpeopled, which the *Indians* taking the Advantage of, they entered upon the Clay-house, and left not a *Spaniard* alive. The Priest hearing hereof, became a Friar, and never sent the *Flemings* the Pearls he had promised them.

The Loss of the Pearl Fishery was a great Damage to the King; but *Columbus* sent *John Castellon*, with a number of *Spaniards*, who made amends for the Follies of the other two, recover'd the Country, built a Castle at the mouth of the River, and set up the Pearl Fishery at *Cubagua*, where *New Cadix* was built. This Island was but two miles about, and barren in those days, but yielded to the Value of Two Millions in Pearls. There is a sweet and medicinal Spring in it. At some times of the year the Sea is red, which they impute to the breeding of Oysters, and purging of Women. They say here are Mermaids. This Island of *Cubagua* was discover'd by *Columbus*, which was the cause of his Disgrace, being accus'd for concealing Pearls he took there.

*Vincent Pinson*, and *Adrian* his Nephew, growing rich in their Voyage with *Columbus*, fitted out Four Caravels, and had leave to discover those Countries where *Columbus* had not been. They came to *Cape St. Augustine*, where they found People as big as Germans, and had Experience of their Valour, for they slew 8 *Spaniards*; yet he brought away 30 *Indians*, and much Brazil, but lost Two Caravels, Men and all, having spent Ten Months upon the Voyage.

#### Orellano and Amazons.

This is counted the famous River in the World, rises in *Peru*, has many Islands in it, and flows 100 Leagues into the Country. The Man that gave an Account of it was *Francis de Orellano*, Lieutenant to *Gonzalo Pizarro*.

*Orellano* being in *Peru*, was sent by his Captain to seek Victuals, and being in a Boat, was carried with such swiftness by the Current, that he could not return to *Pizarro*. He carried with him much Wealth, and came out into the North Sea

down that River. From thence he sail'd into Spain, where he find for Employment and undertook that Voyage to the River of Orellana. He staid in Spain till all his Wealth was spent, and then marry'd, and drew his Wife's Friends to venture with him. He gather'd 500 Men, but unfortunately dy'd at his going to Sea, and that Enterprize was never alter attempted. He reported he met with Amazon Women, but it was not believ'd.

It is suppos'd that *Merañon* and *Orellana* have both the same source in Peru, and that the latter is 15 Leagues over, where it falls into the Sea.

*James de Ordua*, who had been a Captain with *Cortis* at the Conquest of Mexico, was sent thither with the Title of *Adelantado*, carrying 600 Spaniards and 35 Horses; but the Enterprize fail'd by his Death.

*Jerome Ortillano* was sent afterwards with 130 Men in the year 1534. who arriv'd not there, but staid and Peopled at *St. Michael*, *Venevente*, and other Places.

#### The River of Plate.

From *Cape S. Augustine* to the River of Plate is 700 Leagues. Some attribute the Honour of Discovering it to *Americus Vesputius*; but it was *John de Solis* in 1512. who return'd into Spain with his Ships laden with Brazil-Wood, and obtain'd the Government of the River of Plate; but Landing with some Men, he and they were all slain in 1515; yet his Ships return'd safe. In the Year 1526. *Sebastiao Cabot*, in his Voyage to find the *Molucco Islands*, of which he fail'd, arriv'd at the River of Plate with Four Ships, at the Emperor's Charge. In Brazil he found some Frenchmen Trading. The Indians killed two of his Men, but would not eat them, saying they were Soldiers. *Cabot* return'd into Spain with little Credit, tho' he was not to blame, because his Men were in fault.

*D. Pedro de Mendos* went to the River of Plate in 1535. with 12 Ships and 2000 Men; a greater number than ever had been carry'd to the Indies at one time; in the way thither he Sickn'd, and in his return Dy'd.

*Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* was sent *Adelantado* to the River of Plate in 1541. with 400 Men and 46 Horses. He could not agree with the Spaniards *D. Pedro* left there; nor yet with the Indians, so that they sent him Prisoner into Spain.

*John de Sanabria* was bound to carry 300 Men, at his own cost, to the River of Plate; but he Dy'd at *Sevil*, and his Son went.

*F. Bernard de Armenia*, and four others

went to the River of Plate, and by the way fell upon an Island, where they found Three of *Cabot's* company, who had learnt the Language, and by their means they converted the Savages wonderfully.

Four Years before this, an Indian call'd *Orignay* had proclaim'd in those parts, that shortly there would come *Christians*, and Preachers among them; advising those People to receive them, for they were Holy, and would make them leave their Beastliness. He made Songs to that effect, which they Sung; and this prov'd a great help to their Conversion, for they Entertain'd the Friars, as if they had been Gods.

For the better understanding of the Circuit of America I will here set down a Rutter of the Distance from Haven to Haven, and Cape to Cape, and will begin with the Northern Regions.

|                                        | Leagues. |
|----------------------------------------|----------|
| From Greenland to the River Nevado     | 200      |
| From thence to <i>Malinas</i>          | 200      |
| From thence to <i>Cape Marfo</i>       | 70       |
| From thence to <i>Delgado</i>          | 50       |
| From thence to <i>Granzio</i>          | 200      |
| From thence to <i>Dacalos</i>          | 200      |
| From thence to <i>Cape Florida</i>     | 200      |
| From <i>Bacallao Bay</i> to <i>Rio</i> | 70       |
| From thence to the Bay of the Islands  | 70       |
| From thence to <i>Rio Pondo</i>        | 70       |
| From thence to <i>Rio Gamas</i>        | 70       |
| From thence to <i>Cape St. Mary</i>    | 70       |
| From thence to <i>Cape Bazo</i>        | 40       |
| From thence to <i>St. Antonio</i>      | 100      |
| From thence to <i>Cape Arenas</i>      | 80       |
| From thence to <i>Port Primo</i>       | 80       |
| From thence to <i>Rio Jordan</i>       | 70       |
| From thence to <i>St. Hellena</i>      | 40       |
| From thence to <i>Rio Seco</i>         | 40       |
| From thence to <i>Labruz</i>           | 20       |
| From thence to <i>Cons</i>             | 40       |
| From thence to <i>Cape Florida</i>     | 40       |
| From thence to <i>Ancon</i>            | 50       |
| From thence to <i>Nilves River</i>     | 100      |
| From thence to <i>Flores</i>           | 20       |
| From thence to <i>Santo</i>            | 70       |
| From thence to <i>Pescadores</i>       | 70       |
| From thence to <i>Rio Palmas</i>       | 100      |
| From thence to <i>Pannco</i>           | 30       |
| From thence to <i>Vera Cruz</i>        | 70       |
| From thence to <i>Alvarado</i>         | 30       |
| From thence to <i>Casfinedo</i>        | 50       |
| From thence to <i>Grigalda</i>         | 50       |
| From thence to <i>Redando</i>          | 80       |
| From thence to <i>Jucatan</i>          | 90       |
| From Florida hither is accounted       | 800      |
| From thence to <i>Rio Grande</i>       | 100      |
| From thence to <i>Cape Camero</i>      | 150      |
| From thence to <i>Cape Gratijsa</i>    | 70       |
| From                                   | From     |

| Leagues.                                                                                                                              | Now you enter the South Sea. | Leagues.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| From thence to <i>Disagnadero</i>                                                                                                     | 70                           | From Cape <i>Desado</i> to Cape <i>Primero</i>                                                                                                                                                                                            | 70  |
| From thence to <i>Zorobaro</i>                                                                                                        | 40                           | From thence to the River <i>Salinas</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 155 |
| From thence to <i>Nombre de Dios</i>                                                                                                  | 50                           | From thence to Cape <i>Hermoso</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 100 |
| From thence to <i>Parallones in Darien</i>                                                                                            | 70                           | From thence to Rio <i>S. Francisco</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 70  |
| From thence to the Gulph of <i>Vrana</i>                                                                                              | 14                           | From thence to Rio <i>Santo</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 120 |
| From thence to <i>Caribagena</i>                                                                                                      | 70                           | From thence to Puerto <i>Desado in Chile</i>                                                                                                                                                                                              |     |
| From thence to <i>Santa Maria</i>                                                                                                     | 50                           | From thence to Rio <i>Despoblado</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 200 |
| From thence to Cape <i>de Vela</i>                                                                                                    | 50                           | From thence to <i>Ariquez</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 90  |
| From thence to <i>Caquibaca</i>                                                                                                       | 40                           | From thence to <i>Lima</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 140 |
| From thence to Gulph <i>Triste</i>                                                                                                    | 50                           | From thence to Cape <i>Aguila</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 100 |
| From thence to Cape <i>Coriano</i>                                                                                                    | 100                          | From thence to Cape <i>Blanco</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 40  |
| From thence to <i>Cubagna</i>                                                                                                         | 4                            | From thence to Cape <i>Helena</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 70  |
| From thence to Point <i>Solu</i>                                                                                                      | 70                           | From thence to <i>Quezemes</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 70  |
| From thence to Cape <i>Anegado</i>                                                                                                    | 70                           | From thence to Rio <i>Peru</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 100 |
| From thence to Rio <i>Dulce</i>                                                                                                       | 50                           | From thence to Gulph <i>St. Michael</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 70  |
| From thence to <i>Orellano</i>                                                                                                        | 100                          | From thence to Gulph <i>Vrana</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 120 |
| From thence to <i>Marathon</i>                                                                                                        | 100                          | From thence to <i>Panama</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 55  |
| From thence to <i>Tierra de bumes</i>                                                                                                 | 100                          | From thence to <i>Troantepeque</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 650 |
| From thence to <i>Angela St. Lucar</i>                                                                                                | 100                          | From thence to <i>Guerra</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 70  |
| From thence to Cape <i>Primero</i>                                                                                                    | 100                          | From thence to <i>Barica</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 100 |
| From thence to Cape <i>St. Augustine</i>                                                                                              | 70                           | From thence to Cape <i>Blanco</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 100 |
| Cape <i>St. Augustine</i> is the highest Land between <i>Africk</i> and <i>America</i> , and but 500 Leagues from Cape <i>Verde</i> . |                              | From thence to Port of <i>Possifion</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 100 |
| From thence to <i>Tados Sanjos</i>                                                                                                    | 100                          | From thence to <i>Foufeca</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 15  |
| From thence to <i>Abrelos Ojos</i>                                                                                                    | 100                          | From thence to <i>Choratego</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 20  |
| From thence to Cape <i>Frio</i>                                                                                                       | 100                          | From thence to Rio <i>Grande</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 30  |
| From thence to the Bay <i>St. Michael</i>                                                                                             | 600                          | From thence to <i>Guartinola</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 45  |
| From thence to Rio <i>St. Francisco</i>                                                                                               | 700                          | From thence to <i>Chiuula</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 50  |
| From thence to <i>Tibiquerio Rio</i>                                                                                                  | 700                          | From thence to <i>Puerto Serrado</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 100 |
| From thence to the River of <i>Plate</i>                                                                                              | 50                           | From thence to <i>Teacampetes</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 40  |
| From thence to <i>Santa Helena</i>                                                                                                    | 55                           | From thence to <i>Colina</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 100 |
| From thence to <i>Arenas Guadas</i>                                                                                                   | 30                           | From thence to Cape <i>Corrientes</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 100 |
| From thence to the <i>Bazas Anegadas</i>                                                                                              | 40                           | From thence to <i>Cheneton</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 70  |
| Coasting <i>America</i> from Port to Port, as I have done, it amounts to 9300 and odd Leagues.                                        |                              | From thence to Rio <i>Miraflores</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 250 |
| From thence to <i>Tierra Baxa</i>                                                                                                     | 50                           | From thence to Cape <i>Californio</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 230 |
| From thence to <i>Baxa Sinfond</i>                                                                                                    | 75                           | From thence to the Bay of <i>Abad</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 100 |
| From thence to <i>Arecifes de Lobas</i>                                                                                               | 40                           | From thence to Cape <i>Engano</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 100 |
| From thence to Cape <i>St. Domingo</i>                                                                                                | 45                           | From thence to Cape <i>de Cruz</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 50  |
| From thence to Cape <i>Blanco</i>                                                                                                     | 20                           | From thence to Port <i>Sardinas</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 100 |
| From thence to Rio de <i>Juan Serrano</i>                                                                                             | 70                           | From thence to <i>Syerra Nevada</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 150 |
| From thence to the Cape of <i>Eleven Thousand Virgins</i>                                                                             | 80                           | There is the furthest Discovery.                                                                                                                                                                                                          |     |
| From thence you pass the <i>Streights of Magellan</i> , which is 150 Leagues long.                                                    |                              | It is to be consider'd that the <i>South Sea</i> Ebbs and Flows very high, and the North Sea does not, unless it be in <i>Paria</i> , the <i>Streights of Magellan</i> , or a few other places. And thus much concerning <i>America</i> . |     |

It is to be consider'd that the South Sea Ebbs and Flows very high, and the North Sea does not, unless it be in *Pavia*, the *Streights of Magellan*, or a few other places. And thus much concerning *America*.

### The Length and Breadth of Europe, Asia and Africk, the other Three known parts of the World.

**E**urope takes its Western beginning from the furthest part of *Ireland*, running to the River *Tanais* towards the East; accounted 2166 Miles, both places lying in 52 Degrees of Latitude: And from North to South, that is, from the *Moera* lying in 35 Degrees Northward, to 72

Degrees of Latitude, is reckoned 2220 Miles, and had in it of late Years, till some of them were united into one, 28 *Christian Kingdoms*.

*Asia*, from the East to the West, that is to say, from the River *Tanais*, directly Eastward, 4284 Miles; and from North to South, 4560 Miles.



*Africk*, from East to West (*viz.*) from *Gambra* to *Guardafu* in 10 Degrees of North Latitude, is 4155 Miles; and from North to South 2750 Miles (*viz.*) to the Equi-

noctial Line, 10 Degrees, 600 Leagues; from thence to the *Cape of Good Hope* 2160 Miles

### *The Two Worlds undiscover'd, besides the Four known.*

THE Four known Parts and Divisions of the World have been often spoke of in these Discourses; and besides these Four, there are Two others, generally conceiv'd not as yet discover'd.

The one under the Pole, and not fit to be attempted, tho' we certainly know a Land to be there; but my hope is as in my Discourse of the North-West Passage will appear, that under the North Pole we shall find a Sea, and no Land, through which we shall pass to *China*, and those parts of the World.

If not, tho' that part of the Earth should afford us another World, as big and spacious as all the rest besides, yet could we expect no more advantage from it, than *Greenland* affords us, which never any Man inhabited to bid us Welcome; nor Commodity on Shore to entice us thither to repair; and therefore, tho' another World should appear in that Climate, it can neither benefit us, nor the *Christian* Commonwealth, more than a Country of Ice and Snow.

The second imagin'd New World is to the Southward of the *Streights of Magellan*, commonly call'd *Tierra del Fuego*, which is suppos'd to be a Continent, and to run East and West the compass of the World about.

That there is a Land, beside the Possibilities, there are Proofs; the one by Mr. *Richard Hawkins*, in his Voyage into the South Sea: For falling short of the *Streights of Magellan*, he espy'd a Country; but his Intention being of another sort than Discovery, he would not approach the Shore, but stood his direct Course to the *Streights*, which he pass'd in 1594.

The next Proof of a Land, tho' not of a main Land, suppos'd by Sir *Francis Drake* to be to the Southward of the *Streights*, was found out by *Cornelius van Stowden*, of whom I have spoken in my Second Book, that in the year 1616. discover'd a Passage into the South Sea, 3 Degrees to the Southward of the *Streights*, where he found diversity of Lands and Islands till he arriv'd at the *Molucco's*, as I have said in the Second Book.

But be it firm Land, or Islands, it is all one to us, that seek by the Knowledge of it to make Gain by it. It is a vain thing for us to think, that a Country seated in so cold a Climate, and not inhabited, should bring forth the Fruits of the Earth, or that it can be planted to afford us any Commodity, no not the value of fetching, tho' it should cost us nothing.

For compare it with *Newfoundland*, and the Continent of that Coast, long since discover'd and known to us, and consider what Use or Profit we have made, or can make, of a Plantation there, and we shall find it not worth our Labour; for tho' it be not so cold as farther to the Northward, yet 'tis in that Extremity of Coldness, that in many hundred years it cannot be temper'd for our Bodies to live in.

This may seem an ambiguous Speech, that the Earth of an intolerable cold Constitution may be temper'd for Men to live in, and to make use and benefit of.

But what I shall say in this Point is prov'd, both by Reason and Experience, That the coldness of *America* in 51 Degrees, which doth parallel us in *England*, is by many Degrees colder than with us in *England*, and the Difference thereof caused by Art and Pains: For where there is a Plantation of Towns and Houses, Commerce of People, whose Breath sends forth a Heat, Divisions of Lands, as by Walls, Ditches, Hedges, the Grounds trench'd and dry'd with continual Fires, it yields a perpetual Heat, and is a Shelter against all kind of Cold, in comparison of a Country that has none of these Benefits or Helps.

We our selves have Examples of it, betwixt a Natural, Moorish, and Wet Dwelling, and such a Place that by Industry and Art is brought to a better Perfection. We see the difference of Houses that are continually dwelt in, and Fires kept burning; and others that lie uninhabited, wast, and no care taken of them.

Besides these Reasons, to discourage us from planting in these Degrees of *America* equal to *England*, the *French* have convinc'd us by their Example, who by their long Travel and Charge have sought to pro-

produce some Benefit out of those Countries; but all their Labours have prov'd vain, for they find the Cold destroys all their good Intentions, and the only Gain they now make is in their Trades for Furs.

Then if by Reason and Proof, *America* in 51 Degrees can yield us no Profit, being but 2000 Miles from *England*, where we have a Conveniency to Transport our Men and Provision once a year, at an easy Rate, in Ships that fish in *Newfoundland*, by whom we may be Reliev'd; what can we expect from a Country in the same Latitude Southward, that is as cold, the People barbarous and savage, and having no Conveniency to Transport our Men, otherwise than in Ships we purposely hire, to sail nigh 7000 Miles from *England*, the *Equinoctial* Line to be twice pass'd in going and coming, which must dis Temper Men's Bodies by the sudden entering out of the Cold into the Heat; and this is the only Cause to be imputed to the Death of our Men in our long Navigations.

More then for our own Satisfaction, that a Land is there placed, we can expect no Good from thence, for where there wants Heat, there wants Riches, by proof of the pure Metals, and the quantity and diversity of them, growing betwixt the two *Tropicks*, above all other Parts of the World.

And for our other kind of Commodities that are produced out of the Earth, the Temperate Zone affords them in most abundance, but not caus'd by the Heat of the Sun alone, but by the Managing and Manuring of the Land; by the Labour and Industry of the People; and by the Commerce, Trade, and Civility betwixt Man and Man, Country and Country; for no doubt in times past, when the People of *England* were barbarous, they liv'd in the same estate, and the Country was of the same condition that other places are of the same height at this instant.

Therefore I conclude, that tho' all the Countries contain'd in the Hot and Temperate Zones yield no Profit, unless they be manur'd and us'd accordingly; yet I say, no part of the World out of those Zones, where the Cold has so predominate a Power over Men, Beasts, and Fruits of the Earth, is of any Value or Goodness to incite Men to Inhabit or People it; for neither

by Art or Industry such a Climate can be made capable for Man to live in, or fruitful to make any use of.

But notwithstanding these Reasons collected out of Experience, there are some Men, who, to appear Singular, and others for Argument-like, go about to prove there are other Countries not yet discover'd, as pleasant and as plentiful as those that are known by daily Traffick.

It has been my Chance often to meet with some of these self-conceited witty Men; and for want of Learning to defend my Opinion, I have fled to the Protection of Reason, with Humility to submit to Judgment, and to acknowledge my Errors, after I am confuted by Proof: But before the Discovery of any such Countries should be set on foot, I have advis'd that the first thing they should attempt, should be to find out another *Sun*, for the Power and Operation of this *Sun* is known to us, by the Light it sends abroad to all Parts of the World at several Seasons of the year, as the Countries are seated from the *Equinoctial* Line, which is term'd the *Girdle of the World*.

This *Sun* is known to rise in the East, and set in the West, making its Course every 24 hours about the World; its Declination to the Northward and Southward is well known to us not to exceed the two *Tropicks*, which are in 23 Degrees and an half from the *Equinoctial*: We likewise know, that it is the Guide of the Lengthning and Shortning of the Days, occasion'd by its Motion. We also know all such Lands in *America*, *Africa*, and *Asia*, as lie between the two *Tropicks*; and, Trading into these Countries, know what the Heat of the *Sun* in that space produces.

Then seeing we are perfectly acquainted with the Virtue and Quality of our *Sun*, and the Power and Heat it sends forth to the Countries adjoining to it, and that the Riches of all Places grow by the Heat they are seated in; I desire to be satisfi'd what richer Countries can be hop'd for besides those already known to us, unless there be another *Sun* to work the Operation this *Sun* does. And thus much concerning my private Opinion of the Two Worlds undiscover'd.

Other

## Other Seas besides the Ocean, great part of them lately discover'd.

I Have sail'd into all the Quarters and Corners of the Earth through the wide unknown Ocean, and left no Country unspoken of, to which the main Sea has given Passage. But besides the great spacious and known Seas, besides the Commerce, Trade, and Intercourse of all Nations I have at large related, there are other Seas which, in comparison of the Ocean, may be term'd rather *Lakes* or *Streights*, which I will a little handle.

The First shall be the *Caspian Sea*, which is environ'd and compass'd about with Land, and seated in a main Continent, where there is no Issue or Passage into any other Sea, but like a Pool or Pond it has a settled Being.

The Second is the *Red Sea*, which, after 1200 Miles running, falls into the *Indian Sea*; and but that this Sea is named a Sea in the Scripture, which is the Authentick Proof of all other Authors, it should no more deserve the Name of a Sea, than the *Persian Gulph*, which falls into the *Indian Sea*, and is equal in breadth and length to the *Red Sea*, and yet is call'd a Gulph.

The Third is the *Mediterranean Sea*, which divides *Europe* from *Africk*; and something I will say of this Sea, when it comes to the place to be treated of, but first concerning the *Caspian* and *Red Sea*.

The *Caspian Sea* is at least 200 Leagues in length, and 150 in breadth, many Rivers running into it, and especially the River *Vulga* out of *Russia*, which River divides it self into 17 Branches before it falls into the *Caspian Sea*.

There are few Ships, and but small Trade on this Sea, for want of Mariners and Sea-Port Towns, and because of the Poverty of the People, and abundance of Ice. Our *English* Merchants finding a Trade into *Persia* out of *Russia* by the *Caspian Sea*, built a Ship after the manner of *England*, the Tar us'd about her issu'd out of the Earth thereabouts; she was of 27 or 30 Tuns burthen, and sail'd with *English* Mariners. This was the first and the best built Ship that ever sail'd, or display'd Christian Colours, in those Seas; she drew not above 5 Foot Water, for the Sea is both shallow, and subject to Shoals. This Trade was left off, by reason of the Danger of Thieves and Robbers, and the Barbarity of the People.

About this Sea, *Otoman*, the first of that Name and House that bare Rule amongst

the *Turks*, had his Original, and came from thence in the year 1300.

In some places of this Sea the Water is fresh, and in some other places as salt as in the Ocean.

It neither ebbs nor flows, except some times with the rage of the Wind.

There are several sorts of Fish, which are not in our Seas; but great Monsters and Fishes there are none. And thus much for the *Caspian Sea*.

The *Red Sea* is not red, as many conceive, but takes the Name from the red Bushes that grow along the Shore side. Others are of opinion, that the Name is deriv'd from the red Sands in that Sea, especially toward the Shore, which cause the Water to look red.

This Sea has three Channels; that in the middle is the deepest, and betwixt 25 and 30 Fathom; the other two are full of Rocks and Shoals, which makes it Navigable only in the day time, and that with Danger.

The Shore affords neither Grasse, Herbs, nor Weeds, nor the Sea any quantity of Fish.

Some are of opinion, that the Gold of *Ophir* was brought out of the *East-Indies* through this Sea.

No Man can sail in this Sea, but *Turks*, or such as have Licence from them, for which they pay very dear.

*Prefter John* has only one Harbour in the *Red Sea*, call *Arquico*; the *Portugueses* and *Prefter John* have often attempted to damnify the *Turks* in the *Red Sea*, but they proceeded so faintly, that they still fail'd in their Enterprizes.

*Mecca* is the Place so famous for the Sepulcher of *Mahomet*, and for the number of People yearly resorting to it, seated upon the *Red Sea*, and 40 days Journey from *Cairo* in *Egypt*. *Sida* is a great Port in this Sea, whither 40 or 50 Ships yearly resort, laden with Spices, and other rich Commodities out of *Arabidaya*, and other Parts of the *East-Indies*. And now to the *Mediterranean Sea*.

Out of the *Mediterranean*, two other Seas are encreased; the *Adriatick*, which runs up to the City of *Venice*, and divides *Italy* from *Greece*; and the *Euxine*, that parts *Europe* from *Asia*, posses'd only by the Great *Turk*.

The *Euxine Sea*, and no other part of the *Turks* Dominions, except the Island of *Cyprus*, affords him any Harbour to build Gal.

Gallies in, or Ships, or Materials to build them withal. What Ships, Gallies, or other Vessels soever he at any time sends into the *Red Sea*, are carry'd from thence to *Alexandria*, and Transported to *Cairo*, and so to *Susa*, which is above 200 Miles by Land, a Trouble and Charge not to be estimated, if we consider his Fleet of 80 great Ships, 25 Foyls, 4 Galeasses, 20 Gallies, and 7 other Vessels, all brought out of the *Euxean Sea* to *Susa*, in the manner aforesaid, when he attempted and failed in his Enterprize to *Aden* in 1573.

The Commerce and Trade into the *Mediterranean Sea*, has been more Ancient and Famous, than all other Seas in the World, although it is neither long nor broad; for at the entrance into it, it is not above two Leagues over, which was forced by means and labours of People, as it is received by Tradition; and I rather believe it, because to this day the Entrance into this Sea, is call'd *The Pillars of Hercules*, who is said to be the Author of the Work; and were it not for this small Entrance, considering that the Sea has a stoppage upon the Land of *Syria*, it were rather to be termed a Lake than a Sea.

Among many Observations on the *Mediterranean*, this is not the least to be considered, That tho' the Ocean continually runs through this small Streight of two Leagues, carrying such abundance of Water, that in reason it were enough to overflow and drown that part of the Earth on which it beats, having no passage out; yet in no part of the Land where these Waters pass, does exceed its ordinary and usual bounds and limits. There have been many Opinions and Disputes about the reason hereof; but for my part I hold with him who judges that Sea has a passage under the Earth.

My next Observation is, That God has plac'd in that Sea, the most, and the most plentiful Islands of the Earth; which Islands have heretofore sent forth Men of Fame, to enrich the World with Wit and Learning, and in this time spread their Commodities into all the Countries of *Europe*, and receive theirs in Exchange.

And tho' I may attribute to every Island some particular Honour, but that it is not proper to my Discourse, that Treats only of the Sea; yet will I say for the excellency of the Island of *Cyprus*, which the *Turks* have enjoy'd ever since the Year 1571. that it affords, without the help of any other Country, Materials to build and Furnish a Ship; as namely, Masts, Ropes, Sails, and such like, that the need not be beholding to her Neighbours.

My Third Observation is, That in that Sea there have been fought more Naval Battles by the *Romans*, *Turks* and *Christians*, than in all other Seas of the World besides: The Wars of the Pyrates was in that Sea, whom *Pompey* the Great overcame, to his everlasting Honour and Praise: The *Romans* kept in continual Employment in that Sea 2000 Sail of Ships, 1500 Gallies, 80 great Gallions, with their Prows and Poops richly Gilt, and had always double Provision for the Navy.

My 4th Observation is God's Blessing to the *Christians* and *Christian* Shores, opposite to *Barbary*; possess'd by *Turks* and *Moors*; for that in all that Coast of theirs God has not given them one Harbour to entertain a Fleet; which has made them heretofore ignorant in Navigation, and Sea-Affairs; whereas if the Shore had afforded them Ports, and their Land Timber, and all other Materials to build Shipping, considering their Numbers, Valours, and the Division of *Christians*; I am of Opinion, before now, they had been Masters of the better part of *Europe*. And I may the better conjecture it, by the hurts and spoils the Pyrates of *Argiers* and *Tunis*, have of late years committed upon the *Christians*, since they have had the use of *Christian* Ships, for themselves have none.

And only these two places afford Safety for their Vessels; *Argiers* by a Mole or Cove, made by Art in the Sea: *Tunis* by an open Road call'd the *Goletta*; and this shall suffice for the *Mediterranean*.

Besides these Seas aforesaid, there are many Lakes, some known, others imagin'd, or receiv'd by Tradition; as namely, that of *Africk*, call'd *Zembre*, out of which flow the Rivers *Nylus*, *Nyger*, *Como*, *Quama*, *Magica*, and divers others.

The River *Nylus* flows 40 Days in a Year, and decreases as many (that is to say) from the 27th of July to the 6th of October. The River *Nyger* doth the like, and much about that time.

The River *Cambra* and *Seneca* which divides the Colour and Complexion of the People, falls out of *Niger*. On one side of the River *Cambra* the People are of a dead Ash-colour, lean, and of small Stature, on the other, black Negroes, tall and well proportion'd.

In the Lake of *Zembre*, as also in the River of *Layar*, there are Water-Horses, and Water-Oxen, which at night come ashore and Graze; the Horses are sometimes taken and made tame; they run swift

ſwift, but a Man muſt be careful how he rides over a deep River on one of them, for they will ſuddenly dive under water.

*Sinus Perſicus* is in the Gulph of *Perſia*, and has in the mouth of it, in the *Indian Sea*, the Iſland of *Ormuz*, famous for the great Trade to it from the *Indies*, and all the Countries in that part of the World.

There are divers Towns of the *Arabs* on the Gulph of *Perſia*, and great Traffique by Water; norwithſtanding it is both ſhallow, great Cuſtoms are paid, and it is ſubject to *Arabian Thieves*.

The Town they firſt imbarque at in paſſing down to *Ormuz*, is *Beirr*; the Vellels that ſail in that Sea, are of 40 or 50 Tuns in burthen, and have no Iron in them, but only in their Anchors.

*Babylon* ſtands upon the River *Tygris*, which falls into the River of *Euphrates*; it is a great throughfare, and ſtands in *Perſia*; from *Babylon* they go to *Balſora*, which is a Town of great Traffique; in former time it was under the *Arabs*, but

now under the *Turks*: From *Balſora* they go to *Ormuz*, which is 600 Miles diſtant, and all in the *Perſian Gulph*.

Befides the Sea and Lands lately diſcovered, of which I have formerly treated, producing nothing but my own Reaſons to ſtrengthen my Opinion, there are other Seas and unknown Paſſages, ſuppoſed to make a Paſſage or Communication from one to another, as namely, the North-Weſt and North-Eaſt Paſſages to bring us to other Seas, which our Nation, above others, has been induttrious to ſearch out, to its yearly Expence, Hazard and Charge, without effecting any thing as yet; theſe that follow are Reaſons, or rather Arguments *pro & contra*, to prove or diſprove a Paſſage; which I refer, as I do all the reſt of my Diſcourſes, to the Conſideration of Men of more Judgment than my ſelf; it was written upon the return of *Hudſon's* Ship, after he was treacherouſly Murder'd by his Company.

### A Diſcourſe concerning the North-Weſt Paſſage.

There are three things to be conſider'd in this pretended Voyage, upon the Diſcovery of the Northweſt Paſſage this preſent Year 1610.

1. The firſt is the probability of a Paſſage.
2. Whether it is like to tend to the Southward or Northward.
3. What Commodities are like to ariſe to us alone, above any other Nation by it.

That there is a Paſſage, is confidently believ'd, tho' there be ſeveral Opinions whether it runs into the *South-Sea*, or into the *North-Weſt*, which Experience muſt determine. Some there are who pretend to have paſſ'd it themſelves, but their words carry ſo little ſhew of Reaſon along with them, that they deſerve no Credit.

*Gemma Frigiſius* ſays, There went three Brethren from *Europe* through this Paſſage, whence it took the name of *Fretum Trium Fratrum*.

In my Opinion, if *Gemma Frigiſius*, intended we ſhould believe his Report, he ſhould have ſet down the Names of the three Brethren, their Country, the Shipping, out of what Port, or by whom they were employ'd, the Season of the Year they ſet forth, the time of their return, the Courſe they ſail'd, what Hope or Deſpair in making Benefit of their Diſcovery, the Conditions of the People

they met with, the Commodities of every Country where they had Commerce, the Altitude of every Place, what Dangers are to be ſhun'd, or ſome particular Accident that fell out in the Voyage; for theſe are Deſigns of Men's Voyages and Diſcoveries; and not mentioning any of them, Why may we not conceive it to be a Fiction, as well as divers other Names, that are given to Places in Maps within the Lands of *Africa*, *Aſia* and *America*, which never any Man was known to be at, to give an account of.

We muſt either conclude that Paſſage not worth following, which was Diſcovered, and left off after the firſt Voage; or that thoſe Princes, or others to whom they made Relation of it, gave little credit to their Report.

For no doubt, if there had been any ſuch thing, it was undertaken for the ſame end we now attempt it (that is) for the diſcovery of new Lands; where we may have Commerce and Traffique: They could not be ignorant of the nature of Commodities, and it is like they would have brought home an Example of ſome, that would have given Encouragement to have perſe-vered, and not deſiſted from the Enterprize, it being diſcover'd; Neither is it likely that three Brethren, who preſumed to undertake ſuch a Voyage for their Honour or Glory, would let die ſo No-

ble



ble, and so memorable an Action, as the North-West Passage.

The Second Reason to prove a Passage, is alledged by *Cornelius Nepos*, that there were certain *Indians* cast upon the Coast of *Germany*, which were presented by the King of *Snib* to *Quintus Marcellus Celer*, the Proconsul of *France*.

The Third, that in the Year 1160. whilst *Frederick Barbaross* Reign'd Emperor, there came certain *Indians* cast upon the Coast of *Germany*.

The Fourth, that *Orben* in the Story of the *Goths* affirms, That in the time of the *German* Emperors there were certain *Indians* cast upon the Coast of *Germany*.

These Four Proofs are verifi'd by Three Authors; but considering that we read in the days of *Quintus Marcellus*, the *Romans* were so desirous to enlarge their Empire, that they left no means unattempted, nor no Country heard of Unconquer'd; and that they would not examine these Men, of the Custom of the Country, the Distance from whence they came, the Wealth and Power of their King, the way of their coming, and at least to devise how to send an Ambassador to be inform'd of the State of their Nation, and to settle an intercourse of Traffick. I must confess if these things were not put in practice by the *Romans*, they were less careful of their Government and Greatness than any History can lay to their charge.

These Reasons, with one more, I must likewise alledge to the two *Christian* Emperors, that they should be so careless in their Duty towards God, that having knowledge of Heathen People, they would not use their best endeavours to draw and bring them to the yoke of Christ; by which means they might have been Civiliz'd; and having learnt the Language and true Worship of God, this would have proved a good Introduction to have wrought their own Ends and Desires upon them.

These I say may breed some scruple in me, to doubt that they were People of the *West-Indies*; tho' in those days, they might give them the names of *Indians*, because the Savages and the People of *America*, nor *America* it self, was not then discovered, nor of many years after. I will not deny, but that such Men might arrive upon the Coast of *Germany*, but I should have been better confirm'd, if the burthen and manner of building their Ship had been express'd, with the number of Men, their time of Absence from home, the Behaviour and Civility of the People, what Sea or Streight they pass'd, what

Commodities they brought with them, and desir'd to carry from thence; for the Author said they came to Trade.

But the greatest Argument we are ground upon, that they came out of the *Indies*, is, because in the Discourse they gave them the name of *Indians*; but I do verily believe, if there were any such People, that they were Savages of *America*, over against *Germany*, who were put from the Shore with a West-erly Wind, as the *Spaniards* relate of a *Hiscayner*, that was forced with an Easterly Wind from the *Canaries* to the Coast of *America*, from whom *Columbus* had his light for the Discovery of the *Indies*: Both these Reports I believe alike.

The Fifth proof of a Passage is grounded upon a Report of *Cortereal*, a *Portuguese*, who by his own Report pass'd it, and gave it the name of *Cortereal*. But where this *Portuguese* was Born, or took Shipping, or by whom he was employ'd; or upon what occasion; what became of the rest of the Men; the name of the Ship, Captain and Matter; or the Journals of the Voyages, is not express'd; which makes me doubt of the Credit of this Story: For there is no Man so void of Sense, that does not observe the Month and Day of his departure from home, and all Accidents in the Journey; or tho' the *Portuguese* should be careless thereof, yet of Ten Mariners Eight of them would observe it.

But leaving this to the *Portuguese* forgetfulness, let us examine who should employ him, and upon what occasion. If we speak according to Reason, no Prince so likely as the Kings of *England*, *Scotland* or *Denmark*; whose Countries lie more convenient for the Passage.

Neither is it likely that any other than a Prince would set them out, because it would concern a Prince more than any Private Man; but allow that more than One or Ten should employ them; think you the Secret of the Voyage could be conceal'd, or that they would leave prosecuting it, when discover'd; no, no, for in those days *England*, *Scotland* and *Denmark*, would have thought it a great Happiness to their State to have found it out.

And to prove what I say, that *England* was ignorant of any such Discovery, we have no Record of any such Voyage undertaken out of *England*; nor proof of the *Portuguese* offer to any King of *England*, as we have of *Columbus*, who tendered his Service to *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup>. for the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, before he made offer of it to *Spain*.

How this *Portuguese* could cause such a Silence in the rest of the Company, as not to make report of it, is very doubtful, seeing Man naturally is apt to extol himself; and such a Service as that Passage, would cause the Men not only to boast of it, but also to make offer where it was most likely to be accepted, which, as I have said, I could never hear was done to England.

It is an old saying, That Two may keep Counsel, if the Third be away; but that the *Portugueses* could pass in a Ship that had but two or three Men to Sail her; or that they could be made so silent as not to report; I refer my self to any Judicious Man.

The Voyage was neither by the King his Master's appointment, nor by any Minister under him, or by the consent of the one or the other, you may conjecture; because the Discovery of that Passage, was likely to hazard his Greatness in the *East-Indies*; and therefore if any such should be attempted, it is likely he should rather forbid than further it.

And seeing it was never seconded by England, Scotland or Denmark, and the King of Portugal had less reason than the rest to discover it, I believe the *Portuguese* was like a great many Vagabonds in England, who beg under the Name of Soldiers, that never were in War.

The Sixth Proof of a Passage, and particularly out of the *South Sea*, is related by one *Salvatierra*, a Gentleman of Spain, that spoke it from the Mouth of one *Andrew Serneta*, a Friar, in the year 1560, which Friar confes'd to the said *Salvatierra*, that he had pass'd from the *South Sea* into Germany through the North-West Passage.

This Report seems to be a Hearsay of a second Person; And whether the Friar spoke it to *Salvatierra* or no, that must rest upon the Honesty of *Salvatierra*; And whether the Friar spoke Truth in saying it, rests as much upon the Honesty of the Friar; so that there are Two Men's Credits at stake, and neither of them both to be examin'd: But let us examine the likelihood of it.

The King of Spain in those days had as little reason to discover such a Passage into the *South Sea* as the King of Portugal, because it would be as great a Damage to him as to the King of Portugal, the Trade of Peru being as much expos'd as that of the *East-Indies*.

But suppose there was no Hurt or Damage to the King of Spain by that Passage, yet the finding of it would be more

inconvenient; for it is nearer from *Lyma* to *Panama*, and from thence to *Nombre de dios* by Land, and so into Spain, which is the ordinary way of Trade, than from *Lyma* to Spain by a North-West Passage.

And therefore seeing the Discovery of that Passage would neither profit nor shorten the Spaniards Voyage, but might in time prejudice, yea hazard the whole *Indies*, I see no reason the Spaniards had to attempt this Discovery, but rather to divert it; and therefore the Friar's Testimony to be doubted.

By his own Report, this Passage was not long discover'd before the Year 1560. Sir Martin Frobisher's last Attempt to the North-West was undertaken in 1576. so that there could not be 20 years difference betwixt their Two Undertakings.

If the Friar's Relation had been true, it is not likely it would have been concealed: And seeing Sir Martin's Action was undertaken by the Queen, who had better Means to understand the State of it than any private Man, no question but the Queen would have procur'd a certain Relation for Sir Martin's better Instruction.

Or if the Friar's Arrival had been upon the Coast of Germany, as neither the Time, Place, Company, nor Ship, is spoken of, nor any German Writer makes mention of, which it is likely they would have done if it had been true; or if not, so memorable a thing as the North-West Passage would not have been forgotten in 20 years.

Besides, the Germans had been as likely as any Nation in the World to have attempted it, if there had been cause, considering how industrious and ingenious they are by Nature; and seeing that neither Report made it famous, nor that it was ever seconded by any other Person, I think the Friar pass'd it in a Dream, or upon the Horse *Pegasus*.

The Seventh Reason to prove a Passage, was by *Stephen Gomes* his Offer to *Charles* the Fifth in 1527. who would have sent to discover it, but that his Employment was so great otherwise, that he could not attend it; and the King of Portugal fearing that the Emperor would persevere in the Enterprize, gave him 300000 Ducats to desist, as saith *Francisco de Ulloa*.

How probable this is, let us a little examine. First, I think that neither *Gomes* nor any other Man durst make such an Offer to the Emperor; for he might as well have presented him with Poylon in his Cup, as to discover a Passage that might prove so hurtful to the State of Spain;

*Spain*; And I think few Kings would have suffered *Gomes* to have lived if they believed his Relation, lest, upon Refusal, he might have tendered it to some other Prince or Country that might lie more conveniently for it.

Secondly, *Gomes* could not have been such a Fool, but to think, as it stood with the State of the Emperor to have the Passage found, yet, as the Emperor was King of *Spain*, it was the most hurtful and dangerous thing that could happen to his Kingdoms; and of the Two Titles and Dignities, the Emperor was to respect his Inheritance of *Spain*, being Successive, as the other was but Elective.

To prove that it has been pass'd, is not set down by *Gomes*; and Reasons that it may be pass'd, are as well known to Thousands as to *Gomes*, which makes me judge of *Gomes* to be an undertaking Fellow, as we have many in our Age that will put themselves into Action, and promise good Success to keep themselves employ'd.

And I do the rather believe this of *Gomes*, because I read in the Voyage of *Magellan* about the World, that this *Gomes* was Pilot of one of his Ships, wherein *Alvaro Mesquita*, *Magellan's* Nephew, went Captain; and coming into the Straights of *Magellan*, *Gomes* mutiny'd, and compell'd this Captain to return home.

Besides, I find it recorded of the said *Gomes*, That he undertook the Discovery of the North-West Passage in 1525. and after Ten Months spent without effecting it, he brought home certain *Indians*, and arriving at the *Groyne*, was call'd to from the Shore as he entred that Harbour, to know what he came home laden withal, who answer'd, with *Esclavos's*, meaning with *Indians*, which the others conceived to be *Clavos's*, viz. Cloves, upon the first Apprehension thereof; and in hope to get a Reward of the King, the Party posted up to the Court with Tidings, that *Gomes* had been at the Islands of *Molucco's*, and was return'd home, laden with Cloves; but when this News was contradicted, the Fellow lost his Charge and Travel, and they were both derided.

But to return where I left off, tho' there had been no likelihood to impeach the Emperor in his *Indies* by this Passage, yet considering it was like to prejudice the King of *Portugal* in the *East-Indies*, the Emperor had reason, without receiving any such Sum of Money, to hinder it; for as much as the more Nations Traded that way, the sooner they might discover those Places that were discovered afterwards, as namely, the *Philippines*, and other

Islands, and in time might prove his most dangerous Neighbours.

But especially the Emperor was married to the Daughter of Don *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, who had the Reversion of all his Kingdoms, if his Heirs males fail'd, as it did, and became Hereditary to *Spain*.

And therefore it was most ridiculous we should conceive the Emperor ever threaten'd the King of *Portugal* with that Discovery, or received Money of him to that purpose, as is express'd. But I observe it is the Nature of all Men to flatter themselves with hope of a thing they would have, and will wrest Reasons and Stories to strengthen their Belief, by Example of this which they misreport; and therefore I will set down the Truth of this Story out of Authentick Authors.

There was a long Question and Debate between the Emperor and the King of *Portugal*, to whom the *Molucco's* should belong? And it is true the Emperor labour'd to find another way to the *Molucco's* than by the Cape of Good Hope.

*Magellan* was a Portuguese by Birth, who had lived Seven Years in the *Indies*: He left the Service of his King, and offered it to the Emperor, giving hope to find a new way to the *Molucco's*, tho' it prov'd the Loss of his own Life.

The Controversie to whom the *Molucco's* should belong continu'd between the Two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *Spaniards* made sundry Attempts by way of the Straights, but evermore with unfortunate Success. At last Don *John III.* of *Portugal*, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, willingly lent him 350000 Ducats when he went into *Italy* to be Crown'd Emperor, upon Condition the King of *Portugal* should no way be molested in his Possession of the *Molucco* Islands till that Money was repaid, which being never done, the *Spaniards* never since pretended to those Islands. But there was no mention made of a North-West Passage.

Altho' there are a great many more Probabilities that the Straights have not been at any time pass'd, than otherwise, yet it is no reason absolutely to disprove a Passage, whatsoever any Man shall ground upon Philosophical Arguments, or by any Globe or Card that is extant; for except a Globemaker can as well prove by Experience that there is such a Sea as he sets down, and by the Testimony of some Men that went it, he may as well suppose what he makes Sea to be as dry Land as the Desarts of *Arabia*: And therefore leaving this Trial, I will proceed further.

I have perus'd all the Voyages to the North-West made by Sir *Martin Forbush* and Mr. *John Davies*, with whom I have often conferr'd touching this Passage; and I have found by them a likelyhood of it, but no more Assurance than from those that never went so far as they did: Therefore whatsoever is hitherto done, is but imaginary.

I must confess that the last year's Attempt of *Hudson's* has given us knowledge of 400 Leagues further than ever was known before; and out of his Discovery we are to conjecture more or less possibility of it.

And because I make this Voyage the Foundation of all others that shall succeed, I will set down, as much as I can remember, what I received from the Mouth of the Master that came home from *Hudson*, touching the Particular of his Voyage, and whether it will avail us or no, being discovered.

The Entrance was in 63 Degrees, and they ran in that height 200 Leagues, and finding the *Streights*, which was 40 Leagues over, to run South, they followed that Southerly Course, making account it would bring them into the *South Sea*; and here they ran 200 Leagues more, till they found the Water too shallow and unpaisable.

They Winter'd in an Island in 52 Degrees, where in the whole Winter they saw but one Man, who came to them but twice; the second time of his coming he brought with him Three Dear-skins, which he would not exchange for a Hatchet, for he priz'd them at more Value; but when he saw that he could not have it under the whole Three, he was content to let them go, and promis'd by Signs to come the next morning, but came not.

The Savage was Cloath'd in Skins, and his Arrows forked with Iron: They found the Place much subject to North-West Winds, and far exceeding any part of *England* in Coldness.

As they tended South, going about the Headland, they pass'd near the Shore, and betwixt certain Rocks, small Islands, and main Lands.

They found the Flood to come from the North-West, which is one of their Arguments that it came from the main Sea. The next Voyage must be to discover from whence this Current comes, and to see if, in running West or North-West, they can find a *Streight* to run South, or an open Sea to the Northward.

Victuals they found none from the Shore, but white Partridges; the Water they had was Snow Water, which fell abundantly

into their Ships every night: Wine, Aquavite, and other Liquid Things, did freeze in an exceeding manner, tho' it was but in 52 Degrees.

I conceive Two especial Benefits by *Hudson's* Discovery; the one, That we have pass'd 200 Leagues more West than was ever discover'd; that hereafter we may be bold to sail 200 Leagues directly, without losing any time to search one Shore or other, which would have taken up a whole Summer if they had not intended to Winter.

The Second is, That whereas there was hope of a Passage to fall into the *South Sea*, not many Leagues after the Entrance into the *Streights*, this Discovery has put us out of doubt of it; so that I make account there is another Summer gained.

I will suppose we are 200 Leagues in the *Streights*, and as they say we encounter with a North-West Flood: But before we direct our Course West and North-West, let us judge of this Flood, and where they met it; if in the midst of the Channel, we may the better believe it came out of the main Sea; but if amongst Islands, broken Land or Rocks, we have no reason to ground our hopes of a Voyage upon it.

For by Experience upon the Coast of *Britany*, or where there are many Islands or Rocks, the Tides alter according to the Rocks and Islands; and I know *Hudson's* Company confess they met them amongst Rocks and Islands, and therefore no hold to be taken of a North-West Flood.

But according to the hope we conceive of this Flood, we direct our North-West Course, being enter'd the *Streights*, and in 62 Degrees. You must note, that in running North-West, every 28 Leagues you raise a Degree; and the further you run any Point to the Northward, the greater hazard you shall endure by Ice and Cold; the worst Wintering, if you be put to it, and the further from your Voyage, because the Course lies Southerly.

But one hope may be, That the Northern Part of *America*, which is made Land in the Maps, will prove Sea: Allowing it to be true, and 200 Leagues to run but 200 Leagues farther, either Northward or Westward, then let us compare the time we have to pass the *Streights*, and reckon our departure from *England*, and we shall find the Climate very unreasonable, either to Winter or to make a Factory, if we pass it not in one Summer.

From *England* to the *Streights* Mouth 700 Leagues; to the Place discover'd 200,



to the Sea imagin'd 200, North-West, where I will suppose there is an open Sea, tho' the contrary is known. Now have I run 1100 Leagues, and in 62 Degrees.

And if we will know the distance from thence to the *Molucco's*, or where we have now a Trade, this Rule will lead us, (*viz.*) to measure with the Meridian Line from the Entrance of the *Streights*, lying in 62 Degrees, due South, to the height of 23 and a half, which is the Latitude of Cape *California*; then measure the distance from this Meridian to the Cape *California*, and from thence to the Cape *Mendacina*, which is the furthestmost known Part of *America*, and after to the *Molucco's*, and you shall find nothing gain'd by this Discovery; for that of necessity the Land of *America* must be doubled, before we direct our Course to any of the Places aforesaid.

But suppose, upon the opening of the Sea to the Northward, the Land proves, as is describ'd in most Globes and Maps, (*viz.*) all Land and no Sea, then are you to run due West, in 62 Degrees, as aforesaid, or as the Land shall lie, so many Leagues as you shall measure by the former Rule, (*viz.*) from the said Meridian Line to the Cape *Mendacina*, which, considering the distance and the distemperature, the Course alone would not be run in a whole Summer.

Or if, being in 62 Degrees, we find a Passage to run South-West, and to fall into the *South Sea* about the height of Cape *California*, it is great odds that *Streights* will not always run deep, by Example of the *Red Sea*, and *Persian Gulph*; both which want no breadth, tho' very shallow; and if this should prove deep and broad; yea tho' the narrowest Place be but one League over, we may have the Honour to discover it; but any other Nation shall reap as great Benefit by it as our selves, if we cannot make it good and fortifie it on both sides.

Let us reckon how many Leagues we shall run before we come to the *Molucco's*, by the Course into the *South Sea*; allow we be in 62 Degrees, and 900 Leagues from *England*, and that our Entrance into the *South Sea* be in 23 Degrees, South-West; then have we raised 39 Degrees, which in a South-West Course amounts to 975 Leagues; and from that height to *Java* the distance is certainly known, by the Navigation of Mr. *Cavendish*, the Pilot of whose Ship, and many ether principal Men, are yet living, and have annexed the distance of Places, the days of sailing, and their abode in every Harbour where they arrived, to the Discourse of the Voyage about the World, as thus:

From Cape *California*, in 23 Degrees and a half, to the Islands of *Ladrones*, they note 1550 Leagues; from the *Ladrones* to the *Philippines* 320; from the *Philippines* to *Java Major* 525; so that by this Computation, which cannot be disprov'd, it amounts to 4572 Leagues betwixt *England* and *Java*, by a Passage into the *South Sea*; and reckoning from *Java* to *England* the common way, by Observation of the said Pilot, it is but 4500 Leagues, (*viz.*) From *Java* to the Cape of Good Hope 1800 Leagues; from thence to *Flores* 1200; from *Flores* to *England* 450; so that we find by Demonstration that it is further by 445 Leagues by a Passage into the *South Sea*, than by the known way of the Cape of Good Hope, which is daily frequented.

But it may be said, by the North-West Passage we shall have the Trade of *Japan* and *China*, which will more avail us than the Trade of the *Molucco's* and the *East-Indies*, because they are many Leagues nearer. If the Passage be found, I confess there is something gain'd in the Distance, but nothing in the Navigation, allowing that this Passage falls into the *South Sea*; as if it does not, little good is like to ensue of it, because of the hazard of Cold, of Ice, and of unknown Seas, which Experience will teach us.

But to disprove the Opinion of such as are erroneously carry'd away with the Conceit that the *Streights* are like to fall into the *South Sea* about the Cape of *California*, this that follows shall give an infallible Satisfaction, by Proof that has been made upon that Coast to the Westernmost part of all *America*, both from *Mexico* within the Land, and from *Acapulco* and the Port of *Nazidad* by Sea.

*Ferdinand Cortes*, who was Captain General of this new Conquer'd Country of *New Spain*, and *Anthony Mendoza* at that time Vice Roy of it, the one hating the other mortally, as is the Custom where Two such Commanders have such equal Authority; yet they both preferred the Service of their Master before their own Splendor and Revenge, and jointly undertook a Discovery of *Quivira*, and the Westernmost Parts of *America*, being made believe it abounded in Riches, and had a Trade from *China*, and other Parts of *Asia*. They employ'd in this Journey one *Francis Vasques de Caranaca*, who arrived there by Land with a Number of *Spaniards*, both Horse and Foot; in which Journey they endur'd greater Famine and other Extremities, than all the rest of the *Spaniards* Undertakings in the Continent of *America*.

Some



Some of those *Spaniards*, tho' not many, return'd by Land to *Mexico*, from whence they departed, and reported the Calamities and Extremities they suffered. By this I collect, and by my Collection, will frame my unanswerable Argument, to give the World Satisfaction, That from *Mexico* to the Westermost Part of *America*, in which space, if there be a Passage, it must fall into the *South Sea*, in all their Journey they found neither Sea, Streight, or other Impediment, to hinder or stop their Journey by Land, but that they went and arriv'd at *Sibola* and *Quivira*, from whence they return'd; which they could not have done if there had been a stoppage by Water, either fresh or salt; neither did they carry any Provision of Boats, or other Means to transport Men or Horfe.

But for better Satisfaction to this Point, I will lay open a later Proof, known to divers *Englishmen* yet living, that were with Mr. *Cavendish* in his Glorious Voyage about the World in 1586. After he had pass'd the *Streights* of *Mugellan*, and the Coasts of *Chile*, *Peru*, and *New Spain*, he came to *California*, where he took his rich Prize of 700 Tuns of *China Silks*, coming from the *Phillipine* Islands, bound for the Port of *Navidad* in *New Spain*: This Ship had in her 150 Passengers; and after he had laden his own Ships with her Merchandize, he burnt both Ship and Goods, not being able to carry her with him; and for the Men he put ashore at *Cape California*, from whence they travell'd by Land as far as to the Port of *Navidad*, whither they were bound by Sea.

In their way they pass'd many *Indian* Countries, not commonly known to the *Spaniards* before; in all which Travel they found no Interruption, by Streight, River, or other Let of Water, fresh or salt: And for the Proof of their safe Arrival at the Port of *Navidad* aforesaid, besides the Relation I have seen of it, it happened that many years after, a Pilot of the said Prize taken by Mr. *Cavendish*, and a *Greek* by Nation, returning into his Country, after 20 years spent abroad, happen'd into the Company of one Mr. *Lock*, an *Englishman*, in *Italy*, with whom he grew acquainted, and related to him all the Particulars of his Voyage, as well what happen'd by Sea as by Land, after Mr. *Cavendish's* putting them ashore. But leaving this Argument, I will proceed farther.

Allow that we be in 23 Degrees, and in the *South Sea*, and direct our Course to the Islands of *Japan*, we are to run 1600 Leagues a Westerly Course, (*viz.*) to

*Cape Mendacina* 700 Leagues, and from thence to *Japan* 900, by the reckoning of *Francis Gall*, who was a perfect Pilot, and had often sail'd it; so that by this Course we shall run 3475 Leagues from *England* to *Japan*.

To prove that nothing is gain'd by this Navigation, I will allow we are at *Japan*, and resolve upon our Return for *England* the same way we went: We must so cast our Voyage, as to be sure of a sufficient time for our Passage through the *Streights* in Summer, otherwise we must resolve to be frozen or starv'd by the way; And what a hazard we shall run if Winds cross us, our Masts break, our Ships spring a leak, the Sails split, Men fall by Sickness: I say if any of these Accidents happen, we are left destitute of all help or hope, and the greatest Calamity or Misery that ever befel Men will light upon us; for there is no Death comparable to Hunger and Cold: And to show how unlikely it is for us to return in one, or scarcely in two Summers, let us examine the Winds and Seasons.

The *Spaniards* that come from the *Philippines* to *New Spain*, stand over to the main Land of *America*, and coast the Shore, finding the Winds all Easterly at Sea, inasmuch that they are returning 8 Months, which they are going in 10 Weeks; and this is the rather approv'd by Mr. *Cavendish's* sailing from *Cape California* to the *Philippines*, who never found the Wind, from betwixt the East and North-East, from the 19th of *November* to the 15th of *January*; in which time he sail'd 2300 Leagues.

So that altho' we shall arrive with a fair Wind at *Japan*, yet considering we shall find it against us in our return, we shall sooner by one third part, and with less Hazard and Danger, come home by the *Cape of Good Hope*, than through the *South Sea*.

Let me now appeal to the Opinion of any Mariner, whether it were not better for a Man to Sail 6000 Leagues in a certain and known Navigation, where the Winds nor Seasons never fail, than 3000 in an uncertain Sea, as we shall find to the Northward, where the Winds are variable, and the Climate unnatural, except it be in the *South Sea*, which I have shew'd the inconveniency of.

The delay of Voyages is commonly, when the Factor is not ready to lay his Goods aboard; for there may be time lost in seeking such Commodities, as his Merchant writes for, for a convenient time and season to ship it; some want or disability

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in the Ship or Company, Arrest or Stay by the Prince where they are, or many other Casualties not thought on: But when a Ship departs from any Harbor so far off as the *East-Indies*, and seeks to recover the place whither she is bound; it cannot be any great hindrance to the Merchant to lose a Months time in coming home, but the rather profitable, as I will demonstrate by one of those Voyages.

For if by the Northwest there be so quick a passage, and so short a way to go and come as is desired, I say the Trade in few years will be overlaid; for as it is now by the Cape of Good Hope, since we and the *Hollanders* have had Traffique in the *East-Indies*, Pepper is brought from 2 d. to 4 d. there; and when it encreases in price where it should lessen, and falls where it should encrease, what think you in time this Voyage will come to, if follow'd, either the one way or the other?

Let us likewise consider what needless Commodities they bring from thence. Hee not but this Country may live as well without Spices, as our Forefathers have done; neither are they to be had in truck of our home Commodities, as Cloth, Lead and Tin; but if the Merchant make gain by this Trade, the chiefest Stock he employs must be in Silver, which has, and will in time make such a dearth of Money in *England*, as all Men in general will rue it: And as I have said before, we shall have the less Money, and the greater quantity of those needless Commodities, if the Navigation should prove short and easie.

If a Man will speak truly and indifferently of the Trade of the *East-Indies*, it is not so fit for any King or Prince as the King of *Spain*, who has other *Indies* to supply the Silver that goes out of his Country; then what hope have we to persevere in that Voyage, who have no Mines or means by Traffique to bring Money in to this Kingdom? For this take for an inassailable Argument, that Country which receives more Commodities than it vends, the surplus must of necessity be of Money: And by reason of our wastful expence in such needless and superfluous things, as Silks, Lawns, Spices, Wine, Tobacco, Sugar, and a hundred such Vanities; we must confess there comes in much more of these Commodities, than goes out of the Realm in Truck for them: And then let us consider the benefit of this Trade, and how long it is like to continue good, for the benefit and profit of this Kingdom.

The mischief that is befall'n us, by exhausting our Silver was foreseen long since by *Charles* the Fifth Emperor, who behold-

ing the greedy Gain of the *Portugueses* in their Trade to the *East-Indies*, was wont to say, 'They were Enemies to Christendom, by carrying their Treasure from *Europe* to enrich the Heathens.'

But now to proceed to what I conceive of *Hudson's* last Voyage; I find we are hopeless of any good by the *South Streights* where he Winter'd, because of the shallowness of the Water in 52 Degrees; or if it had run as far as to have brought him into an open Sea, yet it was a great error in *Hudson* to bid his company welcome into the *South Sea*, upon that Streight, tending to the Southward; for if you please to measure it by a Meridian Line, you will find it would have brought him scarcely as far as the Islands of *Lucias*, which is short of the *West-Indies*, and the Land *Columbus* first discover'd.

I verily believe the Savage *Hudson* met withal, had been acquainted with Trade; First, by adventuring so near the Ships and Men, the sight whereof would have daunted him, if he had not seen the like before. Secondly, that whereas at his first coming, he brought with him three Deer Skins, which he would not truck for a Hatchet, esteeming them of better value; this shews he knew the price of the Hatchet, and knew as well how to rate his Hides: And Thirdly, by the Iron of his Dart, which shew'd manifestly, he us'd to Trade with *Christians*.

But if it be true, which is told me, that some did imagine the Iron came from *Japan*, and that those of *Japan* traded with them People; the conceit is strange to me, that any Man should believe that *Japan* lying so far thence as it is, should have Trade with a People and Country that affords nothing, no not so much as Victuals.

If the *Japaneses* came to Discover, they saw themselves out of hope to pass that way, by example of our Men; so that it is like, that if they had been there once, they would not have come twice; and therefore little sign of a Trade: Or if they came to Discover, it is likely they hop'd to find a Sea, as well as Land; and then I see not, but they might as well come to us, as we desire to go to them.

But whosoever will understand Reason, need not go so far as *Japan* for it; for it is most apparent, considering the height, the distance from the Ocean Sea, from hence, and from *Canada*, where the *French* yearly trade, it is like this Fellow had Trade with the *French*; and I am of Opinion that *Canada* is but 150 Miles from

from this place; and I further believe, That the relation the *French* give of a Sea, they have seen West in those Countries, is no other than this *Streight*, or what else you will call it, that *Hudson* discover'd.

Having shew'd the small probability of a Passage, and confuted such Men's Reasons as have pretended to have pass'd it; having alledged some Arguments, that we should have gain'd little time tho' it were discover'd, either North or South; and Thirdly, what Profit we shall reap by it, tho' it were found, especially considering we shall have no more Privilege than any other Nation, except it prove narrow, for us to strengthen and fortifie.

Now lastly will I set down a Project, how to undertake a Discovery with small Charge, and either find it, or be out of hope of it, in little more than two years.

Besides the Charge and Endeavour that is to be used in this Voyage of Discovery, I will persuade, tho' it be with some Cost to the Adventurers, That either a Pilot be procur'd from *Spain*, that hath sail'd from the *Phillippines* to *New Spain*, who I think is better able to give a light of this Voyage, than by experience we shall attain to in many years;

Or if there be a difficulty to get such a Pilot, yet that he may be conferr'd with, by some of good Understanding in Cosmography; for no doubt, Sailing alongst the Shore, as they do in that Navigation, he can be able to say, whether it be likely, that any great River or *Streight* can give hope of a Passage that falls into the *South Sea*; or at least he is able to tell the distance from *China* to the main Land of *America*; and whether the Current Sets from the North or no, as *Francis Gall* describes; and he is able to tell the breadth of the main Land of *America*, from Cape *Mendocino* to *New Spain*, if you doubt of *Francis Gall's* Report; and this will I wish to be done, before undertaking another Voyage; for certainly it will give great Hope or Despair to our Discovery.

I know it is conceiv'd by the *Spaniards* in those parts of the World, that there is a Sea to the Northward, that divides *Asia* from *Africa*; but if it be true (as I think no less) the entrance of it must be farther Northward than yet we have discover'd; and I am of Opinion, we must bring the most Northern part of all *America* South-erly, before we run West; or as the Land shall bear; and then finding no Ice on the Starbord side, we may be bold to say, we have entred into an open Sea; for it stands against Sense or Reason, that any *Streights* should run deep or narrow, as

it must do if we have profit by it, whether it run West, North or South, so many Leagues as the breadth of *America*, if *America* be truly describ'd, as that we shall know be the Conference with the Pilot of the *Phillippines*;

But now to proceed upon the Northwest Discovery; the Men that go that Voyage, must be such as Trade into *Iceland*, for they are best able to endure the Cold, and most acquainted with the Northern Climates.

Three Vessels are enough to undertake it, the one of 200 Tuns, the other of 50 Tuns apiece. The Ship is to carry such Provisions for Wintering, as shall be thought necessary with a surplus of Victuals to be put into the Barques at the departure of the Ship from them.

This Ship may, if they see a convenient place, make her Voyage upon the Coast with fishing; if not, the may put round for *Newfoundland*, and buy her Lading of Fish, which being carry'd into the *Streights*, will make a profitable Return, towards the Charge of the Discovery.

The Two Barques must be strong and short, because of their aptness to stay and Tack, if they come into a narrow *Streight*, shoale Water, or amongst Ice.

The Captains must be skillful Mariners, and good Cosmographers, Men of good Reputation, and of great Resolution, for their Credits to perform such a Voyage; and for their Carriage, not to be daunted at any Disaster.

Their Commission must give them liberty to punish with death, if Mutinies or Disorders arise; but above all, nothing must be wanting that can be thought of, for a Two Years Voyage in a Northern Climate.

The Masters must take an Oath to use their best Endeavours to advance the Voyage, and to keep secret the Journal: The Plats and Cards, and all other Writings that concern their Navigation, must be taken from them at their coming home, and Seal'd up to present to his Majesty.

There are many other Cares to be committed to the Captains and Masters; as their mutual Agreement, their Haulbanding of Victuals, their drawing the proportion of every Cape, the Depth and Distance from Place to Place, the Observation of Winds, Times, and Seasons; the variation of the Compass, and Care in keeping Company; and to appoint a place of Meeting if they lose one another, hailing each one both Morning and Evening; what to do in Fogs; to take Possession

*America*

sion of such Countries as they come to, for the King, and leaving some signs of their being there for whoever shall come after. Many other things are to be thought on before their going from home, too tedious to set down.

If the two Barks shall arrive in a place where a River or Streight does open two ways, they are to part company, and each of them to proceed upon their Discovery, as they shall agree upon, (with this Direction) That upon either of their Returns, they appoint a certain place on shore, where to leave their Letters wrapped up in a Box of Lead, and in those Letters to make relation of their Success, from their departure from one another.

There must be great Providence to preserve their Men in Health, and from Danger of their Enemy; not to believe the allurements of Savages, but when they stand upon their own Guard; and if they be forc'd to use Violence, to have a special care that the first Piece they shoot, be sure to kill or hurt; for so shall the Savages be more terrify'd, when they find the Pieces kill as well as make a noise.

But leaving the Discovery of the Northwest Passage to the Care, Wisdom and Discretion of the Undertakers, I will deliver my conceit of a Voyage, which hitherto no Man hath written of, much less attempted; and that is, Due North under the Pole. One Reason that induces me to it, is, The nearness to *China, Japan* and the *East-Indies*, if there be a Passage; for by computation, it cannot be above 1500 Leagues from *England* to *Quinsay*.

My other Reason is grounded upon an Error of the Philosophers, who conceived it was uninhabitable under the Line, which Experience has taught us to the contrary: The like Opinion they held of the Pole; and we know they have no more reason for the one than for the other. And seeing the Adventure cannot be great or dangerous for the Undertakers, I would wish

Men to be as forward and willing to venture therein, as they are now in this to the North-West, for the proof is alike for any thing that is done as yet.

My Third Motive is grounded upon that which makes the impediment of the North-West Passage, which is Ice; and that I least fear or doubt of, for the Reasons following.

The abundance of Ice which floats in the Sea, and hinders the North-West Passage, is not the Ice of the Sea, for the great Salt Sea cannot Freeze; but it is the Ice frozen in fresh Rivers and Sound, which at the breaking up of the Year, is driven out of the same Harbours into the Sea; which shews there is more Land upon the Coast of *Labrado*, than towards the North Pole; for Ships have sailed 100 Leagues to the Northward of the North Cape of *Norway*, and in 67 Degrees, and have found no Ice; whereas, if there had been Land in that course, or to the Northward of it, they would have found the Ice, by the Reasons aforesaid.

And whereas Cold may be alledged for an impediment upon this Discovery, we find by Proof, and not without Reason, that it is hotter to the Northward in Summer, than nearer the Sun, because of the Reflexion of it, that gives a Light and a Heat for one half of the Year: It is to be compar'd to a continual easie and gentle Fire, which will cast a greater Heat, and of a longer continuance, than a violent Flame that is soon quench'd.

And because all Discoveries before spoken of, and that hereafter are to be attempted, have been, and must be, by the Pains, Labour and Industry of Mariners; I think it not amiss to set down, what I was desir'd by Mr. *Wright*, the great Mathematician, to write, to encourage and further a certain stipend, for the Maintenance of Navigation, for Seamen's better Instruction.

### The Conveniency of a Lecture of Navigation.

I Held it not amiss to insert so much as I was desir'd to write, concerning the Necessity of having a Publick Lecture read, for the instructing of Mariners and Seafaring Men of this Kingdom, which is as followeth.

If I should go about to prove, how much more fit it is for *England* to maintain Navigation than any other Country that lies upon the Continent, I should do no more than many worthier Persons

have heretofore undertaken, or that Men in common Reason should conceive; for *England* is an Island, and therefore bound to maintain Shipping for Defence of it self, Offence to other Nations, and enriching the Commonwealth with Trade: For neither can any Man enter in Peaceable or Warlike fort, or we our selves pass forth of the Kingdom, without the help of Shipping.



And yet are Ships alone no more available, without Men to conduct them, than Weapons without Hands to fight. Seeing therefore that Ships and Seafaring-Men are unseparable, the one of no use without the other, we must have as great care to bring up Men, and make them skilful in that Art of Navigation, as to maintain Shipping for the Good of the Commonwealth.

But with Pity I speak it, we have not respected the instructing our Mariners; and no marvel that we have sustain'd so great a Loss by Shipwreck, for no more than our Seamen get by bare Experience, they never endeavour themselves to Knowledge: And I judge the Reason is, because they have no Means to attain it; otherwise I think they would be as willing to know their Errors, as it were fit they should be taught.

The Help they have receiv'd in these later Times, was by Men's Writings, which I hold not so profitable as what they shall hear deliver'd by Mouth, for the ordinary Mariners are oftentimes ignorant of what they shall read, as not understanding either Word or Sense; and when they shall have it demonstrated to them, and the hard Words and Meaning made plain, they will both conceive what they hear, and be able to put in practice when they understand it.

Another Discommodity they shall find by Writing, is, That the Secrets of the Art will be publish'd to the World, and other Nations are likely to make as great use and benefit of it, as we our selves: And therefore as we ought to strive to exceed other Men in Navigation, in respect I have shew'd it imports our Country so much; so ought we to keep it secret, according to the Example of *Spain*, which seeks to conceal divers Rivers, and other Places in the *Indies*, from us, which they know by Discovery might breed them Inconveniences, and benefit us.

It is a Question, whether a Man shall attain to better Knowledge by Experience or Learning: And many times you have Controversies arise, betwixt a Scholar and Mariner, upon that Point.

The Scholar accounts the other no better than a Bruit Beast, that has no Learning but bare Experience, to maintain the Art he professes. The Mariner accounts the Scholar only Verbal, and that he is more able to Speak, than Act.

I confess, this is great Arrogancy in both, to stand so obstinately upon themselves, when they ought in reason one to assist the other; but especially the Mari-

ner is to receive Comfort from the Scholar, for he that has but bare Experience, receives what he has by Tradition, for Learning is the Original Ground of all Arts; but he that has Experience join'd with Learning, it makes that Man excellent in the Art he professeth. What made *Abraham Kendall* and Mr. *John Davies*, so famous for Navigation, but their Learning, which was confirm'd by Experience?

If we had but a Lecture of Navigation read, which Seamen might resort to, they would soon reform their spiteful Humours, and confess how needful it is, that Learning should be added to Experience. And this Lecture, no doubt, in a little time will make Men as famous as either *Kendall* or *Davies*, to the Honour and Benefit of the Commonwealth.

Men of Learning were able to give great Light for the finding out the Longitude, and for the discovery of new Lands or Passages, which Experience must beat out, when they have their Grounds from learned Men.

Every Man in travel or journeying, desires to find the nearest and easiest way for his Rest, and gain of Time, to come to his Journey's end: And so ought the Mariner much the more; for the Sea is tedious, and more difficult than the Land. The Land is firm and steadfast, the Sea wavering and moveable: The Land is known and determin'd by Marks, Signs, and Limits; the Sea is vast, and no Marks to know it: The Land has Hills, Mountains, and Rocks; the Sea has Storms, Tempests, great Difficulties and Dangers, and therefore the more need of help to avoid the fearful Perils, and unlook'd-for Accidents, Man is sure to meet withal in the wide and spacious Sea.

I am of opinion, there is no Error the Mariner finds at Sea, either in Card, Star, Instrument, or Compass, but upon his Information may be reduc'd by the skilful Mathematician and made perfect, if not suddenly, Time may work it, by following such Instructions as shall be prescrib'd by them.

It is strange to see our Errors, that we prefer idle and frivolous Studies that bring no Profit; as namely, there are Lectures of Logick, Rhetorick, and Musick allow'd, and the Readers of them have a competent Maintenance for the same; none of which Studies can be in election to bring the Twentieth Part of Benefit to the Commonwealth, that this is like to do if it be well us'd.

But I speak not, that I would have this Lecture only erected, and the rest suppress'd,



pref'd; for Learning is to be nourish'd in all Commonwealths, being the Ground from whence Government is deriv'd; and for my own part, I will rather with a larger Contribution for the Maintenance of the rest, than a diminishing of what they have.

I am partly of opinion of our Mathematicians, that hold there is no certainty in the Art of Navigation in our ordinary Masters that take charge; for if there were, they would not so much vary one from another, as usually they do: For Proof whereof, let there be four or five Masters or Pilots in one Ship that goes or comes from *England* to the *Tercera's*, if they be any time in Traves at Sea, you shall have some of them 30 Leagues before the Ship, and others as many Leagues behind the Ship.

Imagine by this what Danger every Ship is in, that goes from *England* and comes home again, which to Men of Understanding is a Wonder that more Ships do not miscarry, considering the Danger of our Coast: It is not Art, but Fear and Care, that preserves them; for if they should presume upon their Art to bear in with any Land, the Rocks would devour ten times more Ships than they do. But the Masters having so provident a Care, and so great a Mistrust in their own Art, that tho' they observe the Sun and Stars never so exactly, they will not presume to bear in with the Land which they have not made, except the Coast be clear, and the Wind large to claw it off again.

But if this Art can be made perfect, and the Errors corrected and reduced to a certainty by the painful Study of the Learned, it will prove a happy thing to

all Seamen, and by consequence to the whole Commonwealth.

The only means of Help that is to be expected or hop'd, for Reformation of these ancient Absurdities, which the Mariner by all his Wit and Skill cannot correct, must be by a publick Lecture allow'd to be read, and competent Means collected and gather'd for the same: For if the Hearers of a Lecture of the Liberal Sciences receive Profit by hearing it read, you must confess they will receive much greater Profit from this being well taught.

For besides the common Good we shall receive by this Lecture, it will concern Gentlemen to study it, who seeing the Pleasure, and the Necessity of it, will make them forward in Actions by Sea, which will be a great strength and stay to the Kingdom; for it is requisite that Gentlemen should have an Insight into Sea-Affairs, seeing they are commonly employ'd in His Majesty's Ships in time of Service.

It is well known to other Nations as to us, that *England* of late years has undertaken greater Enterprizes, and achiev'd greater Victories by Sea, than ever any of our Fore-fathers have done. And these famous Memoirs of ours may remain to Posterity, it is fit that Gentlemen who live in this Age, but especially such as have been Actors in Expeditions themselves, should contribute towards the Maintenance of a Lecturer of Navigation; which Act of theirs will remain for a Monument to those that are the Founders of it: So shall they deserve well of succeeding Ages, and their noble Deeds will ever live fresh in Memory of those that shall come after them.

*A Comparison betwixt our antient and known Trades, and those now in being, since the late Discovery of New Worlds; with something relating to the Hollanders, and Fishing, Particulars being referr'd to the Sixth Book.*

I Would have our hopeful Fishing now intended compar'd and parallel'd with such Actions of ours, as of late years have been achiev'd with everlasting Honour and Renown to our Nation, as shall appear by that which follows, as well in the Discovery of unknown Countries, as in new Plantations, and other sought Trades, not heretofore known nor dream't of by our Fore-fathers; and yet the Ambition of that mungil and unmannerly Nation of *Holland* seeks to lessen our Praises: They cannot really challenge any thing of them-

selves, but that we gave them Light of, as shall appear in the Sixth Book following.

I confess that such *English*, as have been the Actors, Authors, and Abettors of our brave Enterprizes, have oblig'd the whole Commonwealth to them; First, by the Adventure of their Lives, to seek out the Secrets of Commerce; Secondly, by the Expence of their Estates, till they brought it to perfection; And Lastly, by their Labour, Pains, and Endeavour, to advance our Navigation to that it was in former Times; and yet if all these be examin'd and

compar'd to our Fishing, it will come short to the Happiness our Kingdom will reap by it.

If we enter into the Original of our English Traffiques, and the continuance of them, till the Discovery of new Countries, that gave us a greater scope to search out the Bowels of the Earth; you would think it strange our Nation could flourish in so high a measure as it did, in comparison of the present times: For I find, that in sailing to the Southward, we exceed not the bounds of the grand *Canaries*, which Voyage in former times was held a greater wonder and stranger than now about the World: Neither was the Art of Navigation so common, or so perfectly know, till of late Years, that by our Travels we have attain'd to it; for I remember my self the Ignorance of a prime Master, who going to the *Canaries*, return'd home without seeing any of the Seven Islands, for want of Skill to direct him.

And to prove what I have said, That our Traffique to the *Canaries* stretches no further to the South: This following shall clear the Doubt (*viz.*) That upon all Treaties with *Spain*, since the Discovery of the *Indies*, we were not prohibited by name the Trade of the *Indies*; only we are tied to our Antient and accusom'd Traffiques with *Spain*, which we cannot drive further to the Southward than the grand *Canaries*; nor of right by that Article of Peace can require it.

Our ancient and usual Trades, before the new Discovery, was to all the Dominions and Islands of the Kings of *Spain*, of *France*, of *Portugal*, the 17 Provinces, the several parts of *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, the *Baltick Sea* and *Island*: These were the Limits and Bounds of our English Commerce, before the latter end of *Henry* the 7th. when we came acquainted with *America*, *Africk* and *Asia*.

It is marvellous if we consider what *England* is now, to that it was in former Ages; What Wealth is return'd into this Kingdom, in respect of times past; What increase is made of his Majesties Rents and Revenues, in comparison of his Progenitors; What an increase there is of Ships in Number and Goodness; What Dread and Fear all other Nations apprehend of our Greatness by Sea; and what Rumours are spread abroad in all the Quarters of the World to make us Famous. It is admirable if we call these things to mind.

And to come to the particulars of Augmentation of our Trades, of our Plantations, and of our Discoveries, because every Man shall have his due therein; I will begin with *Newfoundland*, lying upon

the main Continent of *America*, which the King of *Spain* challenges, as first Discoverer; But as we acknowledge the King of *Spain* the first Light of the West and South-West parts of *America*, so we and all the World must confess, that we were the first that took possession, for the Crown of *England*, of the North part thereof, and not above two Years difference betwixt the one and the other.

And as the *Spaniards* have from that Day and Year held their Possession in the West, so have we done the like in the North; and tho' there is no respect, in comparison of the Wealth, betwixt the Countries; yet *England* may boast, that the Discovery from the Year aforesaid, to this very Day, hath afforded the Subjects Annually 120000 *l.* and increas'd the number of many a good Ship and Mariners, as our Western parts can Witness by their Fishing in *Newfoundland*.

Neither can *Spain* challenge a more natural Right than we to its Discovery; for in that case we are both alike: If we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their Right, it is *Italy* that must assume the Discovery to it self, as well in the one part of *America* as in the other.

*Genova*, and *Christopher Columbus* by Name, must carry away the Praise of it from *Spain*; for *Spain* had not that Voyage in Agitation, or Thought of it, till *Columbus*, not only propos'd, but accomplish'd it: The like may be said by *Sebastian Cabott* a *Venetian*, who by his earnest Intercession to *Henry* the 7th. drew him to the Discovery of *Newfoundland*, and call'd it by the name of *Bacallao*, an Indian name for Fish, for the abundance of Fish he found upon that Coast.

And speaking of Plantations, I will begin with *Newfoundland* it self, which lay uninhabited, and the Country unthought on to produce Profit, till my Lord *Baltamore*, and some Merchants of *Bristol* undertook it; it may be they were the rather drawn to it by the plenty of Fish, not once doubting of the Soil, because they had no proof of the Winters Habitation, and they might think that a fresh and green Shew of a hopeful Summer to the Eye, such as *England* yields, would send forth the like Winter, and the like effect in Winter; but by trial it fail'd, and provid a chargeable Adventure, and the decay of my Lord's Estate: He return'd for *England*, where once more he resolv'd to try his Fortunes in a new Plantation, in *Florida*; but in the mean time, and in the Year 1632. he Dy'd.

Let not this Colony of *Newfoundland* Eclipse my Lord's Judgment, or the Adventure's

venturers with him : The chiefest Exceptions against it, is the coldness of the Climate ; and the like might have been said of England, upon the first Plantation of it ; for they lie both in one parallel. *Newfoundland* affords in view plenty of Wood, Grass, Water, and other hopes of Commodities, till Time and Experience gave light to the contrary ; and at the first therefore, not to be disproved till a Winter had made known the Condition of the Soil.

They had another help to their Plantation, in that they were in no danger of Savage Enemies, which all *English* Colonies are subject to, and have tasted the mischief of : But above the rest, if the Land had prov'd suitable to their Hopes, and worthy of Inhabiting, they might have Planted and supplied it, at less than half the Charge and Expence of other Colonies where the *English* are seated ; for that there resort yearly 150 Ships to this Fishing in *Newfoundland*, which Ships go not half freighted, and not above 15 or 16 days Sailing with a reasonable Wind, that would be glad at a small rate to carry any Provisions for the Advancement of the Plantation.

And seeing I have begun with *America*, I will take it in my way, not having relation to the Years of the first Plantation, but the Neighborhood to one another, and to the Places where they are seated : And the next according to the Latitude, is *New-England*, whose Sea affords excellent and choice Fish ; whither divers Ships of England yearly resort, to take and dispose it into several Countries in Europe : The Land, by Mens Endeavours, will be made to produce sundry Commodities, as a Book that is published can witness ; but for want of time, for yet it is but a Child, and lately Born and Inhabited, little can be said of it, more than a mistrust of the good Success thereof, through the humorous and irreligious People that possess it, being refractory to the Church-Government of England. From thence ruining South, we arrive at *Virginia*, a place evil chosen for Seat, Soil, Air, or any thing else to give encouragement for a Plantation ; yet seeing it was begun, and that the Undertakers would not seem uncon- siderant, to change their first Resolutions, they have since 1602. continu'd a Footing in it, with costly Adventure, tho' hitherto it produced little more than Tobacco : But this nothing lessens the Worthiness of the Undertakers, whose end is the general good of the Common-wealth.

Not far from thence, to the Southward of it, in the Year 1585, a Colony was sent to settle in *Norambega*, by the procure-

ment of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Man much Favour'd and Graced by the Queen in those days ; and the Man chosen for the conduction of his Ships thither, was Sir *Richard Greenville*, who upon his arrival was to leave the Government to Mr. *Ralph Lane* ; and tho' the Situation, the Climate, and the natural Soil, and the proof of the Commodities the Country yields, was able to give Encouragement for the prosecution of it ; yet for want of means, and willing Minds, which is the bane of all Undertakings, it failed, and produced nothing but Tobacco, which has brought a greater mischief to this Kingdom than the Profit would have counter- vail'd, tho' it had prov'd successful.

Later than all these, and indeed which is now in the Infancy, is a Plantation in *Florida*, and near to an ancient Colony of the *French*, who through ill Government were in the end forc'd to quit it. He that can judge of things must confess, That of all other Plantations, this gives the greatest Hope and Comfort, by proof that hath been made of it, and the temper, and the height it lieth in, if it be carefully followed, and sufficiently supplied. One danger must be eschew'd, which other Nations have found the smart of, which is the Untamedness of the Wild *Indians*, who are Cruel to themselves and worse to strangers, as both the *French* and *Spaniards* have tasted. God lend them Fortune that live there, to their desires, so they make not *England* still unfortunate with Tobacco.

East North-East from *Florida* lies the Island of *Bermudas*, Inhabited and Peopled by our Nation, whose Extent can yield no greater profit, than the circuit of the ground can promise, being but 30 Miles in compass ; by means whereof the Planters are forced to Till and Manure their Grounds in that excessive manner, that in a little time it will not be able to sustain their People, but force them to find another Habitation ; which will move the less pity, because they seek only to Plant for Tobacco, a thing so noisome and lothsome to this Kingdom.

This Island at the beginning was Discover'd by the *Portuguese* Nation, and inhabited by them, till they found little profit accru'd from it, and then they abandon'd it, and left behind them such Food, especially Hogs, as they could not carry with them ; and thus it lay waste for many Years, with a general Opinion to be inhabited with Spirits, which made all Men shun the sight of it at their return out of the *Indies* ; tho' this Error was easily salved ; for I knew, above 50 years since,

since, one Captain *Ruffel*, a *Frenchman*, Ship-wrack'd upon that Island; and with great Industry of his People, for few of his Men were lost, they patch'd up a Boat out of the Materials of the perish'd Ship, that carry'd them to *Newfoundland*, where they found Relief and Passage into their own Country.

I knew likewise in the Year 1592. another *French Ship* wrack'd upon the same Island, in which an *Englishman* one, *Henry May* was Passenger, he having belong'd to one of the Ships Captain *Ryman* had, when he was Drowned returning from the *Indies*. This *May*, and some few Men of this *French Ship*, were preserved, and made shift, as the others did, to get to *Newfoundland*.

This Plantation of *Bermudas* was not purposely undertaken by us, but accidentally fall'n upon by the like Shipwrack in Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers*'s Passage to *Virginia*, whither they were bound; and being delighted with the Pleasures of that Island, which was so well stored with Hogs, they seated there Colony remaining in it; since then they found a reasonable quantity of *Amber-Greece* floating out of the Sea, and not without reason, for the Coast of *Florida* opposite to it, abounds in *Amber-Greece*.

The next, and more to the Westward from thence, are the Islands of *Barbadoes* and *St. Christophers*; and whereas the *Canary Islands* were formerly called the *Fortunate Islands*, so would we have these Islands call'd the contrary (*viz.*) the *Unfortunate Islands*, in that they produce nothing but stinking Tobacco, which if we judge wisely, discovers the Mischief it does; but it has such a bewitching Power over the Takers, that all the Ill which comes of it, they interpret as good to their Bodies, and have no more power to leave it, than Drunkards when they are muddled in it.

The next, and upon the next Continent is *Guiana*, and the River of *Amazon*, where there have been many Colonies, settled by our Nation in that spacious Country; yet I could never hear of any Commodities that rose by it, no not so much in value, as two Miles of Ground in *England* would afford; and yet I must rightly say of that evil Tobacco, this Plantation sends the best, if the strength of Tobacco be so accounted. The benefit of this Plantation is, That the Savages are more Civil and Tractable than in other parts of *America*; and that the Climate and Soil gives hope of good to come of it: But where the *Dutch* have had footing, and quitted it, takes away my Belief of it.

Further to the Southward of this Coast

the *English* never fate down with a resolution to Plant, and yet there are many Ships that have made sundry Voyages, some to Trade, others with Letters of Repisal, as well upon the Coast of *Brazil*, as through the Straights of *Magellan*, who have after Coasted to *Chyle*, *Peru*, *Panama*, *New Spain* and *Cape California*, and took their leave of *America*, and the Westernmost *Cape Mendosina*, the farthest Land Discover'd.

#### Our Trade to Africk and Asia.

The next addition of our new Trade, is upon the Continent of *Africk*, as far South as the Cape of Good Hope, and then Eastward to the Cape of *Guadafusa*, which is the Sea Circuit of *Africk*; from thence we will pass over to *Asia*, till we arrive at the *Molucco Islands*, and the Continent of *China*, to all which places we are now no strangers, by our late and large Navigation.

The first Country and the nighest to us, where we settled a new Trade, not frequented by our Forefathers, was *Barbary*, under the King thereof, call'd *Mulley Abaleck*. in 1577. who gave the *English* large and fair Conditions, as appears by the Privileges extant; and from that Year to this very Day we have enjoy'd the same; and so prevail'd with: succeeding Kings, that we have beaten the *Portugueses* out of that Trade, who at first labour'd to do the like to us.

In our time of Wars with *Spain*, our Ships of Repisal have receiv'd great Comfort and Relief of the two Ports or Roads in *Barbary*, which upon necessity of Victuals, Water, and other wants, they have supply'd us withal, and taken from us such Goods, by way of Traffique, as we have made Sale of; but with that Craft, Subtily and Danger of betraying us, that he who knows them well, would no further trust them, then necessity would compel him. The *Barbarians* had so much Honour, and Civil Honesty, that if a *Spaniard* and *Englishman* were in their Ports together, they would forbid the meddling with one another, being Enemies; so great a regard they had to the King's Royalty: As otherwise, if they were never so little way off at Sea, and one of them taken by the other, if he that took, would bring her taken, into the Port again, they would hold her Prize to him, and give Money for her.

I remember the like Case in my self, Anno 1587. that coming into the Road of *Sally*, I found a Ship of *Catalonia*, a Subject to the King of *Spain* there Trading; and the *English* Merchants on Shore fearing I would make an attempt upon her, besought

besought me not to offer Violence in Harbour upon her, assuring me, if I did, the King would take Occasion to Confiscate all the *English* Goods in his Country, and to Imprison, and perhaps put to Death, the Merchants; whereupon I forbore to attempt her.

The Western Parts of *Barbary* have two open Roads, *Safin* and *Santa Cruz*, out of which the Ships that ride there put to Sea, when they find, by the bellow of it, the Wind likely to endanger them with a Westerly Gale.

Our *English* Ships riding there have often been forc'd to put to Sea, for their Safety; and many times before their Return they have met and taken several *Spanish* Prizes, which have been more beneficial to them, than their Merchantable Voyage has provid.

And to conclude with the Trade of *Barbary*, I must say, That tho' the *English* in time of War have often brought the Subjects of the King of *Spain* Prisoners into the Ports; and tho' the *Moors* did more value buying the Men than Merchandize; yet how lewd soever the *Englishmen* were, or what Necessity soever they were driven to, it was never known they made Sale of one Christian.

The next bordering Country to *Barbary* is *Guiney*, unhealthy, through extremity of Heat, and Infection of the Air, for which there are many Reasons alledged, and Antidotes invented to avoid the Contagion thereof; but all in vain: For the Putrifaction of the Air is occasioned by the huge and monstrous Beasts that Country abounds in, which, when they die, by reason of the excessive Heat, cast such an intolerable Stench, that insects and putrefactions both Air and Earth, to the Destruction of Mankind.

The Discovery of *Guiney*, and the Sovereignty thereof, was given to Don *Alonso* the Fifth, King of *Portugal*, in 1471, which he enjoy'd peaceably, and without Interruption or Challenge by any Nation, till the year 1481. The Voyage was intended by certain *English*, and the Negroes themselves as willing to accept of their Neighbourhood, with offer to give them a Proportion of Land, there to live and inhabit; but this Design was frustrated, and proceeded not, at the Instance and Request of the King of *Portugal*, Don *John* the Second, to *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*; and since that time, to this very day, a Footing in *Guiney* was never attempted or desir'd; which must be conceiv'd to be out of the unwholesomeness of the Climate and the Air.

But tho' we were not Resident in *Guiney*, by any Place in the Country we possess'd, yet have we continued a Yearly Traffick to sundry Parts of that Coast on this side the *Aequinoctial*, ever since the year 1553, till this present 1632. and many Corporations and Patents granted by Queen *Elizabeth* to her Subjects of *Essex*, and other the Western Parts.

Another Benefit we have made of that Country, is, the Relief it has given us in our longer Voyages, as to *Brazil* and the *South Sea*; for all Ships of ours, that have pass'd the *Streights* of *Magellan*, found Succour and Refreshing at the Port of *Sierra-Leona*, where, at this day, we have a certain Trade.

From the Port of *Senega* in *Guiney*, we have made several Attempts to discover *Tombakatoe* and *Gago*, Two Places within the inward Parts of *Africa*, which afford the greatest quantity and the purest and the best Gold in the World; and from whence the King of *Morocco* or *Barbary* is furnished with all his Gold, by his *Caravans* he sends thither in great Peril; for many times they are swallowed up in an Ocean of Sands.

From this part of *Guiney*, or rather from the Cape of *Lopez Gonzalez*, till you come to the Cape of *Good Hope*, no Christians have Traded with the Negroes but the *Portugueses* themselves; in which Course is seated *Angola*, and *Congo*, which is inhabited by banished Men sent out of *Portugal* for Offences there committed; a Place of that Infection, as that it is fit only for Men of that Condition; and from those Places they furnished the *West-Indies* and *Brazil* with Numbers of Negro Slaves, who work in their Mines and Sugar-works.

As *Sierra-Leona* has been a Relief to our Nation in our long Navigation, as I have declared, so is the Bay of *Soldania*, within Three Leagues of the Cape of *Good Hope*, a Succour to our Ships of the *East-Indies*; for thither they resort in their going and coming from thence, tho' it yields no Benefit but Victuals and Water, for which they truck with the most wild, ravenous and irreligious Negroes in the World.

From the Cape of *Good Hope* there are Two Passages or Navigations to the *East-Indies*, the one by the way the *Portugueses* sail, keeping the *Africk* Shore, on the Left-hand or Larboard-side; which Course we likewise take with our Ships that Trade to *Cambaya*, a Country subject to the Great Mogul; and in going there they sometimes touch at the Island of *Socotora*, upon



upon the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, and where *St. Thomas* was Shipwreck'd. This Island yields our Merchants the best *Alloes Secarinas* in the World; and not far from thence it affords them as good Commodities as the Fleet of *Meca* could send out, which I forbear to speak of.

And of late, by that Track, we have found the Trade of *Ormus*; which Island we gave the *Persians* Assistance to take from the *Portugueses*; tho' I do not commend that Act, in joining with Turks against Christians.

*Surat* in *Cambaya*, and that Coast affords us good and commodious Traffick, tho' the *Portugueses* seek to impeach us: But besides the going and coming home of our Ships, as also of other Parts of the *Indies* where they remain, they are freighted, or else freight themselves, from Port to Port, to their exceeding great Profit and Gain.

The other Navigation from the Cape of *Good Hope* is to the Southward of the Island of *Madagascar* or *St. Lawrence*, but not frequented by the *Portugueses*, but upon great necessity, when they are forc'd to it in great Penury, not being able to recover *Goa*, or other part of the *Indies*, as in my former Book I have related: But to us that resort to *Bantam* and the *Moluccas*, or other Parts of the *Indies* thereabouts, it is far the nearer, and much the safer; for we sail in a more open Sea than the *Portugueses* do to *Goa*, where they meet with many Rocks and Shelves.

When our Ships arrive at the settled Ports, there Trade is certain, and their Return so usual, that there needs no Repetition thereof: But our People not being contented till they had discover'd such Countries and Places, as Fame made Report of, from hence they made an Attempt upon the Discovery of *China*, *Japan*, and the farthest remote Places of the World, being led to it by the Rumour of the Magnificency and Wealth of them.

But it prov'd like many other Reports, rather Shadows than Substance; for tho' the People of *China* deserve more Praise than others, for Excellency of Arts and Ingenious Inventions, yet it is far short of the Wealth that is said to be in it, to our Western Parts of *Europe*.

This Discovery hath resolv'd us of the State of those Parts, which we so long desir'd to know, since we heard the Fame of them, which made *Queen Elizabeth* often send her Letters to such Princes as dwelt thereabouts, and devis'd how to convey them, and have Answer of them. So desirous she was to understand the

Conditions of those Parts, and employ'd some of her own Subjects by the way of the Gulph of *Persia*, thinking to find the Conveniency from out the *East-Indies*, but still fail'd by the sinister Practices of the *Italians*, who incens'd the *Portugueses* that they came for Spies, and caus'd them to be apprehended and imprison'd, where they endur'd great Affliction before they return'd into their Native Country.

What I have said is sufficient to prove that our new and latter discover'd Trades have far exceeded our ancient and long accusom'd Commerces, before the year 1586. not only in value of Wealth, but in distance, whither they resorted for them. And it is made apparent, that no part of *Africa*, *America*, or *Asia*, that any Nation has Traded to, but we have done the like: And that whereas in some Places they have sought to impeach and restrain our Trades, yet we have forc'd them to it, and brought them to our own Conditions. And this shall suffice for the Southern and Western Parts of the World.

#### Our Trade to other Parts nearer to us.

Now I will once more come nearer home, and put my self into the Trade of the *Streights*, being more pleasant, gainful, and less dangerous or laborious, than the rest I have treated of. My first Voyage shall be into the *Mediterranean Sea*, unworthy of the Name of a Sea, by reason of its Streightness, in comparison of the great and spacious Ocean.

This Sea has been anciently known to us, but not frequented, for these Reasons: Former times did not afford Shipping sufficient to follow it. Secondly, such Goods and Merchandize as these Countries yielded, were received from hand to hand, and we serv'd by Vessels of their own. Thirdly, we could not pass without great Peril and Danger of the Turks, who surpris'd and imprison'd us; whereupon the *Venetians* engross'd the whole Trade upon those Seas, and furnish'd us with the rich Merchandize of *Turkey*, *Persia*, and *India*, at what Rate they pleas'd themselves: And yet this was not all, for they labour'd to make us Strangers to the *Great Turk*, the *Egyptians*, and bordering Countries, and brought them to that Ignorance of our Nation, that they thought *England* to be a Town in the Kingdom of *London*.

The *Venetians* sent yearly their *Argosers* to *Southampton*, which Town enjoy'd a Charter from the Kings of this Land, which was wrested out of their Hands by the Earl of *Leicester*, to the utter Decay of that Town: And the *Argosers* since then

then have become Strangers in *England*, the last whereof took her leave with an unfortunate end, which my Eyes were Witnessto, in the Month of *October*, 1587.

This goodly Ship of 1100 Tuns, being richly laden with the accustom'd Commodities they use to serve the Kingdom with, and being come as high in the Channel as the *Ile of Wight*, which Land the *English* Pilot visibly made; this Pilot, call'd *Fisher*, for his excellent Skill was not long before redeem'd out of the *Turkish* Captivity by the *Venetians*, to serve in this Voyage.

Upon this good Land-fall, the Pilot put the Passengers in hope, many of them being of great Account and Esteem, the next morning to Harbour them; for Night growing on, he would not hazard to put in with the Shore that evening; but the Gentlemen being impatient of Delays, and the Land appearing to them, they thought themselves free from all Danger, which is the common Ignorance of many that know not the Seas. But to be short, they compell'd the Pilot by force to put in at the *Needles*, the Westermost part of the *Ile of Wight*. When the poor Man, neither with Perswasions nor Tears, could prevail, he did his best to enter the Channel of the *Needles*; but such was the greatness of the Waves, and the unweildiness of the Ship, not answering her Helm, that she struck upon the *Shingles*, where she, her Goods and Company, except Seven poor Creatures, peris'd.

The Sea betwixt the Island and the main Land was enrich'd by her Loss, with several sorts of Merchandize. What was sav'd was not worth speaking of. I had the Fortune to light on Two Buts of Muskedine floating on the Sea; for then was I riding at *Cowes*, in the first Ship I ever went Captain of. I found these Two Buts of Muskedine a great help to us in our Voyage, when we were reduc'd to Extremity for want of Victuals.

About this time our Merchants of *London* began to take into Consideration these great and inestimable Riches brought into the Land by the *Venetians* and *French*, who absolutely enjoy'd the Trade of *Turkey*; and the great part of that Wealth, which came out of *Persia* and *India*, was retail'd from them to us. They devised how such Commodities might come to our hands by a more direct way than to be serv'd as we were, at second hand; and therefore resolv'd to make an Overture by favour of the Queen, and her Letters to the Great Turk, for an immediate Traffick from *England* to *Turkey*, and his Do-

minions, and so home again, with Ships of her Subjects, without being beholding to others.

These Letters were sent by her Majesty, and receiv'd with great Humanity and Courtesie by the Grand Signior, as appears by his Letters yet extant. He could not give more Respect and Honour to Her Majesty, than by shewing a willingness to embrace her Gracious Propositions of Trade: And in Conclusion, Articles were agreed on, and a Grant of great Privileges and Immunities by her Majesty's Subjects, which have since continued, and been peaceably enjoy'd.

We may reckon from this time the Decay of the *Venetian* State in Matters of Trade; for *Argosiers*, which were wont to visit us, are now unknown to us, and we possess the Wealth they were wont to reap. The Commodities of *Persia* and the *East-Indies* are brought by our selves in our own Vessels directly out of *Turkey*, where we have obtained as great a Freedom as we can desire: Such Places as the *Venetians* were wont to take Freight in their Ships, to transport from Port to Port, now we absolutely enjoy that Privilege; for all Strangers are more desirous to put their Goods into *English* Bottoms than theirs.

Whereas we were wont to be serv'd with great part of our Spices from them, and they, by the way of the *Red Sea*, out of the *Indies*; now the Passage is better known to us than to the *Turks* themselves, by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and instead of receiving *India* Commodities from them, we supply as well them as the *Turks* with the same out of *England*. And lastly, the Terror of the *Turks* Gallies, to impeach our Trades in the *Streights*, is now taken away, by the Privileges obtain'd from the Grand Signior; and we may hold our Ships in as great Security as themselves: And moreover we may boldly say, we have sustain'd less Loss by the Pyrates of *Argiers* than they have done; which Pyrates of late years have been the Scourge of the Christian Trade.

In our time *Venice* flourish'd in Ships and Gallies, above all other Ports or Parts of the *Streights*, tho' there were a Competition betwixt them and the State of *Genova*: And it is not unworthy of Note, That the first use that was made of Ordnance and small Shot, after the Invention of it in *Europe*, was in a Naval Battle between the *Venetians* and the *Genoeses*.

This shall suffice for our Southern, Western, and Eastern Trades, or within the *Streights*, as high as *Constantinople*, *Egypt*, or

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or other places, under the Jurisdiction of the *Grand Signior*, I will now return to the North, and run through his frozen Climes, as I have already done through the South, and its parching heat.

*Sebastian Cabott*, a Man before spoken of, having a sharp, accute, and solid Brain, apply'd himself to the imitation of *Columbus*, who by his late and happy Discoveries had enrich'd the World with Wealth, and himself with Reputation.

*Cabott* being carry'd that way of Honour, out of a *Christian* respect, to reduce the World to a perfect Knowledge of God; or out of a hope of Riches, it being the natural Disease of Mankind; or out of Ambition, to make himself equal in Fame with *Columbus*; or out of a desire to perform what he had long thought of, which was to sail round the Globe of the World; which of these was his design I cannot say, but charitably will conceive the best.

Whatever it was, I find an extraordinary and hearty desire in him to enrich the *English* Nation, by adventuring his Life in sundry Attempts, to discover what he had long before conceiv'd, upon reasonable grounds, and effect what he had so wisely projected, as appear'd by setting afoot the Northern Discoveries. There wanted no Thankfulness in those days, either in King or Country to do him Honour; and for requital of his Travels, both in Body and Mind, he was chosen Governor of the Merchant-Adventurers, for the discovery of new Regions, Dominions, Islands, and other places unknown, in the Reign of King *Edward* the 6th. and a Pension assign'd him.

He gave the only Information and Instruction to the new begun Voyage, and Discovery of *Sir Hugh Willoughby* in 1553. which, tho' it prov'd unhappy to *Sir Hugh* himself, his Ship and Company perishing with Cold in the Port of *Arsena* in *Lapland*; yet his Third Ship recover'd the Harbour of *Sr. Nicholas* in *Russia*, where he settled a rich and commodious Trade, prosecuted to this day by the Merchants, incorporated and call'd *The Russia Company*.

The *English* not thus ceasing, but as Men Travelling, who arrive at a Port or City, where they have never been, would be inquisitive to know and learn the State of the Country and its Neighborhood, without resting, till they had satisfy'd their Curiosity; so our *English* Merchants finding the *Caspian Sea* Famous by report, yet unknown to us, and its bounds one way upon *Muscovia*, they devis'd, tho' the Journey was long, troublesome and

dangerous, to arrive at that Sea, by the approbation and consent of the King of *Russia*; and from thence, to make trial, whether the said Sea would conduct them.

This was no sooner conjectur'd than effected, and our Merchants furnish'd themselves out of *England* with Carpenters, Mariners, and other necessaries to build a Ship for such a Voyage. This Ship was 27 Tuns burthen, and the first that ever wore the *English* Colours upon those Seas; from *Russia* they arriv'd in *Persia*, not once but often, as appears by *Mr. Jenkinson's* Relation. Thus was *Persia*, and all the Countries adjacent discover'd by us; First, to the Northward as far as *Russia*, after to the *Caspian Sea*; neither of them both being known to our Forefathers.

The *English* did not thus rest; but as they were led to those unknown Seas by a kind of Fate, so they suppos'd the same Sea did not end thereabouts, but had a Passage farther to the Eastward; which perhaps being Discover'd, might lead to *Japan* and *China*; and thereupon for the shortning of the Discovery, they sent a small Ship at the Spring, that Winter'd at *Comora*, 80 Leagues from *Sr. Nicholas*, which set Sail from thence to find out the conjectur'd Passage: This Barque us'd its endeavour, so that no blame could be laid upon the Master or the Company; the past to the Eastward of the *Waggatt*, where she was interrupted by extremity of Ice and Snow, and forc'd to return from whence she departed.

This did nothing dismay the hopeful Enterprize of the Merchants, but once more they made an Attempt with two Pinaces directly from *England*; the Masters whereof (*Pett* and *Jackman*) with the same instructions of the other Barque, wherein *Stephen Burrows* was, to find out the end of the Eastern Sea; but being likewise encountred with the extremity of weather, the one return'd, the other perish'd, tho' both of them did their parts very sufficiently.

Being now hopeless by their often Repulses they found in the North-East passages, yet they would not let die what they had in agitation; for finding the *South Sea*, as the *Summum bonum* of all other Voyages; for from the South-West part of *America*, which bounds upon that Sea, is sent forth the greatest Quantity and Mass of Gold and Silver the Earth affords; whereupon they left this Attempt to the Eastward, and made trial of that to the Westward; for they imagin'd that all

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great and large Seas, have a Correspondence with one another, if it could be found.

The first Man that made the Enterprize, as well upon the Country of *Bacalos*, which he found and named so, as also in his offer to look out a Passage that way, was *Sebastian Cabott*, afore mentioned; but failing of the Passage, he hit upon the Land; but by reason of the vehement Cold at that time of the Year upon that Coast, he stood to the Southward, and from thence into *England*, taking possession of the Country for the Crown of *England* along the Coast he went.

This Voyage and many more to those parts, was set out by the City of *Bristol*, which to this day continues its Fishing at *Newfoundland*: But for the Discovery of the North-West Passage, the Man that most labour'd and waded in it, was Sir *Martin Frobisher* in three Attempts; the First in 1576. The Second, in '77. The Third, in '78. After this, and in the year 1585, and 86. Mr. *John Davis* undertook the Discovery, but fail'd, as many others have since done, which is no wonder; for he that will read a Discourse of the North-West Passage, in his Book, shall be satisfy'd, it is a vain and hopeless thing; and so has Captain *Fox*, that was employ'd upon it in 1631. at his return confess'd to me, for such Reasons as I shew'd him before his going.

Now to come to my own Observations: I am of Opinion, that next to the Discovery of *America*, and the Wealth thereof, which it sends into *Spain*, the *Spaniards* have greatest cause to give God Thanks, that the Attempts of the North-West have fail'd; for thereby they enjoy the absolute benefit of the *South Sea*, and the incomparable Wealth therein, without Molestation, Fear, or Disturbance of any other Nation; whereas if the Passage had been known, no *Christian* Prince but would have strove to have had a part with them; and now it is in vain by any great Attempt to prejudice the *Spaniards*, but by the Streights of *Magellan*, which is the only known way thither. It is as vain for any Enemy to possess and inhabit some of the Towns there planted, in respect of the distance and danger to be seconded and supplied out of *Europe*; And Lastly, any Succor out of the *East-Indies* will frustrate any expectation of Good, the Winds blowing continually contrary to arrive from thence. I refer the Reader to what I have said before of other Discoveries that fail'd, and particularly to that, than which nothing can be said more

to the Honour of the Discoverer Sir *Francis Drake*, in whose Voyage about the World, may be seen what he did and attempted; and therefore I shall not repeat it here. But to proceed;

Comparing what I have said of our former Discoveries, our laborious Plantations, and our new-found Trades, with our present intended Fishing, which of them will yield greatest Wealth, Strength and Ease, I have made appear in my Sixth Book; and therefore I present you that now live, and are in being, with it, to judge which is good and best; for tho' it is true what is done, deserves the name of good and immortal Praise; so that which is now in hope to be done, does far surpass the former, and is to be achiev'd with less difficulty, less peril, and less loss, than the others that have made our Nation so worthily Famous.

When the Contents of the Sixth Book shall be maturely consider'd, the laborious Industry of the *Hollanders* will plainly appear, how they have raised themselves, and their new erected Common-wealth, to an Equality with Princes: Now shall it rest a little to distinguish of their good Deeds and bad; for Fortune and Fame gotten by Craft, are commonly of no continuance, but lost with shame.

What is due to them in praise of their Virtues, I will not rob them of; for I hold it a Sin to belye the wicked. They are frugal in Expence, the benefit whereof themselves and Country find; they are Industrious, as their Actions abroad and at home demonstrate; they are Just in Contracts, making a Conscience in the little Religion they have to defraud a Man: They labour to find out the Secrets of Lands uninhabited and Countries undiscover'd; they are Inventors of Arts, which to their Praise they enrich the World with; they are willing without excuse to contribute to any good for their State; not standing so much upon Privileges or Perceptions of Right, as to neglect any occasion of Advantage to benefit the Common-wealth: They are laborious and painful of Body, not admitting a Beggar in their Provinces; and willing to relieve and comfort one another in strange Countries; They are Enemies to the Expence of Law, and the griping of Lawyers, and end most of their Controversies by Arbitration of Friends; Their expence in Drinking is sav'd and mitigated by their misery in Eating; for out of their excessive Covetousness, they almost starve their Bellies, and by their unmeasurable Frugality they scarce cloath their Bodies; for it is suppos'd

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their People, in one of their best Cities, spend not in Apparel the value of a Princes Coat in a year.

But all these Virtues are drown'd with a covetous Ingratitude, which has Friendship with no Body, but for Interest; and no marvel, for popular States are no longer thankful than they receive Benefits: There is nothing of shorter Life among them, than the memory of Pleasures and Favours past; they are so careless to give Satisfaction for the Evils they do, that if we demand it at their hands, it is as much as to speak of Valour to a faint Heart, or Charity to a merciless Man, or a Courtesy to a churlish Disposition; it will prove but telling a Tale to him that is asleep: The definition of Philosophers in matters of Friendship is as follows; *A Friend is long sought for, scarce to be found, and hard to keep; a Friend is always ready to Comfort in Adversity, to Help in Necessity, to Bear with ones Infirmary, and to Reprove ones Error gently.*

But the *Hollanders* are otherwise in their Friendship; They are like an ill Bird that lays an ill Egg; an ill Tree that bringeth forth ill Fruit; or a young Cubb that grows crafty like his Dam; they do Partrize and follow the steps of their Predecessors, that make Riches their Heaven: And whereas it is held no hurt to know Evil, but to do it, these People are very perfect Artifts in their Trades, as well in doing as in knowing Evil.

But to speak the Truth, they'r natural evil has been nourish'd and made worse by us; for if we had not conniv'd at them and their Actions, to our prejudice, they had wanted Power to have executed their Ingratitude; therefore in reason it had behov'd us to consider what we

gave before we gave; to whom we gave, or how we gave: for States ought to be Govern'd by Wisdom, and not by popular Affection or Passion: Wise Men should not measure things by outward appearance, but by Discretion and Reason; or else they behold their Actions in a false Glass.

But let us now at last seek to avoid that evil we have done, in making the *Hollanders* too great for us to tolerate, lest we feel the effect of Repentance: It is not the meanest point of Wisdom to doubt and mistrust the worst; for Doubts beget Understanding, and thereby Prevention.

As in natural Bodies, the longer one lives in Health, Sickness is the more dangerous when it comes; so it is with us and the *Hollanders*, the longer we have liv'd in a mutual and unseparable Peace; now that they have over-wrought us with cunning, and made us feeble by the strength they have suck'd from us, it will behove us to recover our ancient Vigor, and Valour, and be no longer deluded with false Pretences, as Safety to us and the Common wealth: Let us seek to follow the old Rule, in seeking to quench the Fire in our Neighbour's House, tho' it be our Enemy, lest it should flame into our own; for it is an easier thing to meet a Danger abroad, than to repulse it at home.

In this Book I have said little to prove what I have promis'd in our intended Fishing, but refer the Reader to my Sixth and last Book, Dedicated to His Majesty. And seeing I have made a Relation of all Discoveries and Plantations of *Christian* People; I will end that Subject with a Plantation of the *French*, for Discoverers they cannot be termed, which is the next that follows.

### Certain Plantations of the French Nation.

Tho' we cannot call the *French* Discoverers of Countries, because they never sought to find out any new Worlds or Passages that were not found to their hands; yet since the first Discovery of other Worlds, they have been always ready to infect them with Piracy, and such Voyages: For their going to *Peru* has been no other than to spoil and rob other Nations.

And yet I must give them their due in what they have deserv'd, for tho' they cannot be call'd Discoverers, as I have said, yet they may worthily be counted in the number of Planters, as well in the North part of *America*, as in the South beyond the

Line, and upon the Continent of *Brazil*.

To the Northward they have inhabited the River of *Canada*, where they have found a rich commodious Trade of Furs, till the *English* supplanted them in the late Wars betwixt us and *France*. The next place they had footing in, they themselves called it *New France*. The Third Habitation they made was in *Florida*. And the Fourth, as I have said, was to the Southward of the Line, and upon the Continent of *Brazil*, all which I will particularly handle.

But before I Treat of them, I will lay a Blemish and Tax upon their Nation; for some of their Authors sicken not to assume



fume to themselves the names of Discoverers of such places wherein they were but Planters; herein they do manifest Injury to the *English*, *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*; for all Nations do justly attribute to them the finding of those Countries, as I have formerly Declar'd and Proved; the one by *Sebastian Cabott*, the other by *Pedro Alvarez Cabrell* in his Voyage to the *East-Indies* in 1500, being the Second that was gone after the First Discovery. And now I will proceed to their Plantations, and Success in them.

The first undertaken Voyage to *Canada*, (for I will begin with the North part of *America*) was enterpris'd by *John Verasana* a *Florentine*, in 1524. employ'd by *Francis* the First, King of *France*; which *Verasana* is said to Discover from the 50 to the 28th. Degree of the North Latitude; but it is to be disprovd in Fact. For all the extent of Land betwixt those Degrees, was long before Discover'd by *Sebastian Cabott*, in the right of *England*, as I have often repeated.

The next that undertook this Colony, was *James Carter* of *St. Mallois*, in 1534. with Three Ships, wherein that Winter 25 of his Men perished with Cold: But however, the King prosecuted the Voyage both in the Year 1540, and 42. and the *French* have ever since had a yearly Traffick upon that Coast for Furs, as also in Fishing; inasmuch as it is written, that one *Sevales* made 42 Voyages in Person into those parts.

The next Habitation the *French* undertook was in the Year 1603, into the Country named (tho' improperly) *New France*, which truly and properly belongs to *England*, as I have said before; for if the first Discoverers be not allowed Owners of the Land they discover, by a Law amongst *Christians*, we, and all others have as much Right to the *Indies* as the *Spaniards*, and *Portugueses* themselves.

In the Year 1603. *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, the Eighth of November, granted a Patent to Monsieur *Le Mante*, for a Plantation of those Northern parts, of *America*: This Voyage was begun the Fifth of March the same Year, by *Samuel Champlain* of *Borages*, who inhabited it unjustly, and gave it the Name of *New France*.

This *Champlain* was a painful, industrious, and a laborious Undertaker; he pass'd many Dangers, wonderful Travels, Adventures and Treacheries often practis'd against him, as well by his own People, as the uncivil Savages: And to second this Enterprize Monsieur *Mante*, the Pa-

tentee, went thither himself in Person in 1604. with the like Success as all Planters in them Northern parts have found (*viz.*) variable Hopes and Fortunes to little purpose, as appears by divers Voyages made to the Succour and Relief of that Plantation.

The *English* in *Virginia*, hearing that the *French* were become incroaching neighbors to them; and in a Country that did properly, and of right, antiently belong to the Crown of *England*, as several Patents made it appear, which the Queen granted to Sir *Humphry Gilbert* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knights: And those *English* fearing that in time, this Intrusion of the *French* might beget a Custom, and that Prescription and Possession might make a Cavil in the *French* to insilt upon a Right; therefore the Governor and Council in *Virginia*, in the Year 1624. advis'd and undertook to find out what the Country produc'd; as also to be better inform'd concerning the *French* Plantation, which they were only told of by certain *Indians*.

After sometime spent in Coasting along that shore, at last they arrived at the Port and Fort, where the *French* had made their Habitation; and finding in the same Harbour a Ship of *France* belonging to the Planters, the *English* suddenly, and at unawares surpris'd her, without the loss of a Man on either side, except one *French* Jesuit, who was slain even as he was ready to give fire to a Piece of Ordnance against the *English*.

The *French* in the Port being dismayed by the loss and disaster of their barque, the *English* landed with great Celerity; whereupon the *French* desired a Parley, and time to consider of their Surrender; but this Request would not be granted, and therefore they secretly convey'd themselves presently out of the Fort, and in a hidden manner escap'd, and left it to the Possession of the *English*, to whom it properly belong'd.

The *French* Governor of that Colony being expell'd, and wandering up and down without a House to put his Head in, sent to Treat with the *English* Commander; offering to become a Subject to the King of *England*, and to hold his Possession of him and his Crown, pretending to discover many Secrets of Mines, and other Riches, not known to any but himself.

But the *English* Commander's end, being only to hold their Right in that Country; and having no Authority to connive or permit any Nations living there, but His Majesty's born Subjects; he refus'd

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all Propositions of Accomodation, and return'd to *Virginia*, from whence he went, and carry'd with him another Jesuit, Companion to him slain, and sent him into *England*, where he receiv'd good Entertainment: The rest of the *French* Travell'd to *Newfoundland*, where they found passage for their Country.

Now let me speak like a *Christian*, and with a Heart of Pity, to see so great and good a Work, as the Conversion of Souls from Infidelity and Paganisme, should be diverted and destroy'd by a vain word of Ambition; for hitherto the Country is not brought to that Perfection, as to produce any thing that may make it worthy of Fame, or a ground for an Ambitious Man to work upon: For if the quarrel betwixt them two Countries be consider'd, it is like two Dogs that should snarl and Fight for the Picture of a Dear, or any other Beast; for there is little more Substance as yet to be expected, in this wide, vast, and desolate Country, that can afford Land sufficient to both the Nations, if Content would please them.

I will therefore wish and pray with my Heart, that all Princes would put to their helping hands in the Planting and establishing the *Christian* Religion, in all remote and barbarous Countries; and that with one consent they would settle a National Law within themselves, and to have it generally receiv'd by Agreement, to prohibit Violence to any Plantations where Colonies are seated for the Propagation of the *Christian* Faith: As also, that they would add and consent to the like Privileges to all poor labouring Fishermen, Fishing upon the Seas, that no Disturbance may be offered them; their Pains and Danger well deserves it for themselves, and no less in respect of the general Good, every Man reaps good by.

The *French* had a Colony in *Florida* more antient, and countenanc'd by *Charles*, the Admiral of *France*, Anno 1562. a great Upholder of the *Hugonot* Sect. He sent for Governor Monsieur *Lannear*, and *John Rigall*, who arriv'd in *Florida* in 30 Degrees, and there erected a Pillar with the *French* Arms. At first they were friendly entertained by the Savages; but soon after, according to the nature of the *French*, who cannot long agree in Love together, there hapned Quarrels amongst them; for the Commanders shew'd such Cruelty and Infolency, that one of the Captains was slain; and rather than a great part of them would endure what they did, they put themselves in great ad-

venture into a small Pinnace to go to their Country, but endur'd that necessity of Victuals, that they were driven to eat one of their Company, and had Famish'd if they had not been reliev'd by an *English* Barque at Sea.

This Colony was not reliev'd according to promise, because of the Civil War in *France*; but that ceasing, *Lannear* was sent once more, in 1554. but there ensued such Murders, such Mutinies, such Killing, Running away and betraying one another, as it is wonderful to read; and amongst the rest there was one *Francis Jean*, who by great accident got into the *Havana*, and made known to the *Spaniards* the *French* Plantations, and weakness; whereupon the *Spaniards* sent some to supplant and weaken them, who us'd Execution upon most of them, and posses'd their Fort: Such as surviv'd were put to most lamentable Famine, and indeed had perish'd if Sir *John Hawkins*, at his return out of the *Indies*, had not been brought thither by a *Frenchman*, who left them a Barque and some Relief.

In the Fourth Voyage of the *French* to *Florida*, they required the *Spaniards* as they had done to them before, and hang'd and destroy'd to the number of 400. At this Slaughter they return'd to *Rebel*, expecting great Reward from the King for that Service; but the *Spanish* Ambassador prevailed so far, that the Commander durst not appear, but hid himself.

*Peter Malandes* the *Spanish* General, when he exercis'd his Cruelty upon the *French*, writ over their Heads, *I do not thus as to Frenchmen, but to Lutherans and Hereticks*: The *French* Commanders served the *Spaniards* the like Sauce, and writ over their Heads: *Not as to Spaniards, but to Traitors, Robbers and Murderers*. The *French* after this quitted the Country and Fort of *Florida*, and never since have had any footing in it.

Lastly, for the *French* Planting in *Brazil*, it has been with the like Success as in the Northern Parts of *America*. The First that undertook it was *Levinus*; and the cause for which he undertooke it, was to Plant and settle the now Reform'd Religion, as they term'd it: He had an Approbation of it by *John Calvin* their Sect-Master, who much encouraged the Action; But it fell out that in time, one Sect encroaching out of another, as commonly Heresies do, instead of Amity they liv'd in a Contention, and never cess'd wrangling and jangling upon the Interpretation of the Gospel, till it was decided by the Pistol. For Murders, Mutinies, and all other Mischiefs ensued upon it; so that in the end,

and *Levin* confess'd it to be a work of God, as the Author of Peace, and the Hater of Divisions; whereupon he abandon'd that Sect, and reconcil'd himself to the Church of *Rome*, in which Religion he liv'd and Dy'd, as himself express'd in Writing.

*Thevetis*, and after him *Stadim*, were two of the next that follow'd this Plantation; and to make an end of the Tragical Habitation, *Diego Flores de Valdes* in his Return from the *Sireighs* of *Magellan*, as you have heard in the Year 82. Coasted the *Brazillian* Shore, till at last he came to a Harbor, called *Paraiba*, where he found Five *French* Ships, Three whereof he burnt, and the rest he took, and inhabited the Fort with his *Spaniards*: The *Frenchmen* ran into the Mountains, where they liv'd in company with the Savages.

But for a Conclusion of these Plantations, as well by us as the *French*, and to avoid Prolixity, I will briefly describe the nature of the rude, wild, and Savage People of *America*; who are not to be entic'd with sweetness and good usage, nor to be Master'd by Force and Cruelty. Generally their Religion is alike, tho' they Adore several Creatures for God; and every Nation has a sundry Opinion and Practice in their Ceremonies; but their Supreme God of all is the Devil, the Enemy of Mankind.

The Soil and Temper of many Plantations exceeds in Temperature, and Planted, Manur'd and Husbanded at the Charge of a Prince's Purse, no doubt but they may be brought to Perfection; for the bane of all Colonies is private Men's Undertakings, that are impatient of Delays; for if it yield not an Expectation of private Gain, they are willing rather to lose

their first Adventure, than to shoot a second Arrow to find the former shot: And moreover, Factions arise amongst People that are not governed by a Prince's direct Authority; Envy reigns amongst them, to see some advanced above themselves, and are ready to cast Aspersions upon their Rulers, and to tax them with Deceit and Fraud, whether they deserve it, or not.

I observe in all the *English* and *French* Plantations, the Hopes are alike; sometimes they feed themselves with the hope of a Passage into the *South Sea*; other time with the Riches of Mines, and the Commodities they produce, and make large Relations to persuade People to persevere in it.

But the Conclusion is Mutinies, Murders, Seditious desperate Adventures, want of Victuals, and other Calamities more strange than ancient Histories can acquaint us with.

If the Charge, bestow'd upon such vain Hopes, were vallu'd with the Gain they have reap'd, it were not worth a Purse to put it in; and for ours in *England* it would be consum'd in Smoke: For our Staple Commodity which it sends out, is stinking barbarous Tobacco; for from the barbarous Savages it is deriv'd, a brave Original for Civil Men to learn and imitate.

The *French* herein far exceed us; for by their Industry and laborious Endeavours, they have attain'd to a rich and profitable Traffique of costly Furs, which makes our Shame the greater when we consider how easily they have effected it, and how profitably they persevered in it, whilst we are sucking of Smoke, that brings with it many Inconveniencies, as Time has made it too plain to us.

### *Advice how to Plant the Island of St. Lawrence, the greatest Island in the World; and reckon'd a Port of Africk.*

HAVING handled at large the Discoveries and Plantations the *Christians* have labour'd in, and by their Industrious pains have brought to good Perfection; I will now at last say something of the likelihood of a Country, that in all probability may produce Good; I will only collect some Reasons, and refer the rest to the Examination and Consideration of those that are well inclin'd to the Honourable Undertaking and Proceeding of new Plantations.

There are Two particular things to be requir'd in a Colony; the one I have al-

ready spoke of, which is, That it be the Act of a Prince and his Purse to bear the Charge; but if that be wanting, and the Action be put upon private Mens Expence, there are Three things to be consider'd upon such an Enterprize: The one is the length and distance from home; The Second, How to supply it with least Charge and most Conveniency; And the Third, For hiring of Vessels for Transportation of Men and Materials, the Condition of which Ships must be according to the place they inhabit, and the Enemies they are to fear.

This being done, the next Consideration is the Climate, the nature of the Soil, and what profit it will yield at present; as also what hope of future, the nature of the People, and whether they may be made capable of Reason, and be reduc'd from their barbarous Incivility.

Of all the Places I can think of, for Convenience and Profit within the Bounds of *America*, *Africk* or *Asia*, out of my Experience and Study, is the Island of *St. Lawrence*, antiently call'd *Madagascar*, 500 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*, the greatest Island in the World, and the Place of all others I principally commend; for our Planting will be in 14 Degrees of South Latitude, where our *English* are now no Strangers, for commonly they refresh themselves, and find Succour in their Voyages to the *East-Indies*.

There is nothing that I observe to further a Plantation but this will yield. First, the Winds are certain, at the time of the year, to carry us directly thither, without striking Sail; And tho' it be farther distant from *England*, than *Virginia*, or that part of *America*; yet I hold it will be often sooner gone to than *Virginia*, where the Winds and Weather are both uncertain in going and coming. Secondly, whereas the Charge is great to hire Ships purposely to Transport Men and Provisions to *America*, where the numbers are many, they are subject to Sickness and other disasters of the Sea; I do make account that it may be so order'd and contriv'd, That every Ship Trading to the *East-Indies* may be hired conveniently to carry 20 Planters, without annoying or pestering the Ships, being spacious, and of great burthen; and this will prove less charge to the Undertakers, than to hire them purposely for *Virginia*.

And if we examine the nature and condition of the Country, and the People that inhabit it, with the Experience we have of our *Englishmen* that resort thither; we shall find the Climate singular for Health, and the ground fruitful to produce Wealth, as the great and extraordinary Oxen the place affords, can witness. This alone exceeds all the hope *America* can at present yield us; For our Encrease of Cattle upon that Continent must be rais'd by such Beasts as we carry'd out of *England*, which must be done with great Charge, Trouble, and long time before they be brought to perfection.

The Cattle we shall there find, will bring us a certain Commodity of Hides; and as we shall seek to encrease them, so will our Gain and Profit encrease the more.

What other Benefit we shall make by this Plantation, Time and our own Endeavours will make it appear: For the two Barques which I wish to be kept there for Intelligence from other places, I would wish that the one should discover the South part of the Island, and the other on the North side; and to make their Rendezvous at the same place from whence they departed; so shall we discover the very heart of the whole Island; and no doubt but we shall discover variety of gainful things, unthought of by us as yet. I have known of my own Experience, and by Examination of divers *Portugueses*, with whom I have spoken, that the *Moor* who live and inhabit the main Continent of *Africk*, over against it, have a singular Trade with the People of *St. Lawrence*, for Elephants Teeth, Amber greece, &c. all which we should enjoy with ease, when we are settled, and perfectly known to them.

Besides the plenty of Beef it will yield us for Food, there is other delicate Meat to be found; as Muttons, but with hairy Skins, Hens, and other sorts of Fowls; Oranges and Lemons, and other kind of rare Fruits there naturally growing, which *America* will not yield us, unless we Plant them, which will prove a work of many years, and in the end fail of the excellency of the others in respect of the Climate. The Sea and the Rivers will afford plenty of Fish of all kinds; and for the present we shall not want a sufficient quantity of Maiz and Cassado for Bread; till we sow our *English* Corn of all sorts.

And for the People in that part of the Island, it is known to all that have been there, that they have behaved themselves lovingly and respectfully to one another, and no less to Strangers. By their Civil behaviour and Labour they draw their Cattle to a tame-ness, as with us; which shews they are naturally Civil, which is not usual amongst such People: And to prove it the more, as well in that as in their other Courses, they are *Mahometans* in profession of Religion; and tho' it be as false as Falshood may be to Truth, yet by that Religion they are taught more civiler Conversation and Humane Behaviour, than the *Indians* or Infidels are instructed in, who acknowledge several Creatures for Gods; some the Sun, some the Moon, and some several Beasts and Creatures of the Earth: But I make account with our Familiarity, Love and good Usage, we shall entice their Children, with Consent of Parents, to bring them for *England*, where

where they shall have good Education and Breeding, answerable to our own; and this will be the method to work our good in our Plantations of that Country; and the only means to propagate *Christian Religion* in remote parts.

Having a Plantation or settled Dwelling in the Island of *St. Lawrence*, we shall make our Navigation to the *East-Indies* much more pleasant, short and profitable, by using and settling a Magazine of Commodities betwixt us and the *Indies*. First, by their receiving our Commodities, and returning those we receive from thence, by the same Ships we employ; for part of one Fleet, may be sent from *St. Lawrence* to the *Indies*, and return the Commodities those Countries afford to *St. Lawrence*, which our Ships shall there receive, and bring them directly for *England*; so that all our Ships shall be continually going and coming, and every Twelve Months have a return from thence, which now is more than double the time.

I desire that this Project to *St. Lawrence*, may be compared with those our Nation has undertaken to *America*, and the Reasons duly consider'd, without partiality; and being so satisfy'd, that they would

follow them with a general consent, and so settle their Plantations, that there may be a Neighborhood from one to another; for being, as they are, thus divided, they can give no help or succor, but must stand upon their own strength, what attempt soever shall be made upon them by an Enemy; besides many other Reasons one may produce, that would much avail them: For what Succor can *Newfoundland*, which is the furthest part North, give the Island of *Providence*, the furthest part South, or any other places betwixt them that we inhabit, as namely, *New-England, Virginia, Cape Florida, the Barbadoes, St. Christophers, Tortuga*, and the Island of *Providence*, if you examine the distance from one to another, and how the Currents and Winds set upon these Coasts.

As the Island of *Providence* is the last I name, so it is the greatest in Fame by the Persons that countenance it, and by the Purges that maintain it; and because you shall know the difference betwixt that Island and *St. Lawrence*, I will here make a Description of the Island, and refer it to your own Judgment.

### *The Nature of the Island Catalena, or of Providence, as call'd by us.*

Amongst many ridiculous and vain Plantations we have had footing in, in several places of *America*, as appears in this Book, there is one small Island, whose name we have chang'd from *Catalena* to the Island of *Providence*; because some pretend to foresee it may damnify the *Spanish Nation*, if they shall hereafter give us occasion of War.

This Island of *Providence* is sett'd upon the Coast of *Terra firma*, 100 Leagues North from *Carthagena*, 80 Leagues North and by West from *Nombre de Dios*, and from the Headland of *Gratias a Dios* 25 Leagues. This Island for the greatness of it, may be term'd rather a Rock than an Island, not exceeding 10 or 11 Miles in length, and 5 in breadth; a small proportion of Land to promise either Victuals for Sustainance, or Commodities worthy of Labour to countervail the tenth part of Charge, that has been bestow'd on it.

For it is like a barren and uncultivated ground, that of it self can send forth nothing, it Pains and Labour do not make it capable to afford nourishment; even to this least and worst of Islands can promise

no more than the ill ground I compare it unto; but our Undertakers think by the Situation of it, that it will advantage us much against *Spain*, the impregnableness of it by nature consider'd, which we have help'd by Art.

The Island has these particular Benefits in it. A Port containing 10 Four in depth, with good ground to ride in; it is environ'd with huge and high Rocks and Cliffs, and made impregnable to Landing; the Harbor on the West side of the Island, which makes it a safe riding, by reason of the perpetual North Wind that blows off the Coast, there is only one place to land and for that excepted, it is encompass'd about with high Rocks, that a Boat cannot come near the Shore. If a Ship put but one Mile to seaward of the Harbor, she cannot recover it again by reason of the Current; unless the port for *Hispaniola*, and distant betwixt it and *Cuba*, at least 2 or 300 Leagues, backwards and forwards; neither can they directly go from thence to *Cuba*, by reason of the Sholes and Plats in our new Course. Therefore a Ship must stand over



for the main Land 35 Leagues from *Providence*, and pass through a Chanel, not halfe a Mile in breadth, and yet four Leagues in length.

The Wind and Current sets to the Westward from *Providence*, till within 12 or 14 Leagues of the Shore, and then the Current sets to the Southward, though the Wind keeps its continual Course from the East; and were it not for the change of the Current, it were impossible for to fetch *Nombre de Dios*, *Porto bello*, or *Carthage-na*. Our English Shipshave a great advantage of the Spaniards, by reason of their Fastness by a Wind, which the others cannot beat it up, because of their Leewardness.

Every 14 Weeks, the Climate wherein the Island is seated, produces an Harvest of Corn, Pease, Potatoes, and other Roots and Herbs: The Potatoes make a delicate kind of Drink, both pleasant and wholesome. The Sea affords such great abundance of Fish, that Two Boats and Ten

Fishermen will be able to feed 1000 Persons every day.

There are Two other Islands not above 16 Leagues from *Providence*, the one call'd *St. Andrew*, the other the *Miquito*, not inhabited. These two Islands afford great quantity of Tortoises, which will be a great relief to the Island of *Providence*: They are not to be dwelt upon, because they cannot be made Defensible; and *St. Andrews* is full of Rocks and Shoals, and dangerous to come near, by any that do not perfectly know it; neither has it an Harbor, tho' in the Westermost part of it one may Anchor in safety. And thus much for the Description of the Island, as namely the Height, the Seat, the Distance, the Temperature, and distance from other places: Tho' there is cause for me to write more particularly of this Island, yet will I not here insert it, but speak more amply of it in my Fifth Book, to which I refer you.

The

# The Fifth Book.

*Containing divers Projects and Stratagems, tendred for  
the Good of the Kingdom, &c.*

*Dedicated to the Projectors of this Age.*

**I**F I could think of a more proper Word than Project, to entitle this ensuing Book, I would do it; for the name of Projects, and the Inventors of them, are grown so hateful, and contemptible, that all honest Men abhor and detest them.

There are no burthens which the sharpness of lewd Brains can invent, to vex the Common-wealth with, but they stile by the name of Projects, when indeed the name Promoter were more proper, as People sifter to be loathed than cherished in a well Govern'd Kingdom. Such Men are a Curse to the Country that breeds them; to their Friends and Parents that nourish'd them, and to God himself that created them; For there is no Man, directly or indirectly, but finds himself hindred or injured by them; their Courses incite God to punish, and Men to abhor them: A Father of the Church saith, It is a greater sin to project and lay unlawful things on the Poor, than a Merit to relieve them. A Favourite to Alexander the Great, whom we may rather term a Projector, advis'd him, after his great expence in War, and Wealth decay'd, to lay Taxes upon his Subjects: But Alexander Answer'd, That Gardiner did ill who plough'd up the Herbs and Roots of his Garden; for the King is like a Gardiner, Roots Trees and Herbs like the Kingdom. A Flatterer told Antiochus, That all things a King did, were lawful; Yea, he said, to barbarous Kings, but not to him that respects Justice.

St. Lewis, King of France, was angry with one that advis'd him to lay new Taxes upon his Subjects; saying, That God punish'd such examples in Kings. This King well deserv'd the Name he bore, who had more respect to his Subjects than to his Profit.

A King of Persia being desir'd by his Favorite, to Grant him an unjust Suit; he told him, No; But that he would give him the value of the thing he requested, because it would not make him poor; but said, I will not do what you desire, because it is unjust. Projectors should have as little Employment under this King, as they have Reputation amongst honest Men.

Tho' Augustus Cæsar did not by name dislike the Condition of these People that vex the Common-wealth; yet in his Precepts given to the Governors of his Provinces, he intimated a Detestation of them, when he told them, I do not send you to Rule, that you should Envy the Innocent, or be a Hangman to Offenders; but that with one hand you should be an Helper to the Good, and encourage the Evil to Amend; that you be a Tutor to the Fatherless, a Pleader for Widows, a Staff to the Blind, and a Father to all.

I have heard of a Judge in our time, who by his Audacity, and forc'd Authority and Impudence, was able to pervert and wrest Law to his Appetite and Liking: This wicked Judge had got a popular Applause, and Esteem amongst the ignorant Multitude, and by his Friends was commended to King James of Great Britain, for a good Minister to his State: The King answer'd, Yea, If I would become a Tyrant; intimating, that the Judge who misconstrues Law, were a fit Servant for such, and not for Upright Kings. Solon was such an Enemy to the Projectors, that he establish'd a Law, That whosoever propos'd any thing to the prejudice of the Common-wealth, should die. He also Decreed, That it should be lawful to revenge an Injury that should be offered to one another, that eve-

ry Man might have a feeling of the Party injur'd.

The difference betwixt the Projectors of our Age, And the Projects I tender in the ensuing Discourse, is this; They pretend Evil under the colour of Good; they set a fair Countenance on a Evil Face; they Smile on those whose Throats they would cut; they do like Scipio, and all other Rebels, pretend Reformation, and taking away the Abuse of the Common-wealth, when themselves are Abusers of it.

In my Projects I have no other end but the common Good of the Kingdom; I neither ex-

pect or desire Gain; I set up no new devised Taxes or Tolls; I invent no Impositions, nor raise Contributions; I force no Man to undertake or compel People to adventure; but I persuade like a Philosopher, who advised Four things to be consider'd, before the taking of any important thing in hand; to examine the beginning, to consider the middle, to approve the end, and to consult with the wise.

If any of my Propositions prove profitable to the State, and acceptable to the Subject, I have obtain'd my Wish: If not, I desire they may die without any more appearing in the World.

### *The First Project shall be for the Safety of His Majesty's Navy; and the Conveniency and Inconveniency in keeping it at Chatham or Portsmouth.*

**A**S there is no Man that builds a House but at the first ground work of his Building, will be sure to make his Foundation firm and staple, (for on the strength thereof all the rest of the Building must depend) even so it is with Kings and Princes; for that King who means to live in Safety, and to avoid Dangers at home, or from abroad, must first seek to make his State firm and sure, as well in Defence upon an Invasion, as before he Enterprize any Action of Offence upon his Enemy; or else his Building is upon Glass and Ice, and will suddenly fall for want of a settled Foundation.

Therefore, like a careful Builder that will provide to encounter a Danger, in my ensuing Projects I will first lay down a Means and Remedy how to secure this Kingdom against the Attempts of our Neighbours, if in time they become our Enemies, before there shall be cause of Hostility, or before we make any Enterprize upon them in a Warlike manner: And the first thing I will handle, as the greatest importance to the Kingdom, is the Safety of His Majesty's Navy, and the Conveniency or Inconveniency in keeping them at Chatham or Portsmouth, as I have said before.

#### *The Conveniency of Chatham.*

1. Chatham is so safe and secure a Port for the Ships to ride in, that His Majesty's Navy may better ride with a Hawser at Chatham, than with a Cable at Portsmouth.

2. The reason of the long continuance of the Navy at Chatham, is the conveniency of Docks, and all other places, for the con-

veniency of Ships; and considering that the Officers of the Navy are there seated with their whole Families, it would breed a great Innovation and Change to bring them to Portsmouth.

3. The nearness from Chatham to London; from whence they may be supplied with all things they shall stand in need of, for that London is the Storehouse of all England: It is necessary therefore that the Navy should be kept at Chatham, rather than at Portsmouth.

4. Wulwich, Blackwall, Deptford, Limehouse and Ratcliffe, yield more Docks for the Building and Repairing of Ships than all other places of England.

5. All England cannot furnish Sailors like to London and the Newcastle Trade, which once in Three weeks repairs to the Port of London.

6. No part of England can Victual a Navy so conveniently, speedily, and at so small a Charge as London; all the Corn for Bread, Beer, Butter and Cheese, &c. is brought by Water from the adjacent Countries therabouts: And for Beef, Pork, and Bacon, London is plac'd in the Center, far more conveniently than Portsmouth, which has never a River to bring Commodities from other Shires; nor the Country of Hampshire so fruitful as to furnish it.

7. Our Trade to the Eastland returns their Commodities to London, which furnishes us with all Materials belonging to Shipping; as namely, Cables, Cordage, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Masts, Yards, &c. which cannot be done at Portsmouth, the place yielding nothing that creates a Trade.

8. The Water at Chatham flows sufficiently every Spring-Tide to Grave the greatest Ships; and it is a doubt whether it

it can be made to heighten so much in *Portsmouth*, as to do the like.

9. No Wind or Weather can endanger the coming home of an Anchor in *Chatham*; and the River affords sufficient space for every Ship to ride, without annoying one another: As to the contrary, a Storm, with a Wind from the North-East to the South-South-East, will stretch the Cables of the Ships in *Portsmouth*; and if any of their Anchors come home, they cannot avoid boarding one another, to their exceeding great Damage and Danger, the Channel being so narrow.

10. A Navy lying in the Harbor of *Portsmouth*, the Safety of them depends upon the Town of *Portsmouth*; and if *Portsmouth* should be surprized or taken at any time, the whole Navy falls into the Enemies hands.

11. Not a Cable, Anchor, Mast, Yard, Barrel of Powder, or any other thing that belongs to the furnishing a Fleet, but must be brought from *London* or *Chatham* to *Portsmouth*, with an exceeding great Charge, and no less delay and danger, considering the uncertainty of Winds, the peril to be intercepted by Enemies, and the hazard of Shipwrack.

12. The excessive Charge in sending down Carpenters, Cawkers, and other several Workmen belonging to Ships, with Imposts of Mariners; will amount to an extraordinary great Expence. All which will be eas'd by being at *Chatham*.

*The Exceptions to the Navy lying at Chatham.*

1. The several Winds to carry them to *Portsmouth*.

2. The hazard of the Shoals and Sands in going thither.

3. The distance from *Chatham* thither, if the *French* should attempt any thing upon us.

4. And some there are that advise part of the Ships to be kept at *Portsmouth*, and the other part at *Chatham*.

Whoever shall alledge these Reasons, must distinguish of the Service in hand, whether it be Offensive or Defensive, or against *Spain*, *France*, *Holland*, or any part of the East Country.

If *Holland*, or the *Eastland* become our Enemies, then doth *Chatham* lye most with advantage to annoy them, if they attempt any part of our North Coast, or *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex* and *Kent*, which are places of most peril, considering their nearness to the City of *London*.

If we have Wars with *France*, there is little advantage gotten betwixt *Chatham* and *Portsmouth*; for being at the *Downs* at

*Dover*, we shall be over against *France*, and nearer to the *Isle of Wight* than *Brest* is, or any part of *Brittany*, where I suppose the Fleet of *France* will be made ready; and for the two Navies, *English* and *French* meeting at Sea, no place or time can be assign'd them; Ships being in continual action, and sailing one day on one Coast, and another day on another.

And whereas the several Winds are objected as an Impediment to our Navy at *Chatham*, you must know that an Easterly Wind keeps in a Fleet at *Chatham*, and so it doth the *French*, if they be in any part of *Brittany*; and our Ships also if they should be at *Portsmouth*, tho' they should be in the Channel, yet with that Easterly Wind, they cannot go to the Eastward, so that you see, an Easterly Wind brings an equal inconveniency, as well to the one as to the other.

And whereas from *Chatham* we must have two Winds to bring us into the Channel, or to *Portsmouth*, the one Southerly or Westerly to carry us to the *Downs*, the other Northerly or Easterly to bring us to *Portsmouth*, in Three Tides, with fair weather, from the *Downs* we shall be able to fetch *Portsmouth* howsoever the Wind is; in which traverse we shall be as likely to meet a Fleet of *France*, as in any other part of the Channel.

To answer the Objection of Sands and Shoals to endanger us in our coming about from *Chatham*; we see that by the Care and Skill of Pilots, no Memory or Record can tell of a Ship of his Majesty's, so lost: As out of *Portsmouth*, it is fresh in old Men's Mouths; and the Ribs of the Ship I have often seen, call'd the *Great Henry*, a Ship-Royal of King *Henry* the 8th. there perish'd.

I likewise remember in the days of *Q. Elizabeth*, and in the year 1586. that the *Revenge*, (after taken by the *Spaniards*) was as near Destruction, coming out of the Harbour of *Portsmouth*.

And to satisfy the Advisers that wish part of the Navy to be kept at *Chatham*, and the other at *Portsmouth*; this I say, That an Army on Land, or a Navy at Sea, which shall be divided, is easier to be cut off before they meet, than if they were met together in a main Battel; especially in so narrow a Sea as ours, where Fleets cannot pass without encountering one another.

Moreover, if the *French* should Anchor with a number of Ships, sufficient to encounter with either of our Two Fleets, divided, either at *St. Hellens* Point in the *Isle of Wight*, or the *Downs*, or *Gorend*, it

were impossible for our Fleet to pass unseen or unmet withal; by which means they may cut them off before they meet.

But as I have said, the Country must be consider'd, with whom we have War; for if we have War with Spain, neither *Portsmouth* nor *Chatham* is so convenient as *Plymouth*; for in the Winter, which is the time that Ships must keep Harbour, they shall have space sufficient to make Provision against the Spring, and ease a great Charge in carrying the Ships from *Plymouth* to *Chatham*, and after from *Chatham* to *Plymouth*; which we cannot allow less than Two Months, if not more: And moreover, from *Plymouth* we shall put to Sea with our Ships nimble and clean, sooner, and better Mann'd and Victual'd, than either from *Portsmouth* or *Chatham*.

Therefore I conclude, in comparison betwixt *Chatham* and *Portsmouth*, *Chatham* is the best and safest place, and with that our whole Navy may be kept at *Chatham*, and not make any continual Residence but there only, considering the former Reasons. Never Hurt befall any of them that made their Being there, either by Weather or attempt of Enemy; and yet I must confess, they are not altogether so safe and secure from the Assault of a Fleet, that shall be brought from the Eastward with an Easterly Wind; and therefore it behoves us to be cautious and wary of it, as follows;

In the Stratagems contain'd in my Third Book, I advis'd a General to provide to withstand an Enterprize to be made upon Ships in Harbor, where they are usually Mor'd with Two Cables, to which Directions I refer you; but with leave, somewhat I will say of the state of our Navy at *Chatham*, and the danger that may befall us from *Holland*, if they become Enemies to us, as also shew the way of Prevention.

*Holland*, by reason of their abundance of Shipping, the number of Soldiers Quarter'd in all the parts of their Country, and their daily and speedy use in gathering their Forces together for present Service, as they often do, will give us the less suspicion if they should intend any sudden Stratagem upon us; and the first thing that they will attend, is the opportunity of a settled Easterly Wind, to bring their Ships, without striking Sail, as high as *Gravesend*, and there suddenly put 8 or 10000 Men on the *Kentish* Shore, to march to *Upnor Castle*, 4 or 5 Miles from thence; where they shall find no resistance, the Castle being both weak and weakly provided; and having it, they

have an Entrance to the River, where the Ships ride.

The Ships having done so much as belongs to them, in landing their Men, they will, no doubt, repair presently to *Upnor*, which is the place they will principally shoot at; and the Castle being taken before their coming, their Passage is made for them to surprize our Navy, which they will find unprovided of Men, more than the ordinary Ship-keepers; their Ordnance commonly ashore, and without Powder or Shot; for unless there be Employment of Ships to Sea, the Ammunition is always kept in the Tower of London, and too late at that time to be supplied from thence, if this Devilish Design should prevail; I protest the very thought of it makes me tremble, and with it may be prevented.

And for prevention it will behove us to seek, how by Art and Skill to raise Works and Fortifications, both by Land and Water for the Guard and Strength of *Upnor Castle*; and to order and appoint that a certain number of Trained Soldiers, thereabouts dwelling, upon every Alarm repair thither with their Arms, which will prevent any sudden surprize; and in the mean time we shall have leisure to draw a greater Army together, than they will be able to withstand.

And so much as concerns the defence of the River, by Booming, and making Sconces upon it, I have said sufficiently in my former Stratagems; but seeing this is a Matter of so great Import as the Safety of our Navy, and by consequence the Security of our Kingdom, I advise and wish that the Ordnance or greatest part of them, be continually kept aboard the Ships, both moun'd and fitted with all kind of Ammunition belonging to them: That as in the Case of *Upnor Castle*, the Trained Soldiers of the Country, have Order to repair on board the Navy with their Arms: That the Ships themselves be Warp'd and Tow'd as low as the innermost Boom, and there to Moor themselves a Head and a Stern to welcome an Enemy with their whole Broad Sides. And if all these fail (as God forbid) then the Ships to sink themselves at an Anchor, to avoid falling into the hands of an Enemy; which Ships are easily after to be weigh'd without hurt or detriment.

Having left a Remedy, as you have heard, for the securing our Navy; my next Project shall be to hinder French Attempts upon us, they being a Nation of most danger, by reason of their nearness and greatness, and especially if they be assisted with

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the help of *Holland* with Shipping; as no doubt, but in matter of State *France* will labour to gain *Holland* from us, and to settle it, with a firm League and Friendship, with them, to redeem their loss of *Scotland*, who for many hundred years made their Dependency upon that Kingdom;

and if *Scotland* prove honest to *England*, they may fear by our Conjunction of Foes we are become Friends; and that *Scotchmen* may as well turn their Swords upon their Breasts, as they have done heretofore upon ours.

*A Project to prevent the French Landing in England, if they become our Enemies.*

WE in *England* look upon *France* to be a strong and potent Country, the People in it to be both Warlike and Valorous; but it lying upon a main Continent, and ours an Island, divided with a Sea, we think we may easily offend them, and not be offended by them.

This Opinion is generally receiv'd, and indeed not to be confuted, but by such as understand the Sea better than the ordinary sort of Men: But for the explaining it, if ever there happen a War betwixt *France* and us, I will truly set down the danger that may redound to us by *France*, and the means how to prevent it, as I have already done, or will do, if a War happen betwixt *Spain*, or *Holland*, and us.

The general Position is, That *France* is no way to compare with us for number and strength of Shipping; and by consequence, we are to fear no danger from thence, upon any Attempt they shall make.

In Answer hereof, it is true, if the meeting and encountering a Fleet at Sea were certain, the strongest are likely to prevail against the other; but I have formerly shew'd, That there are Three principal things to be requir'd in a Sea-action: The First is Providence, to learn the Design of an Enemy to prevent him: The Second is Secresie, to keep the Enemy from Intelligence: And the Third, is how to work for advantage of Wind and Weather.

If the *French* intend to invade us, we may easily conjecture, by their preparation by Land and Sea, and the drawing down their Army to their Port-Towns; but where they mean to Attempt us, if they keep their Design secret, it will be hard to Discover, and the chief reason we are conceive, is according to the place where they keep their Rendezvous, the observation of Winds to bring them from thence to seize our Coast, and the weakness of our Harbors, where we may conceive they think to Land.

If there were no more difficulty, than

the vulgar and common Concept, it were probable not to be in the Power of *France* to hurt us; but speaking like a Seaman, for that Sea actions must be govern'd by the Winds, thus much I must let you know, That a Southerly Wind, which brings them for our Coast, keeps our Ships in Harbor that we cannot budge; so that they shall neither fear our Force by Sea, nor our Ships be able to impeach them, unless by chance and accident they arrive in the same Harbor our Ships retire to; so you see it is neither the number or strength of Fleets, that can withstand them, if they observe the advantage of a Southerly Wind.

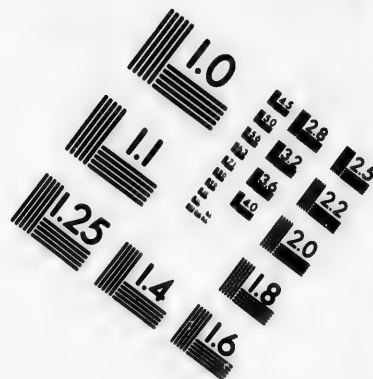
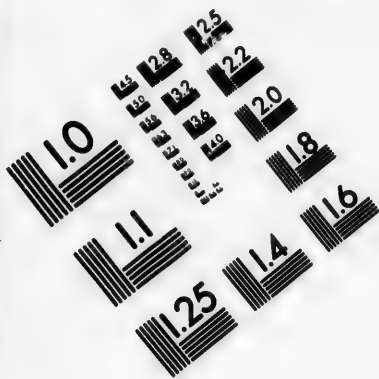
This is a peril that every Man conceives not; for if *France* can of themselves afford a quantity of Vessels, to Transport an Army; or by hiring Ships abroad, or compelling Strangers to serve that come into their Ports to Trade: It is not much material whether they be of strength, or no; for with a Southerly Wind they shall not fear any Force to meet them at Sea.

There was never Sore but God provides a Salve; and this fearful Hazard must be Cur'd, by prevention (as thus:) Our Fleet must divide into three Squadrons; and being at Sea, and forc'd to seek the Shore, every Squadron be appointed a particular Harbor to repair to; by which means every Port on the South Coast shall be defended and guarded by our Ships, which will be a Force sufficient to withstand the strength of *France* by Sea, if they be not assisted by *Holland*.

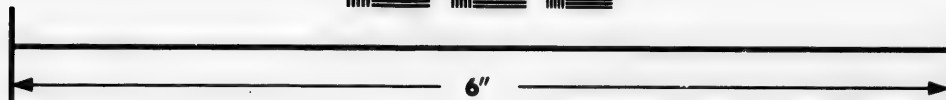
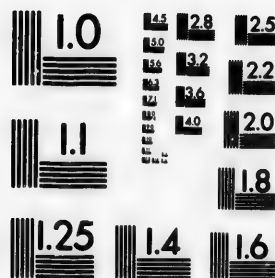
The Ports being thus guarded, they are prevented of Landing; for an Invador is not so mad, as not to provide a Harbor for his Security; and no Road or Bay with an outwardly Wind, is able, without great danger, to give him conveniency of Riding or Landing, the Sea and Siege will be so great.

But it may be objected, That tho' this serve for the Southern Coast, yet the North part of *England*, *Scotland* and *Wales* lie

open



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open to their Landing. The Answer to this is, That if our Three Squadrons be divided, the one to make good the *Downs*, an other the West Country; no Fleet can pass betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*, but they of the *Downs* shall have a view of them; and the same Wind the others have, will leave them to follow, and to prevent their Landing, The Western Squadron will do the like upon any Attempt that shall be made upon *Milford-Haven*, *Wales*, or any that part of *England*.

But our surest Course will be with some Ships to beleaguer their Harbors of Rendezvous in *France*, a good distance from the Shore, for fear of Embaying: We must consider that such Winds as serve to bring them for *England*, make a secure Road upon that Coast to Ride in; And such Winds as are dangerous to keep that Shore, make it impossible for the *French* to put out of Harbor, as I will shew more particularly, when I Treat of the way to prevent the *French* and *Hollanders* meeting.

Thus you may perceive, That an Invasion out of *France* into *England* or *Scotland*, is to be prevented. But his Majesty has another Kingdom of more danger, the Conditions of the People, and the openness of the Harbors consider'd; and that is *Ireland*, which I will a little handle.

*Ireland*, as it is an Island, is in the case of *England*, tho' more dangerous, in respect the People are more Rebellious, and divided from *England*, that cannot be with Celerity reliev'd, if an Enemy do Land; Besides the *Irish* Nation and their Natures do not so well Symbolize with the *French* as with the *Spaniards*; or if they did, the *French* have less advantage to invade that Kingdom than the others; for so much as the same Wind that carries a Fleet out of *France* into *Ireland*, the same Wind serves us to follow them out of *England*.

But seeing I am upon this Subject, I will let you know the difference betwixt the danger of a *French* Invasion and a *Spanish* into *Ireland*. You must consider that a Southwest Wind that brings a Fleet from *Spain* into *Ireland*, is not only against us, to go into *Ireland*, but keeps our Ships in

Harbour, that we cannot put to Sea; by which occasion the *Spaniards* may Land in despite of us.

Moreover, if with that Wind they Land to the Northward of *Ireland*, tho' it be no farther than to the River of *Shannon*, We must have not only a North East Wind to carry us to *Mizen-Head*, or *Cape Clear*, but when we are at either of the Two places, we must have a contrary Wind to carry us in pursuit of them that Land to the Northwards, which is a Southerly Wind; and how this is like to happen, and what danger may befall us in the mean space, is a main point of Consideration: And therefore it fell out very luckily to us, that in the *Spaniards* last Expedition to *Ireland*, they landed at *Kinsale*, to which place one Wind carry'd us directly out of *England*, to give a Relief to our Army, and to prevent a second supply from *Spain*.

If they had Landed further to the Northward of *Mizen-Head*, we should have had as I have said, Two contrary Winds; besides, they would have come to them, where they should have found Succor and Relief, far from our Army by Land, where our March had almost been impossible, considering the season of the Year, and the weak help that the Country would have yielded us.

My Advice therefore is, When an Enemy is feared in *Ireland*, that there be a care to keep our Fleet at Sea, off of *Mizen-Head*, as a place to take advantage of all Winds; and that the Beacons be well watch'd on Shoar, with directions to the Watcher, that they give notice to our Fleet at Sea, to distinguish the Enemies Landing to the Northward or to the Eastward of that place; for our Ships lying open of the Cape of *Mizen-Head*, they will be able instantly to follow them, whether they shall go to the Northward or the Eastward.

But this Caution I give, that no occasion but necessity compel the Fleet to seek a Harbor: For I have shew'd before the inconvenience of it; and the difficulty to get them in again; that in the mean time an Enemy may work his mischief.

### *How to prevent the French and the Hollanders meeting to rescue one another, if they become Enemies to England.*

Considering how things stand, or may hereafter stand betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to the prejudice of *England*, for that every State changes with Time and Advantage to themselves and Commonwealth; it will not be amiss, for prevention of Evil that may happen to this Kingdom, to follow the Practice of a skillful Physician

Physician in the Cure of his Patient, to give him Cordials to avoid the Disease, rather than afterwards, when it has seiz'd upon him, to go about with Physick to recover him; and according to this example, it will be better for us before-hand to withstand the perils, than seek to shun it when it is too late.

The Dangers are of Two kind; the one by the encrease of Ships in France, that may in time prove prejudicial to the State; for it is perillous to have Neighborhood with Danger: The other is, the assistance they may find in Foreign parts by Sea; and above all other Nations, the *Hollanders*, who are nearest able to equal us in Shipping.

The fear of an Invasion out of France, our Ancestors never much dreaded; for our Ships were still the Walls and Bulwarks of our Defence, and ever made that Nation recoil with Dishonour and Loss, as our Histories do at large declare; and rather than the French ambitious Thoughts, should now aspire to Greatness of Shipping, it were far better, happier, and safer for us, to proclaim an everlasting War against them, than by a suffering Peace, they should attain to a strength by Sea; for Princes in Matters of most Importance, ought to govern by Rules of State, and to be directed by Precedents of Times.

We will not oppose the French Greatness amongst themselves at home, when it shall have no relation to us abroad. But if France will not be contented with what they have been, but labour to be greater than we think fit they should be; Wisdom bids us provide for the best, which we cannot better do, than to abate their Pride and Power in the beginning; for it is an old saying, That Peace and Power are incompatible, and live not long together; and the strongest Pillar of Peace is to take away the Occasion that may breed a War.

But in case, according to my Proposition, that France, out of matter of State, shall seek to give assistance to Holland, and we to impeach it at Sea, this that follows shall direct those that have the Command of so great and weighty a Charge, as the Government of our Seas.

Our Fleet, consisting of a number of Ships, must be divided into Three Squadrons, and appoint Three several places for their Rendezvous, (*viz.*) the Downs, the Isle of Wight, and Guernsey, all of them opposite to the Harbours in France, betwixt Calais in Picardy, and Ushant in Brittany.

Our Squadrons are to work according

to Winds; for that Wind which is dangerous for us to keep the French Coast, is impossible for their Ships to put out of Harbor, as I have formerly shew'd; and therefore we need not put our selves to hazard, but upon a just occasion, when the Wind shall serve them.

Altho' some of their Ports are better than others, yet there is none of them in the distance aforesaid, but are bad Harbours, and dry from half Tide to half Tide, that a Ship cannot get either in or out, but by favour of a whole Tide.

And it is moreover to be consider'd, that there is no Wind that will carry a Ship out of those Harbours of France into Holland or Zealand, but a Southerly or Westerly Wind; for tho' they may put out to Sea with an Easterly Wind, yet being at Sea, they cannot recover the places aforesaid, and therefore had better keep the Harbours, and avoid the danger of meeting us at Sea: And besides that such Winds as aforesaid will carry them out of Harbor into Holland, we shall be as ready to take the advantage of them from our own Coast, as themselves can be from theirs; considering what time they must have to Embark their Men and Provisions, and observe their Tides for going forth of their Ports. The Downs lie conveniently to guard Calais, Bullen, St. Valere and Harvedgrace; the Isle of Wight will have an eye over Diep, Sherbourn, and all the Creeks to the Hogg; the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey will do the like to St. Malo, which is a Port of greatest importance on that Coast.

But the places of greatest weight, are Brest, Blavet, and some other Harbours for the Entertainment of their best and greatest Ships, which lie East and South East from Ushant, and not within the Channel opposite to England.

But those French Ships that shall there remain, must have two contrary Winds to bring them into our Channel; the one to get about Ushant, and that being done, the other is to sail into Holland, in which course they must pass our Three Squadrons aforesaid, and will find it impossible to escape us.

Harvedgrace, which is the second good Harbour next to St. Malo, lying betwixt Calais and Ushant, is in the same state of Brest and Blavet, which must have two contrary Winds to carry them to Holland, tho' they be nearer to Holland by many Leagues, yet they shall run the same hazard and peril of Brest, as I have declared.

Thus you see how easie a thing it is to prevent the French and Hollanders meeting,

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if a discreet and understanding Commander have the Rule of Things, and knows what belongs to it.

For the better Information of those

that shall be employ'd, I will set down the State and Condition of every Harbour in France.

### The State of the Harbours in France.

**T**Here is a Bank in the middle betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*, South from *Dover*, and West and by South from *Calais*, that has but 4 Fathom at low Water, and 4 Leagues long.

The *Old-Man* is a good Road for North-East, East or South-East Wind, 6 or 7 Fathom deep.

*St. John's* Road, nigh to it, is a good Road for the same Wind, and is 15 or 16 Fathom deep.

*Bullen* is a bar'd Harbour, and dry at low Water.

The River of *Somme*, where *St. Vallery* stands, if it were not for a Bank that lies at the Entrance thereof, were a good Harbour.

From the *Old-Man* to *Diepe*, South-South-West, betwixt them, lies the River of *Hen*; the Town of *Treport* is upon it at low Water dry.

*Diepe* at full Sea 3 Fathom; there are 3 Boys to direct you at half Flood; small Ships may go in at low Water dry.

*Feckban*, 4 Leagues, West-South-West, a good Harbour, two Fathom at low Water.

*Havred'grace*, at high Water 3 Fathom, and at low Water one; there is no failing from hence up the River of *Seine* to *Roan* without a Pilot.

*Caen* is 6 Leagues, South-West, from *Sand Head*, a bar'd Harbour, and full of Sands going in.

Four Leagues Eastward lies the Island of *St. Mark*, and to be sail'd about, but foul Ground.

The Bay of *Hets* is a good Road for North-North-East Winds, and indeed for all Winds.

*Cherbourg* is a small dry Creek.

From thence is *Faux-Meuril*, a dry Haven.

A League from hence is *Cape de Hague*: West 3 Leagues from this *Cape* lieth *Alderney*, West and by North, almost 3 Leagues long, East and West; the East is good to sail near the Shoar, but the West is bad, and the South side worse.

From *Alderney* to *Guernsey*, West-South-West, 8 Leagues; the East end of *Guernsey* is flat, the West sloopy. Beware of the Island of *Aron*; it is full of Rocks; betwixt the Castle and the Land it is a

good Road at 6 or 7 Fathom, and which out the Castle at 12 or 13 Fathom; it ebbs or flows here at 6 or 7 Fathom up and down; there is good Anchoring round about the Island.

From *Guernsey* to *St. Maloes* 7 Leagues. South-South-East, and to *Sacke*, East and by North, one League; you may anchor about it at 26 or 27 Fathom.

From *Guernsey* to *Jersey*, South-East, 8 Leagues: There is good Anchoring at *Guernsey* round about it, and yet there lie Rocks to the West side; on the North side there is a good Road for a North-West Wind. *Cateline* Bay, on the East side, is a very good Road. You may go between *Jersey* and the Rocks, called *Pater-Noster*, 11 Fathom, and Anchor at *Trinity* Bay.

From the West end of *Jersey* to *St. Maloes*, South and by East, 8 or 9 Leagues: In the way there are Rocks called the *Monks*.

The Course from the *Hug* to *St. Maloes* by *Grand Ville*, *Mount St. Michael*, and *Cancall*, is full of Rocks and Sands.

The Island near *St. Maloes*, called *Zezembre*, a Ship may go round about it safely.

The Tides hereabouts rise and fall 7 Fathom: There is no Entrance but for small Ships into *St. Maloes*.

About 5 Leagues West from thence lieth a great Sandy Bay, where one may ride 6 or 7 Fathom at all Winds.

You may ride about the Islands of *Brisack*: And a League and a half from hence are the Islands of *Pyckle*, Islands which you may sail about; as also the 7 Islands, at 4 Fathom; as likewise *Greeveland*.

The Haven of *St. John's de Dieu*, three Leagues from *Morlaix*, is a barr'd Harbour, from whence you may go to *Morlaix* through the Rocks, and Anchor in 5 Fathom Water.

All Havens thereabouts are barr'd, but *Rosco*, which is deep Water, and has many good Ships belonging to it: It is the *Bas* that makes *Rosco* to good a Harbour.

*Brest* is the best Harbour in all France, and *Blavet* the next; *Odogerne* is a good Harbour; the Bank before it is 5 or 6 Fathom deep on both sides; there is 3 Fathom within at low Water.

*West-Penmark* is a good Harbour, 3 Fathom at low Water. *Bindest* is a dangerous Harbour for Rocks.

There is good Anchoring about the Island of *Mutton* and *Groye*.

*Blaves* is an excellent Harbour, 4 Fathom at low Water.

*Morbeau* is a good Harbour, but forceable Tides, 8 or 9 Fathom; within the East side is a bold Shore.

Behind the West Point of *Croisick* there is a good Road, at 5, 6 or 7 Fathom, and safe as in a Harbour.

The River of *Nancy* is a good Harbour, 7 or 8 Fathom Water; but you must have a Pilot.

The Island *Heyes* has no good Road; but the best is a South-West or West-South-West Wind.

*St. Martin*, 12 Leagues, East-South-East, from *Heyes*.

From *St. Martin's* to *St. John de Luz*, is 54 Leagues, and never a Harbour in the way, but *Bordeaux*, worthy to be accounted, being all of them barr'd Harbours.

### A Project how to War upon Holland, if they give Occasion.

**I**f the *Hollanders* shall neglect our Favours and Friendships, or become obstinate, perverse and insolent, and so proud withal as to disdain us, I have not that mistrust of the Force of *England*, but that it will prove the Revenge, and punish their Unthankfulness, as well by what I have said in the precedent Project, as by this that follows: For as in natural Bodies, the longer they live in Health, Sickness is the more dangerous when it assails them; so it will prove in an unsuccessful War of the *Hollanders*, who have so long sail'd with a prosperous and fortunate Gale, when at last they taste of the Perverseness of Fortune.

What can they value themselves upon, (to speak truly) but *England* deserves the Honour of it? We were the first that gave them Life, and it is such a Life, if they would consider it, that if we feed them not, they faint and famish. Let them remember an old Observation of State, *That he who entertains an Army of Strangers, takes a Wolf by the Ear*; for as it is dangerous to detain them, so it is more perillous to let them go: And if his Majesty at any time call home his Subjects from their Service, that have been the Wolves to their Enemies, they will soon become silly Sheep for others to prey upon; for things easily and unlawfully gotten, are soonest lost and consumed, if they be not supported.

If *England* at any time excepts against their ill Usage, and calls them to account for Injuries, they will find that we are the stronger, and able to give them Laws, and they the weaker to accept of the less Evil; for where can they Trade but they shall find Interruption by us, laying aside their Passage through our Seas; that without our Leave and Harbours, they cannot subsist in their Navigations. But now to my purpose to what I have in hand.

I will imitate the Marquis of *Sancta Cruz*, a Man eminent in *Spain* for his Experience, Employment, and good Success in Sea Actions, who, upon the breach of Peace with *England* in 85. presented to the King his Master a Relation how his Territories should be defended, and the *English* annoy'd.

And as an Imitator of the Marquis, I advise, seeing we know not how soon Matters of Unkindness may burst out betwixt *Holland* and us, that in the mean time we inform our selves of the true State of their Provinces by Sea, and that there be a Choice made of two sufficient Seamen to be sent in a secret manner into the *Low Countries*, to take a view of their Shipping; as namely, the number of Vessels, their Ordnance and Quality of them; to enquire of their Ships abroad, and the Conditions of them at large; of their Number of Mariners, and to distinguish betwixt the Fishermen and Sailors; to enquire of the Decay of their Trades, if their Men and Ships be employ'd in Warfare; to observe how a War with *England* will relish with the Multitude, and where and how they think most to annoy us; for these things are necessary to be known from an Enemy.

The next must be to supply and guard our Forts and Castles on the Sea Coast; for it is a main and important thing to keep the *Hollanders* from the Succour of our Harbours; and if they be forc'd to keep the Sea in foul Weather, with contrary Winds and long Nights, the length and narrowness of our Chanel, the Clits of *England* and *France* will be enrich'd with their Wracks.

Such Towns seated opposite to *Holland* and *Zealand* ought to be extraordinary guarded and fortified, but especially *Sandwich*, *Harwich*, and *Tarmouth*, in respect of their Harbours and Roads to entertain

Fleets, their natural Situation for Strength, and the Number of People there resident that are descended from *Holland*.

But how all these Places should be guarded and defended by Shipping, that are so far distant and remote from one another, there rests the Difficulty.

In this case we must work according to the Winds; for all Sea Actions are guided by it: And suppose the *Hollanders* with an Easterly Wind direct their Course for *Harwich*, *Tarmouth*, or other Northern Parts of *England* or *Scotland*, and that our Ships with that Wind lie in the *Downes*, which is our ordinary Rendezvous, this Northerly, or North East Wind, is full in our Teeth to pursue them.

Or by keeping the Sea with our Ships, our meeting is as uncertain, the Sea being wide and spacious; and if we be taken with a hard Gale of Wind, and put to Leeward, whilst we seek to fetch it up again, they shall have time and leisure to land where they list, as I can instance in this case many Precedents.

And therefore, instead of the *Downes*, I conclude *Tarmouth* to be the only Road for the Rendezvous and Seat of our Shipping; for there we shall be ready upon all Occasions to set sail, what Wind soever shall bring an Enemy from *Holland*, tho' it were into the River of *Thames*, or the Northern Parts, having the least warning, which we cannot fail of with Fire-Beacons, or Pinnaces to be kept at Sea. And as the Advantage of an Invader is to work with the Advantage of the Wind, to must the Defendant seek as well to prevent them by the same Advantage of Wind.

The next thing I would wish to be put in execution, which rather should be the first, as of most Importance, as I have already declar'd, is, the Guard of his Majesty's Ships in Harbour at *Chatham*; for the Prosperity and Welfare of *England* consists in their Safety: And if *Holland* should prove an Enemy, now that *Flushing* is in their Possession, and within 14 or 15 hours sail from *Chatham*, gives them a brave Opportunity.

I think good to give this Caution, That an Attempt upon the Navy is more perilous for an Enemy to the Eastward of us, as *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Germany*, than from the Southward, as *France*, *Spain* or the *Streights*; for Ships from the Eastward are able to come directly with one Wind from the Countries aforelaid; as those from the Southward must have two contrary Winds, the one at South-West, to bring them to the *Downes*, and

after, an Easterly Wind, to carry them to *Chatham*, which perhaps will not happen in an Age.

And it is not unworthy Consideration, how fatal those Easterly Countries have been to this Kingdom, first by the *Saxons*, and after by the *Danish* Conquest.

My next Advice is, That we strive by all means possible to possess our selves of the Town of *Flushing*, being of more Importance to our State than any Town of *Europe*, as I will declare in my next Project: First, we shall be strengthen'd with as many Ships as belong to *Middlburgh* and *Flushing*: Secondly, it will draw all the rest of *Zeeland* into our Subjection, the principal Harbour being *Flushing*: Thirdly, it will be a Bridle to *Holland*: For they can no more maintain their Navigations to the Southward, than a Subject to live under a King, and disobey his Laws; for we having *Flushing*, and guarding the *Downes* in *Kent*, all Succours and Safety for their Ships upon that Coast is taken from them.

Now to proceed to the *Hollanders* encountering us at Sea; for that it must come to, not once but often, if Wars ever happen betwixt us.

They will in reason labour to put their Fortune upon the first Barrel at Sea, because their State cannot maintain a long and lingering War with us: Secondly, their Ships and Mariners, by which they live to support their State, their Revenues being Contributions raised out of Trade, necessarily must sail, when their Ships and Men are converted to any other use than Merchandize; but especially when the same Ships and Men must be maintained out of this kind of Revenue, that was wont to bring in Gain.

Thirdly, the Victory first gotten redoubles the Courage of the Victor: it astonishes and disheartens the Vanquish'd: it shakes the Fidelity of Subjects, many whereof are too much inclin'd to the *Holland* Faction; it gets Reputation, and gains Friends and Alliances abroad, who commonly sway with good Success: And therefore I wish we never present them, at the first Encounter, with less Force than to determine the Quarrel.

The Benefit the *Hollanders* shall make upon our Coast, is, the use of our Roads, tho' we debar them our Harbours; which Roads are open, spacious, undefensible, and will succour them in all Winds and Weathers; as namely, the *Ile of Wight*, *Portland*, *Torrey*, &c.

And to prevent them herein, must be to divide our Fleet into Three Squadrons, as

I have often said before; and being so divided, no Ship can escape us; for tho' they shall pass one Squadron in the night unseen, or in a Fog, they cannot avoid falling into the lap of one of the other two: And we shall make our *East-India* Voyage no farther than our own Channel; for their Ships must pass it going and coming.

I will not omit to put in execution a Stratagem when our Fleet shall be thus divided, viz. to place along the Sea Shoars Fires like Beacons, from the Cape of *Cornwal* to the *Northforeland* in *Kent*, with a Care they be well watched and guarded; that when a Fleet shall be descry'd at Sea, or Ships arrive in the Road aforesaid, the Beacons next adjoining to be fired, and like a running Post one Fire to take it of another, that in a little space an Easterly Squadron shall have Notice what happeneth to the Westward, and the West to the East; so that howsoever the Wind is, one of the Squadrons shall come round upon the other, and upon the Ships in the Roads aforesaid.

But perhaps some will say, That if so few Ships as those of *Dunkirk* did so great a Spoil to us in time of War, what can we expect but Destruction from the *Hollanders*, that have 100 Vessels to one of the others in those days.

To which I answer, That tho' the *Dunkirkers* took many Ships in the *Queen's* time, yet they never lessen'd ours nor the *Hollanders* Numbers; for by reason their Harbours were not to be entred at all Hours and Tides, but only at a half Flood, they us'd to take out the Masters and Merchants as Pledges, to perform such Conditions as they agreed upon for releasing the Ship and Goods: And at that time they stood in that danger of our Ships, and the *Hollanders* who guarded the Coasts, that they durst not keep their Prizes longer than they had made this Contract aforesaid.

But with us it will be otherwise; for all such Ships as we take we shall be able to enjoy without Danger or Fear, our Coasts and Harbours being nigh us, our Ports capable at all Times and Tides to receive us. And I dare boldly affirm, that if His Majesty will give free Liberty to his Subjects to take and spoil, as many *Hollanders* as they can, in their Trades at Sea, in a little space they will be able of themselves, without His Majesty's help or assistance, to take or destroy the better part of their Vessels within their Provinces.

For let us compare them with the Pirates of *Argiers* and *Tunis*, who till of late years that they were instructed by *Christi-*

*ans*, were ignorant in what belong'd to Ships or Mariners: And if we consider'd in what little space they encreas'd to the number they are now of, being all of them Ships of *Christians*, and not one of their own, it is to be marvel'd, and our Fate to be compar'd with it.

For if we Fit, Furnish, and Man such Ships as we shall take from the *Hollanders*, and employ them against the *Hollanders* themselves, the natural Inclination of our Men at Sea consider'd, the small Expence in Rigging, Victualling, and Furnishing them; the little distance they shall sail both outward and homeward; and the continual Supplies from Land they shall receive; for one Ship the Pirates of *Argiers* have taken, as aforesaid, we shall become owners of Forty, and make one of them the destruction of another, without farther help, either at home or abroad.

For securing our *Newcastle* Trade, it must be to fortify our Ships with Ordnance, to go in Fleets, and to Sail near the Shore, that if they be chased, or in danger of taking, to run on Land. The Countries upon the Sea Coast must be Commanded to keep a good Watch in the Day time, and to be ready to rescue any Ships that shall be so distressed.

And because I have nam'd the Ships of *Newcastle*, I will say something of them, and compare them with the Ships of *Holland*, which some of my Country men to much Magnify, and hold so terrible, that they are frighted with the name of them, and desire to fright others.

What I shall say, may perhaps be wondered at, and my Judgment by some taxed; but if well consider'd, it will not seem so great an Error, as upon the first apprehension.

I will compute 200 Sail of Ships, betwixt 2 and 300 Tuns in burthen, belonging to the Trade of *Newcastle*; Vessels for their strength in Building, for their spaciousness within Board, for the Decks to place their Ordnance, and all other conveniency to make Men of War, I dare say *Holland* has not the like.

If these Ships be fortify'd with *English* Ordnance, which *Holland* affords not, but with Grief I may say, is supplied from us; and if 100 of our Trained Soldiers be put on board every one of them, which we may do of our own Nation; and which *Holland* cannot do, unless they dissolve their Land Army, and put themselves in to the mercy of the Enemy; I will be bold to say, that these Ships alone, will be able to encounter the whole Force of the *Netherlands*; and as I have computed,

but

but 200 Ships, by a Project contain'd in this Book, we shall double the number of 200. and by consequence be as strong again.

Tho' this Trade seem to be but of small account, in respect of the grossness of the Commodity; That it is amongst our selves, and in the Kingdom; and that the Ships return from *London* unladen; yet we may account it of most Importance and Consequence to the State of *England*; considering the multitude of Mariners it breeds, and the readines of them for his Majesty's Service, when he has sudden Occasion to use them; for every Three Weeks these Ships never fail to make their repair into the River of *Thames*, if they be not hindred by Wind; as all other Trades but this is out of the Kingdom, and upon their Voyages in Summer, that if his Majesty have need to furnish but Two of his Ships to Sea, there will not be found Mariners sufficient to Man them, if it be not for the *Newcastle* Trade. Leaving this, I will once more return to our Annoying the *Hollanders*.

And if we go further from home to seek out the *Hollanders*, yea, as far as the *East-Indies*, a place that has puff'd them up with Pride, and has bred a Heart of Dildain against us, more for the number of their Ships that resort thither, and the length of their Navigation, than for any profit they find there: The next Voyage we undertake, shall be to seek them in their Return from thence, in a desolate and uninhabited Island, called *Mau-*

*vicin*, after the name of the last Prince of *Orange*, lying in the Courle betwixt those places of the *Indies* they Trade to, and the Cape of *Good Hope*. This Island affords them great Comfort and Refreshing, which makes their Navigation much the easier and commodious: And as the meeting of Ships is more certain in a Harbour than at Sea; so is ours the more sure to find, and take them there.

If it happen that the *Hollanders* sail falling in with that Island, which must proceed more out of Negligence than Will; for they are to expect a great Succour in their way home by that Island, then they to repair to *Saldana* Bay, near the Cape of *Good Hope*; or missing that, then to the Island of *Sia, Hellena*, well known to us, and long frequented by the *Portugueses*; for no other places can succour their unufferable wants.

And tho' we should fail to meet them in any of these places aforesaid; nevertheless they cannot account themselves safe at home, when they remember the long distance they have to Sail, and the dangers they are to pass through our Chanel, if we become their Enemies; unless they avoid us, by going into the North part of *Scotland*, which in my Filing Project I have handled.

There are many other ways to offend the *Hollanders*, which I forbear to speak of, referring them to my Breast, till there be occasion; and I will prosecute my Design upon the Island of *Wakerland*.

### *A Project how to get Possession of the Island of Wakerland, if the King of England will Compound with the Natives.*

**I**N my former Project I wish, as a matter of greatest Importance to our State, to seek and get the Possession of the Island of *Wakerland*, wherein *Flushing* is seated: the Reasons whereof I have in some kind declar'd; and now shall follow the manner how to compass it with Consent, and liking of the Inhabitants, if they will accept and hearken to Reason, before we attempt them with Violence or Force; For it is a Maxim, *He that is Master of the Sea, shall be able both to Take and Defend Flushing, or most Islands.*

The First thing we must put in execution, we must have a Book Printed and Divulged in the name of some Person, pretending to be born there; and advising the Inhabitants of the Island to hearken to his Reasons, being moved to write out of a natural Affection he bears his Country.

His First Reason is for them to consider the end for which they have so long fought (*viz.*) their Religion, their Liberty, their Security, and their Commodity, and have not as yet attain'd them; nor like to do, so long as the King of *Spain* is made able to subsist in that War.

The Second Consideration is, how to compass these Four Ends by a more gentle, and easie course than by War, which may be effected if they will judiciously weigh the ensuing Reasons.

The Book must make it appear, what Discourtesies and Oppressions *Holland* imposes continually on them; which indeed is unufferable; but that both their Security depends upon their mutual Agreement, because of the Third that is Enemy to them both.



To wish them to consider, That tho' their Payments in the Island of *Wakerland* do equal *Holland* in their proportion, and that their Men of War of *Zealand* are esteem'd and known to be more Warlike, and to have done braver Exploits than the *Hollanders* by Sea; yet notwithstanding what Service is done, either by Land or Sea, is all attributed to *Holland*, for *Zealand* and *Wakerland* is not once mention'd; and therefore to advise them to divide themselves from *Holland*, that their Worths and Virtues may appear to the World.

The way to attain to Happiness must be, by the Countenance and Assistance of some Powerful neighbour Prince to rely upon; and *England*, above the rest, would be able to obtain that for them, in a peaceable manner, which with the loss of their Blood, they could not enjoy in 70 or 80 Years of War: And if the ensuing Conditions may be yielded to, by the King of *England*, they may boldly sheath up their Swords, and never have Cause hereafter to draw them again.

*The Conditions on which the Inhabitants are to Contract with the King of England.*

The beginning of all Men's Actions must tend to the Service of God, every one according to his private Conscience; and no other King in these parts of the World, but the King of *England*, does maintain the Religion by them profess'd; and for the better Proof thereof, his Majesty's Father of Famous Memory, shew'd himself a principal Pillar, and the absolute Cause to settle the true Religion in their Provinces; as it appear'd by the Council of *Dort*, against the Innovation of the *Armenians*; which Sect *Wakerland* was never known to Favour or Embrace: Nor will his Majesty assume the nomination of their Elders, or Preachers, or meddle with their Church Discipline, but refer it to themselves.

Whereas they are over-charged with Contributions and Excizes, in the Government they now live under; they may Condition with His Majesty, to ease them the moiety of what they now pay, and the other Moiety be reserv'd for Defence against an Enemy; or in Fortifications or Maintenance of Garrisons; all which Soldiers to be *English*, as People that are no strangers to them in Acquaintance or Conditions, as they have made proof when they lived together, without any kind of Discourtesies.

Forasmuch as many times they appeal to the general States, residing in the *Hague*, or upon occasion they are often call'd

thither, to their great Expence and Discontent; they shall be eas'd of that Trouble and Charge, and determine all Questions, and settle their Affairs, amongst themselves, by Authority from His Majesty, without having relation to any other Provinces: This will prove a greater freedom and liberty, than they could all this while compass by the Sword; or can otherwise do by any way they can think of.

His Majesty by this Grant, and other Immunities he may give, without Innovation or infringing their Ancient Laws and Customs, will make them freer than ever they have been; and his Protection will be so strong a Defence to them, that no Prince or Nation dare offer to injure them, either at home or abroad.

It is apparent what Benefit they shall reap by these Privileges; First in easing them of the moiety of their Excizes; but most especially, if his Majesty will be drawn to grant them the Privilege of his Subjects in their Customs within his own Dominions; and to have a Freedom of their Ships to take Freights within His Majesty's Ports, which the Laws of the Land prohibit to any but his own Subjects. This will be much greater to their advantage and profit, than ever they shall attain to by living under the Government they now do.

Perhaps his Majesty may be drawn to consent to the remove of the *English* Staple from *Delft* to *Midleborough*, where it had long continued heretofore, to the Commodity of the whole Island, as themselves best know.

In yielding their Obedience to his Majesty, is no new Precedent amongst themselves; for in the Year 1424. after *Holland*, *Friesland* and *Zealand*, with the Island of *Wakerland*, had continued in the Line of *Thieri of Aquitain*, the space of 600 Years; *Jacoline*, Widow and Heiress of these Provinces, resign'd them to *Philip the First*, Duke of *Burgundy*; by which Resignation these three States became join'd to *Flanders* and the rest of the Provinces, and still continues in the Line of *Philip*.

If these People may enjoy their Religion quietly, their Liberties freely, their Security peaceably, their Commerce, Trade and Wealth plentifully, and have the Honour to be subject to so mighty a King; no Man can justly pity them, if by refusing it they fall into the hands of Enemies.

And if their Pride and Obstinacy refuse this solid Advice of a Friend, as the State of *England* now stands, that by our permission

million the *Hollanders* are grown to so great a Strength by Sea, it behoves us to seek a Remedy for our Safeties; which cannot be better done, than by possessing the Island of *Wakerland*, which does more concern us than any plot of Ground elsewhere.

And if we be put by force to enjoy it,

there is no more to be said than I have often repeated; that so long as we are stronger by Sea, that we keep our Ports Guarded and Armed, and prohibit their entrance into them; not only all *Wakerland*, but *Holland* and *Zealand*, will be at our Devotion as aforesaid, as may appear by the Project that went before.

*Of the Harbours of Holland, Zealand, and Flanders; in order, if we have Wars, to take Advantage of them.*

THE *Texel* has Three Channels, whereof the *Spaniards* or the King's is the best; when you are within there is a good Road under the Island of *Tixel*; and from thence you go up to *Amsterdam*, and all places within the *Zurick Sea*.

To the Northward of the *Texel* lies the *Vlie*, a good Channel, but narrow; for Ships that come out of the *Zurick Sea*, there are Two Channels going out at the *Vlie*.

From the *Texel* to the *Muse*, S. S. W. 24 Leagues. The *Muse* goes into the *Brill*, and has Three Channels, whereof one is better than the rest, and has 16 Foot at a full Sea: Within the *Brill* the Channel carries them to *Skeam*, *Rotterdam*, *Delph Haven*, and other places thereabouts. The old *Muse* carries them up to *Dort*.

From the *Muse* or the *Brill* up to *Goree*, Two Leagues S. W. The *Goree* hath 18 Foot at low Water; and so you may go up at *Helvoet-Sijde*, where you may Ride with the greatest Ship of *Holland*.

From *Goree* to the Island of *Wakerland*, 6 Leagues S. W. The Island of *Scowden* is betwixt them; and *Bruers-Haven* is in that Island.

*Flushing* is the best Harbor in all *Zealand*, and lies in the Island of *Wakerland*; the Channel has 4 Fathom, at the Water going in.

From *Flushing* to *Graveling* 24 Leagues W. S. W. These Harbors following lie betwixt them; and all upon the Coast of *Flanders* (viz.) *Ostend* 12 Leagues; from thence to *Newport* 3 Leagues; from thence to *Dunkirk* 5 Leagues; from thence to *Graveling* 4 Leagues; *Mardike* lies betwixt the Two last, and is the best Harbour upon all that Coast, as it is now made.

From the *Texel* to the *Foreland* in *England* S. W. 47 Leagues.

From the *Texel* to *Townmouth* W. 42 Leagues; from the *Muse* to *Harwich*, W. a little Southerly, 29 Leagues; from the *Muse* or *Goree* S. W. and by W. 36 Leagues; from *Flushing* to the *Foreland* W. 24 Leagues.

*A Project how to make War upon Spain, written in the Queen's time, and presented to Sir Robert Cecil, by Her Majesty's Appointment.*

THE continual Annoyance our small Ships of War have for many years offered the *Spaniards* upon their own Coasts, makes them of late more provident than before they were, by drawing home their Ships in Fleets, that were wont to come straggling; as may appear by the *West-Indies* Trade, whose Ships strove to be first at home, to take the better Market; but now they use to repair to the *Havana*, where they attend the coming of the Plate Fleet; into which Ships they put their Silver, Gold, and things of value; and are wasted themselves by the same Fleet; by which means few of the *India* Ships, have been of late Years taken into *England*.

The *Portuguese* Trade is more general than the *Spaniards*; as namely into the *East-Indies*, *Brazil*, *St. Thome*, *Cassie de la Mina*, and other parts of *Guinea*; from the two latter they use to send their Gold Brigantines to *St. Thome*, and Transport it into *Portugal* with the Fleet, which returns in *September*, both into *Brazil* and thither; they freight the Boats of *Holland*, and the *East* Country that are of good force, which defend themselves, and their lesser Ships in their company from the *English*.

These Fleets of later Years have avoided touching at the *Tercera* Islands, which were wont to afford them Relief and Succour, because they were continual-

ly haunted by the *English*; and such Armada's as were wont to be sent to those Islands, now keep off the Headlands on their own Coast, as the surest means to defend them; for whosoever seeks a Coast, will first fall with a Headland or Cape.

#### How to employ our Fleet against Spain.

The last Summer's good Fortune that *Holland* and we both had, in taking each of us a Carrack, may encourage us both to employ our Sea Forces against Spain; being a means to work us both Security, and for *Holland* to prosecute their Wars with more advantage: And it by one Consent we agree together, we must resolve upon the Employment of Two several Fleets; the number, the time and manner how to employ them, with the hopes of what we are to make by them, are as follows.

The Carracks outward: The Plate Fleet homeward.

The *Firm Land* and *New Spain* Fleets outward.

The Carracks and *New Spain* Fleet homeward.

The Carracks departure from *Lisbon* is certain; for if they exceed their 15th of April, they are commonly forc'd back, not being able to double *Abrillos* Shoals on the Coast of *Brazil* in the 18th. Degree.

And as I have said before, That the meeting of a Ship or Fleet is more certain upon a Headland nigh a Port which they are bound, than in an open Sea, where they may escape by night, by Fog, by being to Leeward, or many other casualties; therefore, besides the great Fleet that should make good the Coast of *Spain*, it were fit the Enemy were busied in both his *Indies*; and how to offend him in his *East-Indies* I have set down in this Book, to which I refer you. Our Second and most material Hope is upon the Plate Fleet, whose coming home is uncertain; tho' for the space of Four or Five Years past, they have observed the Months of *March* and *April*: The Ports whither they resort, are *St. Lucar*, or *Cadix*; the likeliest place of meeting them is Cape *St. Maries*, the Headland they commonly make before they put into *St. Lucar*.

The greatest doubt of meeting this Fleet, is the Intelligence they may receive out of *Spain*; considering the small distance betwixt them and the *Indies*, and the certainty of the Winds, whereby they may give warning to their Fleet to Winter there, if they see cause; and therefore the subtlest and securest course to prevent them, is to send Two or Three Pinna-

ces, excellent choice Sailors to live before the *Havana*, to attend the coming out of their Fleet, and alter to pursue them a Stern, till they bring them into the height they mean to hail in; which done, one of the Three Pinnaces may repair with all speed to our Fleet, where they shall have Directions to find them, and give relation in what state, and in what height they left them: The other Two Pinnaces are not to leave company of the Fleet, unless the Fleet alter its height; which if they do, one of the Two Pinnaces is to follow the same Directions the other did, with this caution; That if they find themselves in danger of being taken, they throw their Instructions over-board.

The Third and last hope of our Fleet, is the Ships of *Terra firma*, or the *Firm Land*, which go for the next Years Plate, and are commonly to depart from *Spain*, at the coming home of the other Fleet: The place to meet them is 13 or 20 Leagues from Cape *Cinteen* in *Barbary*. We may know by the Wind, within a Point or two, how they will steer, as also the time of their departure from *St. Lucar*, by the Moon, for they must observe the Spring Tides to come over the Barr: We may likewise provide to have Intelligence by the way of *Mamora*, or *Sally*, Two Towns in *Barbary*, opposite to that part of *Spain*.

If we should prove so unhappy as to miss this Fleet, if Her Majesty will purpose this Squadron to the *Indies*, they will not fail meeting with them at the Northernmost part of *Dominica*, where they lie to Water; or being departed from thence, their course is certain to Cape *de Vela*; and after to *Nombre de Dios*, where commonly they take in their Treasure, and where they may be easily surpriz'd.

I will suppose our Second Fleet to be at Sea, upon return of our first, who have these several hopes likewise: The Carracks and *New Spain* Fleet homeward; and the *New Spain* Fleet outward. If her Majesty will resolve to keep a continual Fleet, as is propos'd, few of these Ships can possibly escape us, either going or coming, seeing we know the course they sail, the Season of the Year they must needs pass, and the Harbors whither they are bound.

The *New Spain* Fleet outward, is to depart from the same Part, through the same Seas, and in the same Course, the *Terra Firma*, or *Firm Land* Fleet doth; only they differ in the time of the Year; for they exceed not their Midsummer-day to set sail from *Spain*, because of their late getting to the Port of *St. John de Ulva*, be-

in a small boat of the Northern, Vintler, which was pulled upon the Coast.

There being place for *Guano*, which is a small French vessel, able to hold 1000000 of *Guano*, then Richard ship being out of *Guano*, and *Guano* by their coming out, and doing so, would be a great thing when they come to water, and to be a great thing out of the Coast of *Guano*, the great Admirals the

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that he was not able to prosecute his Affairs against Ireland; for no sooner was Sir Richard Lawfon return'd, but I was sent again upon that Coast, as you have heard, who kept the King's Forces to employ'd, that he betook himself only to the guard of his Shores.

The sequel of all these Actions being duly consider'd, we may be confident, that whilst we busie the Spaniards at home, they dare not think of invading England or Ireland; for by their absence, the Fleet of their Indies may be endanger'd; and in their Attempts they have as little hope of prevailing.

Thus have I ventur'd to deliver to your Honour, so much as you desir'd at my hand; and so much as I think is convenient for our present Actions.

How to work for Intelligence out of Spain, I have shew'd in my First Book; but will proceed to the state of the Harbors in Spain, for us to take advantage of.

Of all the Harbors in Biscay.

From Cape Machibaca to Cape de Peñas, lies the Coast of Biscay.

From Cape Machibaca to Bilbao 13 Leagues S. S. W. Barrea is in the way, a bar'd Haven.

Placencia, W. from it, a bar'd Haven.

Bilboa, a good Harbour; but in it there is a Sand called *la Barfe*.

Castro, 5 Leagues from Bilbao; no Safe-guard for Ships but with a S. W. Wind.

From Castro to Laredo 6 Leagues, W. a good Harbour for great Ships.

From Bilbao to St. Antonio W. and by N. 9 or 10 Leagues.

From St. Antonio to Cape Risgo W. 3 Leagues.

From Cape Risgo to St. Ander 5 Leagues W. and by S. a good Harbour.

Betwixt St. Ander and Cape Peñas 37 or 38 Leagues W. and these Havens betwixt them;

The Haven of St. Martin W. 5 Leagues from St. Ander; a bar'd Harbour.

St. Vincent, 5 Leagues, a bar'd Haven from St. Martin.

To Chares 3 Leagues in a bar'd Harbour.

Rio Sella 5 or 6 Leagues, a bar'd Harbour.

From thence to Villa Vicioga 2 Leagues, a bar'd Harbour.

From thence to Sanfon 7 Leagues, betwixt it and a little Island, there is a good Road.

In the W. side of Sanfon is likewise a good Road.

Orion, where Fishermen lay their Nets.

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Tres, a good Road for a S. W. Wind The Cape Peñas 3 Leagues.

From Cape Machibaca to Cape Peñas, 68 Leagues.

But coming from St. John de Luce in France, Puenterabia 4 Leagues; from thence a good Road for a N. W. Wind.

Passage is the next, a good Harbour, at 7 Fathom.

St. Sebastian 3 Leagues W. from it, a good Harbour, 5, 6, or 7 Fathom before the Town.

From hence to Cape Machibaca 13 Leagues.

It is good Anchoring in all the Bays upon the Coast of Biscay, 20 Fathom.

The Coast of Galicia.

From Cape Peñas 9 Leagues S. S. W. to Aviles, a good Harbour, and a good Road without, 7 or 8 fathom within the Harbour.

From Aviles to Ribadeo, 3 Leagues S. W. and by W. a good Harbor, 3 Fathom VVater.

N. W. from Ribadeo 8 Leagues, Cape Brilo; and within Viveira, a good Harbour, one may go about the Island of St. Cyprian. From Viveira to Ortegal 9 Leagues, W. N. W.

St. Marks, in the way a good Road, at 7 or 8 Fathom without; safe for a S. W. and a W. VVind, all the Coast along.

A good Road under Ortegal for a N. W. VVind, and a S. VV. VVind.

To Cape Prior S. VV. 11 Leagues; betwixt them is the Haven of Sequera, a good Harbour, 10 Fathom within.

Three Leagues from Cape Prior lieth Ferrol, an excellent Harbor, at 12 Fathom. S. and S. and by VV. to the Groynes, 3 Leagues, a good Harbor.

It is foul about the Island of Cizzarke.

Queres is a good Harbor for great Ships. From Cizzarke to Mongie, S. VV. and by VV. 13 Leagues.

Cocobayno hath 8 or 9 Fathom.

Rio Roxo, full of Rocks; but being in a good Harbor.

Ponte Vedra, 8 or 9 Fathom, in some places 40 Fathom deep.

You may Anchor under the Island of Bayonne, 10, 11, or 12 Fathom.

Vigo, a good Harbour, 10 or 12 Fathom before the Town.

Bayon, 5 Fathom, but a blind Rock before the Town.

Portugal.

Viana, a bar'd Haven, a narrow Chanel, but a good Road without.

Villa de Condes, a bar'd Harbour.

P p p 2 Metelema



*Mitelema*, 2 Fathom full Sea.

*Porto*, Two Channels, the S. is the best, but alters sometimes before the Town, 10 or 12 Fathom.

*Aveiro*, 2 Fathom; but within 4 or 5 Fathom.

*Peniche*, a bar'd Haven: The Islands *Berlengas* off at Sea, a good Road, at 10 Fathom.

*Lisbon* has Two great Channels going in, before you come to *Belem* Castle.

*Cizimbre* is a good Road, 15 or 16 Fathom.

*Setural* has 3 Fathom and a half at half Flood.

Cape *St. Vincent*, a good Road for a Northerly VVind.

#### *Algarva.*

*Lagos*, *Villa-Nova*, and *Faro*, all bar'd and small Havens.

*Tavila*, a crooked dry Haven, and alters every Year.

#### *Andaluzia.*

*Ayamonte* parts *Portugal* and *Spain*, and is one of the best Havens in all the *Con-dado*, 3 Fathom half Flood.

*Lepe*, or *St. Michaels*, not to be entered without a Pilot, the Channel alters so.

*Palos*, or *Salter*, 6 Fathom within; at

the Bar 3 and a half, at half Flood.

*St. Lucar* has a great Bar, but deep within, for any Ship.

*Cadiz*, a brave Bay, at 8, 10, 12 or 15 Fathom: From thence to the *Streights* Mouth 11 Leagues.

#### *Barbary.*

Opposite to this part of *Spain* lies *Barbary*, tho' the King of *Spain* has most Harbours in it, as namely *Oran*, *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, *Alaracke*, *Mamora*, *Afamor*, and *Marragoas*: The Moors have only *Sally* on the N. and *Safin* and *Santa Cruz* on the VV.

*Arzila*, the North Chanel, good Ships may enter.

*Alaracke*, the River crooked, but a good Road without, at 15 or 16 Fathom.

*Mamora*, Two Fathom at entrance, but a good Harbour within.

*Sally*, a bar'd Harbour all that Coast; a good Road at 14 or 15 Fathom.

*Marragao* must have a Pilot to bring in a Ship.

To Cape *Cantyn* 13 Leagues, only a Cape to Ride under.

*Safin*, a good Road, 10, 11, or 12 Fathom.

The Island of *Magadore*, a good Road for small Shipping.

*Santa Cruz*, such a Road as *Safin*.

### *A Project how to encrease 200 Sail of Ships.*

Leaving the Voyages usually gone in to Foreign Countries by our Nation, the next I will undertake, shall be to Sail to *Newcastle*, which we may properly call our *North-Indies*, because of the Commodity and Strength that ariseth to the Kingdom by it; as shall appear by what follows.

The chief Trade we have now a days to encrease Mariners and Shipping, is our Trade to *Newcastle*: There are yearly set to work in that Trade 200 Sail of Ships; which Ships and Mariners are once in Three weeks in the Port of *London*, ready for his Majesty's Service, if there happen any sudden occasion.

All other Trades are out of the Kingdom, and upon their Voyages in the Summer time; so that if His Majesty has occasion but to furnish two of his Ships with Men, the Kingdom cannot afford them at that time of the Year, if it were not for the Trade of *Newcastle*.

The Course how to effect this Project must be by encreasing this Trade, whereby more Ships may be set to work, (as

thus) To prohibit all Strangers To fetch Coals at *Newcastle*; and for us to make our staple at *London* or *Woolwich*, for all Strangers to fetch their Coals from thence, after we have with our own Ships brought them thither: For whereas there are 200 Sail of Stranger's Ships set to work to the Trade of *Newcastle*, the same number of Ships would be encreased, if his Majesty's Subjects had the bringing of them for *London* or *Woolwich*.

*I will now prove it to be rather beneficial than hurtful to Strangers.*

1. The Stranger will be able to perform this Voyage in 10 or 12 days to *London*, when many times he is 5 or 6 weeks to *Newcastle*; so that he shall make 3 returns for one.

2. Whereas the Stranger carries only Ballast in his Ship to *Newcastle*, because that Country cannot vent such Merchandise as they would otherwise carry, they need not come empty to *London*, for that *London* will take off all such Commodities as they bring, to the encrease of his Majesty's Customs.

3. Where-

3. Whereas most of the Strangers that come to *London*, go away in their Ballast, by which means they carry out of the Kingdom such Moneys as they receive for Freight; if the Staple of Coals be settled in *London*, they will be glad to employ their Moneys in Coals, which will be profitable to them; and we keep our Moneys in *England*, which is now carry'd away.

4. The Bar, going into *Newcastle*, and there lying on ground with their Ships, consumes and weakens them, having their weight of Coals on board; I mean the Strangers Ships, that are not built with the strength that ours are: As in *London*, their Ships will Ride and Float, and take in their Coals out of one Ship into another, which will lengthen their Ships Four Years in the ordinary age of Ships; so that they will gain the Third part of a Ship in changing in their Ports.

5. They shall not be subject to the spoil of Pirates, as hath been of late years to *Newcastle*; for Pirates never resort into the Narrow Seas, because his Majesty's Ships are continually there.

*The Stranger cannot except against this, because the like is us'd in other Countries.*

1. The *Venetians* have a Law, That no strangers shall take in Goods into their Ships, in any of their Ports, before their own Ships be laden; or else they will take the Lading out of other Ships to Lade themselves.

2. In *France* there is a Penalty, That our *Englishmen* may not bring Salt for

ther own spending; if they do, it is Forfeiture of Ship and Goods.

3. In *Calais*, they will not suffer any Passenger to go for *England* in other Vessels than their own.

4. In *Dunkirk* they have lately taken up the *Venetian* Law.

5. In *Holland* they will not suffer any Ship of another Town to take in Goods from one Town to another, but they must Transport it in a Ship of their own Town. As for example, a Ship of *Flushing* to go to *Rotterdam*, to carry to *Flushing*; but it must be sent in a Ship of their own Town: And this they do, because they will make an equality in setting their Ships and Men to work.

6. The *Biscayners* have the same Privilege over all other *Spaniards*, the *Venetians* have over Strangers; and the reason is, because *Biscay* affords all the best Mariners in the Kingdom of *Spain*; and to encourage them to Sea, this Privilege is granted them.

Now I have strengthened this Kingdom with Defensive Forces, to withstand the power of an Invasion, and shew'd the means how to invade our Neighbouring Enemies, if they become so; I will not contain my self in the temperate Zone, but seek what Projects may be produced in the Torrid Zone, where the Sun has such a scorching Power, that the Philosophers thought it was uninhabitable; and I will take *Guinea* in my way to the *East-Indies*, it being the place from whence they were first discover'd.

### *A Project in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, for the Settling her Subjects in Guinca, shewing of what Conveniency it would be. Writ in the Year 1597.*

THE neglecting the opportunity in times past, by refusing the Offer made by *Columbus*, to *Herry* the 7th. for the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, which *Spain* then accepted of, has made *Spain*, which was one of the most Inferior Kingdoms in all *Europe*, now become the mightiest in Wealth, Greatness, and Esteem; and to think to lessen them in those parts where they are grown so mighty, is now too late, their Footing is so strongly settled in *America*, and especially between the Two Tropicks, which naturally affords Gold and precious Merchandize; for in colder Climates we can expect little Gold, by what we have found in *Norrenbega*.

But many are erroneously carry'd away with an Opinion of *Guiana*, and the plenty of Gold in it, which makes them forward to settle an Habitation in that Country. The only Reason I conceive Men can have to induce them to it, is the Climate, that may afford Gold, but no proof of any hitherto found there; and I have given my Reasons of the unlikeliness of finding any there, in my Fourth Book.

My Reasons for disapproving our Planting in *Guiana* are these: First, it is in the Continent of *America*, fronting upon the *Spaniards*, whom we shall find very ill Neighbours to us. The Second, is, the Men we send must be by Sea, and that far

far off; and the number cannot be so great to cope with the *Spaniards* that are there already: And it will so much concern them, not to accept of our Neighborhood in those parts, that they will rather employ their whole Forces to remove us; it concerning them so deeply, not to have any Partakers with them in their *Indies*.

Thirdly, we shall enter upon a poor barbarous Country, the People wild and rude, that can give us no assurance of their Fidelity, being void of Understanding: The Provisions we must live on, must be carried by us; the Country having no strength but by nature, no Towns or Houses to lye in, and requires a long time, and great Charge to be furnished with Victuals, Fortifications and Buildings.

But leaving *Guiana* for the Reasons here given, I will a little handle the Planting and Inhabiting of *Guinea*, and will prove it the most convenient place for us, now in time of War, to possess and keep.

The Country is nearer to us than *Guiana*; the Trade certain to the *Portugueses* for Gold, and other Commodities, which *Guiana* affords not; our settling in it in times past, was so much feared by the *Portuguese* Kings, that they sought by all means possible to divert us; and King *John* the Second understanding of a preparation of a Fleet in *England* for a Voyage to *Guinea*; doubting it would prove prejudicial to him, sent *Rui de Sousa*, a Principal Man of his Country, Ambassador into *England*, to confirm the old League with *Edward* the 4th, and to acquaint him with the Title he had to the Signiory of *Guinea*; desiring him to lay aside his Fleet that was preparing for that Coast, under the Command and Conduct of *John Tynen*; as also not to suffer or permit any of his Subjects to Trade for *Guinea*.

The King was willing to yield to his Request, and desirous to accept of his League; for in respect of his Domestick Troubles at home, he could not have leisure to seek the enlargement of his Kingdom abroad: Thus for necessity sake our Country lost the opportunity of Trading and Inhabiting part of *Guinea* in the days of *Edward* the 4th.

And since the year 1553. there was a Voyage undertaken by the persuasion of *Antony Ames Pintado*, who being a Man of good regard with the King of *Portugal*, by false Suggestions was cast out of his Favour, and forc'd to fly his Country; and coming into *England*, he discover'd

to certain Merchants the Benefit and Commodity of *Guinea*; he having liv'd there some years himself.

The King of *Portugal* hearing of this Fleet, sought by all means to take off *Pintado*: First, by promise of great Rewards to procure his Return; which failing, his Death was practis'd by some *Portugueses* in *England*, which he having knowledge of, prevented.

Lastly, the King thought to frustrate his Designs, and Arm'd a Galeon to intercept him at Sea: This Galeon met the *English*, but durst not offer any Violence.

The Voyage was proceeded on with great hope of Good to follow; but through the wilfulness of *Windham*, who had the Command of it, a Man both Rash and Headstrong, preferring his own Stubbornness before *Pintado's* Experience, the Voyage was overthrown; for after they grew Rich by Trade, *Pintado* persuaded their return for that year; alledging the danger of Sickness by their longer stay upon that Coast: But *Windham* neglecting his Council, in few days after there grew a most contagious Sickness amongst them, that they both dy'd, and many of their Company, before they could recover home.

Doubtless if this Voyage had been discreetly carry'd, as it was projected, it had return'd great Profit for the present, and had settled a continual Trade into *Guinea* in a small space: For the Negro Kings offered them many Immunities, and a place to Dwell and Fortifie; and this hapned at the beginning of the *Portuguese* Plantation, which in little time it would have been occasion for us to have eaten them out of their Trade, and given us opportunity to discover new Lands and Trades within the Country, as the *Portugueses* did from thence into the *Indies*.

Many more Voyages have been attempted by the *English*, upon that Coast, with profitable Returns: But at the chief place, which is the *Castile de la Mina*, we could never attain to have a Trade; But if her Majesty please, yet there is no time overpast, but that the Country may be subdu'd, her Subjects settled in it, and the Trade maintain'd, with a yearly and certain Benefit to her Majesty, as now it is to the King of *Spain*.

The place of importance for Strength and Wealth, is the *Castile de la Mina*, the taking whereof makes all the rest of the Country Tributary of course; it being the only place defended by the *Portugueses*, and where they have settled the chief Trade of the whole Country.

*John*



When these things shall be known to the Negroes, it will be a means, not only to desire Peace and Friendship with us, but to animate and provoke them to rise against their Masters.

In this Journey there must be special care and choice in Victualing, both for the Goodness Quantity and Diversity; for our ordinary Victualing with Salt Meats breeds a putrefaction of Blood in hot Countries, and is one great cause of their Sicknels in those parts: The Men that go, ought to have flit and change of Apparel; for the nature of the Serene, is to rot any kind of Garment.

Tho' this Voyage was not undertaken in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, which was the active Age for such Enterprizes, and the time gave great advantage, by the weak Provision the King of Spain had thereabouts; yet since the War ceas'd,

by our laborious Endeavours we have attain'd to a profitable Trade on that Coast of Guinea.

I must confess I much labour'd to put this Voyage in execution at the time we were Authoriz'd by a War with Spain, to justify our doings; and to shew my willingness the more, at my release out of my Impisonment in Spain, in 1591. I procur'd a Rutter of the Coast of Guinea, that shew'd the Distance, the Height, and Course from Port to Port; the Dangers, and how to shun them; the Conditions of the People; the Commodities the Country affords, and what they desire from us; which I think not fit to insert in this Book, for making the Volume too spacious and great, but will proceed to a Design of the *West-Indies*, which was presented by me, and promis'd by the Queen to have it undertaken, as I projected it.

### *A Project of a Voyage to the East-Indies, with a design to have had Footing in the hithermost part thereof.*

I Will prosecute my Voyage from Guinea to the *East-Indies* with my ensuing Projects, as *Bartholomew Dias* proceeded in his Discovery; and the first Port I will arrive at, shall be *Mosambique*, a place of great importance and relief to the *Portugueses*, both going, and coming from the *Indies*.

If her Majesty will please really of her self, or by joining with her Merchants, to undertake a Voyage to the *East Indies*, it will prove a great Annoyance to the King of Spain and his Subjects, if the Projects following be well undertaken and prosecuted.

The only good we are to expect of this *East-India* Attempt, must be the provident proceeding in our first Voyage; as well to settle a certain and secure Trade, as to have Habitation in the Country.

And therefore to go abruptly, and to offer them a Trade, considering we are, or shall be disgrac'd by the *Portugueses* and *Hollanders*, were a thing uncertain, and full of hazard; for tho' those two Nations love not one another, yet to bar us of our resort thither, they would not stick to cast many foul Aspersions on us.

For prevention whereof it were necessary her Majesty made choice of an able and well experienc'd Gentleman, who, besides the Charge of the Voyage, should have the Employment of an Ambassador.

His Message and Letters should import

the Greatness of her Majesty's State, her Power by Land and Sea, her Protection of the *Netherlands*, and the several Disgraces and Overthrows she has given the King of Spain, whereby it is to be supposed, that some of the *Portugueses* his Subjects, in their secret Hate to our Nation, not being able otherwise to revenge themselves, have most unjustly scandaliz'd our Proceedings: Therefore wishing them that they would receive, what the writes for a Truth, coming from so Mighty a Prince; and to give no further Credit to the *Portugueses*, than as the behaviour of her Subjects shall deserve.

What Presents or Obligations of Friendship, her Majesty should send in sign of her Love, I will omit; only there must be care to win such Persons as have most Credit with the Princes with whom you shall Traffique: And the Conditions and Articles settled, we desire that an Ambassador may be sent to her Majesty, with offer of Pledges for his safe Return.

The Exceptions against this Voyage, are, the great Distance from England; the Danger of the People, having no Religion to engage themselves by; the Force of the *Portuguese* by their long continuance there; and the Commodities we must send, which are fine Silver and Oil, the one we may ill spare, the other our Country doth not naturally yield.

The method to provide against these Inconveniences, is, whilst there is no Suspicion



cion of us, to possess and keep some Town of the *Portugueses* nearest us, it will prove a great refreshing to us, and make the journey both short and pleasant. Secondly, we shall be the more respected by the People, when they see we have footing so near them. Thirdly, we shall weaken the *Portugueses*, and prevent their Carracks wintering at *Mosambique*, if they fail doubling the Cape of Good Hope. The reason I prefer *Mosambique* before the rest of the *Indies*, is the nearness to us, and where their Carracks certainly Water, in their way to the *Indies*; and the time is so certainly known to us, that we shall undoubtedly intercept them.

The Riches of the Town are both Gold and Merchandize; for the Governors and Dwellers of *Mosambique* are allow'd only the Trade of *Sofala*, lying under that Jurisdiction. The keeping of the Town will be easie, the dwelling in it safe; for it is seated in a strong and defensible Island; it has plenty of Victuals, Corn excepted; the Town is fairly built, with many Commodities to it, and in every point like the Castle *de la Mina* I have formerly describ'd.

When we are Masters of the Town, and have fortify'd it, and possess'd our selves of the Carracks, the Enemy will be weaken'd and unprovided of Entertainment in their way to the *Indies*; for that it is the only place where they have Refreshment.

The *Portugueses* use this place for their Refuge and Succour, not for Trade, but

only what the Governor drives with *Sofala*, as I have shew'd; but we will make it our chiefest Town of Mart, and thereby our Voyage shall be made short and easie; for our Ships that go thither, shall fetch away the Goods that our Ships bring from *Goa* and other parts of the *Indies*; by means whereof, every 12 or 13 Months, we shall have a certain return of our Adventures.

The way of proceeding upon this Expedition, must be to send an extraordinary number of Sailors, besides the Soldiers, the Sailors to Man the Carracks, the Soldiers to defend the Town; they must depart from hence in *February*, and be at *Mosambique* by the last of *June*, which will be 20 days before the Carracks arrival.

The Money and Goods taken in the Four Carracks, may amount well nigh to 6000 Tun in Bulk, which may be there unladen and kept in Store houses, and vented into the *Indies* by our Ships yearly; for they are such Commodities as will keep, and the Return of them in Truck will be more commodious than five times the bringing of them for *England*.

Our hope is no less in meeting their Carracks in their Return for *Portugal*, at the Islands of *St. Helena*, where they never fail to water; and if we have the happiness to enjoy them both going and coming, we shall be Masters of an inestimable Wealth, and bring the *Portuguese* Dwellers in the *East-Indies* to such an Extremity by it, that they must be forced either to Revolt, or accept of our Trade.

### *A Project and Reasons against our East-India Voyage, fully Answer'd before the Trade began.*

THE *Hollanders*, who are a People both Apprehensive and Laborious in what they conceive or undertake, having light given them by the Two Voyages of *Sir Francis Drake* and *Mr. Candlish*, what the *East-Indies* and *South-Sea* afforded in Wealth; and being likewise Seconded and Encourag'd by the Solicitation of some of their own Nation, who put themselves into the Service of the *Portugueses* trading into the *East-Indies*, and whilst they were there, understood the Depth and Secrecy of it, revealing it at their Return; were so far prevailed upon, as to spare no Cost to make Tryal where there was likelihood of Profit; and accordingly began a Trade into the furthestmost part of the *Indies*, and have yearly since continu'd it with various Success.

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Not long after, we, who are rather Imitators than first Enterprizers of things, where there is not a present return of Profit, finding by the Success of the *Hollanders*, that the Voyage was worth our Embracing, by the Rumour of Gain spread abroad; tho' in this, as many other Reports, Fame proves as often false as true; thought fit to venture something upon it. And accordingly our *English* Merchants gathered their Joint Stocks together, and from thence forward to this very day they have settled a Trade in the *East-Indies*; and what it has produc'd you shall understand at the end of this Argument.

But so far as every Innovation commonly finds opposition, from some out of partiality, and from others as enemies to Novelty.

Q q q

Novelty; for this Voyage, tho' at the first it carry'd a great name, and hope of Profit by the word *India*, and example of *Holland*, yet was it writ against, and answer'd, as in the ensuing Discourse shall appear.

1. Object. *This Voyage will be an occasion of exhausting our Silver, which is already too much diminish'd by the Irish Wars, and by the Hollanders drawing of it and our Gold over into the Low Countries.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. I confess this is the strongest Reason of the Seven, that are alledg'd; yet I think not but there may be means to draw out of other Countries, such a quantity of Silver, as would furnish this Voyage yearly; if there could be means to keep our own Silver from Transportation into the *Low Countries*: For it is to be fear'd, that the best part of Silver the *Hollanders* send into the *East-Indies*, is drawn out of *England*. But this Objection is fully answer'd by the Project of *Mosambique*.

2. Object. *It will be the decay of many a good Mariner, in the Climate there, and by the way being so untemperate, that either the one half, or the Third part of our People cannot but perish.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. This Trade, in my Opinion, will be so far from diminishing our Seamen, that no Voyage will or can breed better Mariners; for long Voyages make the skillfullest and best Navigators. But whereas the unnatural Heat is alledged for the cause of Death of Men, we find by Experience, that the greatest Infection and Death of People is not whilst they abide in the Hot Countries but in the entering into the Cold out of the Hot, which comes principally for want of Cloaths in poor Mariners, as I have said sufficiently in my Discourse of *Guinea*.

3. Object. *It will be the decay of Shipping; because, unless they be sheath'd with Lead, they prove so Worm-eaten, that they are never after serviceable, except it be for one voyage only.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. I cannot see how this can any way prove the decay of Shipping, but rather the maintainance of greater Ships than have been us'd among our Merchants; for if they mean to maintain an yearly Trade, they cannot have less than 8 or 9 Ships of 1000, or 1200 Tun each; which upon occasion of Service, are of greater strength than the whole Shipping of *London*; and where there are so many good Ships set to work, it will be a maintenance both of Ships and Men; for as People dye, double the number will be bred and harden'd by these Voyages.

All this while we speak by Conjecture, not by Experience; for what greater Tri-

al can there be, than of the *Portuguese* Ships, who make their Voyage a Year and a half long; and yet most of them make 12 or 13 Voyages: After this proportion they continue much longer than ours; yea I have known one Carrack make 24 Voyages.

But if you allow that sheathing them will continue them the longer, we may better do it in *England* than *Portugal*, because our Countrey affords it.

4. Object. *It will hinder the vent of Cloth, for whereas now our Merchants may put over their 6 Months Bills of Debts, as well for Spices as other Merchandize, thereby to make the more speedy Return; our East-India Merchants will be able to afford them so cheap as our own doors, that our Merchants and Adventurers shall be forc'd to abstain from bringing in of Spices, and so want oftentimes present Commodities to make return of.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. Here we speak generally, that it will hinder the vent of Cloth, because the Merchants may put over their 6 Months Bills for Spices; but the Spices being afforded better cheap at home, the Merchant must be forc'd to leave off his Trade, as tho' our chief vent of Cloth were in exchange of Spices: But I conceive that in most Countries where they utter our Cloth, Merchants do not return Spices; as into *Barbary*, *Italy*, *France*, &c. From some parts of the *East-Country* we have some Spices, but very little, which was wont to come from *Turky* to *Venice*, and so dispers'd into the *East Countries*; but since our Trade to *Turky* it has not been much.

What inconveniences can then grow of this Trade, but to our *Turky* Company? which if they cannot have other Commodities, than Spices, to exchange for our Cloth, it were better for the Common-wealth to dissolve that Trade, than that to the *East-Indies*, which is the Spring-head from whence Spices flow.

As we are now serv'd with Spices, it is at the Third hand, and at an unreasonable Rate, which enriches some private Men only; but surely if this Trade to the *East-Indies* were encourag'd, and carry'd with equality, the Common-wealth would be the better for it; inasmuch that all manner of Spices would be far cheaper than now they are. If any find prejudice by this Trade, it will be the *Turks* themselves; when they shall see all *Europe* serv'd with *Indian* Commodities, directly by Sea, their Trade will be overthrown.

5. Object. *They will bring in such quantities of Spices as will lie too long upon their hands, and not be vented in due time; as*

was seen by the Pepper of the Carrack, which notwithstanding a general Restraint against the bringing in of all other Pepper, to the hindrance of many a Merchant; yet it was a Year before it could be made away.

*Answer.* Allow that our Trade will decay in Turkey, especially for Spices; and that we be serv'd with no other Spices than shall be brought out of the East Indies, all Casualties excepted, for you must understand they will sometime stay long for their Lading; some of their Ships, it is likely, may miscarry, others not return justly at the time appointed; so that I make no doubt but England, Scotland and Ireland will be able to take off a great part: if not the East-Country and Russia will utter more than we can spare.

Whereas you refer your self to the example of the Carrack, it is thus to be answer'd: They that bought the Spices of the Queen in the Carrack, condition'd, that till they were vented, none should be brought into England; by which restraint, and they having engros'd the whole quantity of the Spices, before they made Sale of them they provided that the whole Store should be spent within the Realm, and then they forc'd every Man to pay what they list'd, knowing we could not otherwise be supply'd; and this proceeded out of Abuse, for when the greatest quantity of the Carrack's Spices was unfold, then were they at the greatest rate: And to the contrary, if there had been no Spices in England when the Carrack came in, and that they had not been Engros'd by some few, no doubt but in a Year they had been wholly vented.

6. Object. *The Original of this Voyage was secret Malice of some against the Turkish Company, and a greedy desire of private Gain; the effect whereof will be such a molestation to our Neighbours the Hollanders, and such Hatred we shall reap at their hands, as all our Gain shall not be able to countervail this one Inconvenience.*

*Answer.* We are not to enter into the Hatred or private Grudges of Men, but into the Commodity or Discommodity that will arise to our Nation by this Trade: If it be more profit to maintain Traffique into the East-Indies than into Turkey, I see no reason that for the benefit of some private Men of the Turkey Company, we should nourish the one and neglect the other; But methinks if there were no more reason of Gain than out of Spleen to some Merchants of the Turkey-Company, they should not adventure so great a Stock, without a hope of Profit.

We see by Experience what Commodity the Portugueses have made this Hundred and odd Years, by that Trade, and we conceive the Hollanders find a great Commodity by it, which may give us satisfaction in it: Neither do I see that the Hollanders have more advantage to persevere in that Voyage than we.

For Offence to be given the Hollanders, I see not how in Right and Justice they can except against us; for they can challenge nothing of Discovery, since of the Two we gave them light thereof by the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Mr. Candish, who had been there before there was ever mention of Holland or Hollanders.

Secondly, they are not Subjects to them, with whom we shall Traffique, but free Princes of themselves, that may make Election and Choice with whom they will entertain Leagues.

Thirdly, we may with better Reason, and we have better means to barr the Hollanders of Traffique with Turkey, Barbary and Russia, than they to restrain us of this; for we were the first Light-givers of those Trades.

And therefore if all her Majesty's Gracious Respects to them, should in the end be recompenc'd with Ingratitude, the World would confels their Unworthiness and evil requital of so many Favours; but suppose they should do their worst against us, we know how to be even with them by many advantages we have over them, as before has been declar'd.

7. Object. *Lastly, the Money thus Transported pays no Custom at all to her Majesty; nor are the Merchants bound to return home so much Treasure in value or quantity, but only upon their bare words.*

*Answer.* Tho' the Money, upon the Transportation of it, pay no Custom, yet the Merchandize which is bought with that Money, pays a great and extraordinary Custom; and Her Majesty's Custom will be increas'd by it: But to take away all Exceptions to this Point, the Merchants offer to become bound to bring into the Land so much Silver as shall be Transported in this Voyage.

And seeing therefore the particular Objections are answer'd, of exhausting our Treasure, consuming our Mariners, decaying our Ships, hindering the vent of our Cloth, bringing in Commodities not utterable in due time, that Malice was not the cause of it, that in Justice it cannot be prejudicial to the Hollanders, that it will be no decreasing of Customs, and the Silver we send not to be our own; all these things being rightly weighed and

Q q q 2 considered

consider'd, I refer my self to to the Censure of any indifferent Man, whether the Objections be fully answer'd, or not.

What was written in the former Discourse, as well by the Objector as the Answerer, was but conjectural, till Time and Experience, which are the Discoverers of Truth, resolve the Question doubred of.

But now having 20 and odd years Trial, what this Voyage to the *East-Indies* has produc'd, a time sufficient to judge of the Conveniency or Inconveniency to the State, or the Commodity or Discommodity to the Common-wealth, and the Profit or Disprofit to the Adventurer; I will thereupon collect out of the Reasons aforesaid, betwixt the Objector and Answerer, and how near their Opinion sort to the Truth; as also what Errors, and by whose means they prov'd prejudicial to the Subject.

The first Objection of exhausting our Coin was answer'd, and confess'd to be the strongest Argument of all the rest: But a Third Person, whom I term the Moderator, says, That if the Company had provided, as they promis'd, and as they might easily have done, to have brought the quantity of Silver out of Foreign parts, and have put it ashore at *Dover*, for all People to behold, till their Ships of the *Indies* had pass'd by, and then had imbarqu'd it, this would have taken away all occasion of repining by the Subject, that their Coin was Transported out of the Kingdom to uphold the *East-India* Trade; if this had been really done, without evasion or cunning, the Objection had been salv'd, and our Moneys found no Impediments to the Voyage.

The Second, was the Death of our Men; and tho' this was answer'd fully, yet to confirm the Opinion of the Answerer, there cannot be a better Proof than Experience, that Peoples Bodies do as well agree with, and return from the *Indies* in health, as from shorter Voyages; and that whosoever has been there once, desires to go thither again: Some there are that have made 6 or 7 Voyages, and found no distemper or difference in their Bodies; and if there were no greater Objection than this of Health, it were tolerable, and worthy to be encourag'd.

To the Third, that it will decay Shipping, the Answerer disproves it very suf-

ficiently; but indeed the greatest abuse of the Voyage shall now appear in the covetousness and desire of Gain in our Merchants, according to the nature of *Englishmen*, who strive to be presently rich, and have not patience to stay a time for it.

The bane of our *East-India* Voyage was, that they exceeded the Proportion of 8 or 9 Ships, treble, to the number of those that were projected: This was the decay of Timber, which this Kingdom will hereafter smart for; for the loss of Men and Money, it will be regain'd in an age, when Timber must be growing many Ages.

This Proportion of 8 or 9 Ships would not have overcloy'd the Trade, either there or here; nor have brought the Commodities of the *East Indies* to so great a price as now they are there; Neither would it have drawn so mighty Stocks of Money by the Company to maintain it, whereby all the Kingdom find themselves agriev'd, imputing the want of Money to this cause: Thus it is apparent, that the Voyage is not the cause of the Inconveniency, but the ill ordering and managing of it by the Merchants.

The Fifth Objection is imputed to Malice against the *Turky* Company, and the Molestation we shall offer the *Hollanders*. The Moderator alledges, that there are very few of the *Turky* Merchants that are not admitted with their Stocks into the *East-India* Company, and all Questions accommodated; whereby their Malice ceas'd: And to the point of the *Hollanders*, we see that it is not that Trade alone, but all others in general they seek to deprave and deprive us of; and it is true, that it is Trade that sets their Hearts against us, not only in our own Traffique, but that of late we have debarr'd them of their Trades, which before, out of cunning, they only Engros'd and possess; as namely, that of *Spain*, and the King of *Spain's* Dominions, whilst they had subtly engag'd us in a War; but now that our Peace debars them of it, and that we enjoy it our selves, these are the motives of their Hates to us; and as for their Love it is to be valu'd according to the Profit or Use they can make of us, as in the next and last Book I have at large declar'd.

This shall suffice for our *East-India* Trade; but I will still have relation to the *East-Indies*.

*A Project how to intercept the Ships of Cambaya, that Trade yearly into the Red Sea.*

Tho' the Trade of the *East-Indies* was first found out and prosecuted by the *Portugueses*, and in these later times frequented by us and the *Hollanders*; yet can we not say, but that the Natives of these remote parts had use of Navigation, Commerce and Traffique with one another, long before the resort of the *Europeans* amongst them; as is apparent by the continual Intercourse and Trade to this day, betwixt those of *Suratt*, Subjects to the Great *Mogul*, and *Ziden*, a part within the *Red Sea*, which is commonly called the Fleet of *Mecca*.

The Vessels which pass these Seas we cannot properly call Ships, because their Build is much differing from Ships; they are neither able to brook the Waves of a grown Sea, or of Force to withstand the Power of an Enemy: These Vessels are carry'd with a certain settled and constant Wind, both outward and homeward, as I have declar'd, when I had occasion to speak of the nature of the Winds called the *Monsons*; yet as ugly, and as unshapely as these Vessels are to our Eyes, they Transport inestimable Riches and Wealth, betwixt the places aforesaid.

And whensoever his Majesty shall please to prohibit the Trade of his Subjects to the *East-Indies*, and that the Merchant shall be weary of it, which will be according to their Loss or Gain: For the nature of a covetous Merchant is like an Usurer that values and esteems his own Profit, more than the conveniency or benefit of the State; they are not satisfy'd with abundance, for the more they have the more they desire.

But leaving the Passion and Humour of such Men who are only for themselves, let us enter into the true Condition of this Kingdom, and the way to benefit his Majesty, as well as his Subjects have been benefited by the *East-India* Trade; and here I present a Design to his Majesty, if he shall prohibit the Trade of the *East-Indies*, as have said before.

It is not like other Sea-Actions, that Enemies are Authoriz'd to take from one another in a broad and Ocean Sea, where Ships are hard to be met, or shall contest with Force and Strength; or in such weather as shall forbid Ships boarding; or such

Winds as shall make it difficult in fetching up a Chace; or such Vessels as shall make a doubt of the Riches of their Lading.

My Project is to encounter the *Cambaya* Fleet, in their return out of the *Red Sea*, in their Course, from thence to *Suratt*: These Vessels are not freighted with Merchandize of mean and base condition, but with the richest that *Egypt* and *Turkey* can afford: Their strength not able to resist; their sailing in a Sea that never endur'd Storm; their Winds and Seasons so certain, as some of our *East-India* Ships can put us out of doubt of, who have heretofore friendly visited them.

The Wealth in them, and the ease in taking them, being thus known, we are to think of the hurt and mischief that may ensue upon it, and to ballance indifferently, whether it is to be embrac'd or rejected for conveniency sake.

There are Two sorts of People, and both Infidels, that will find themselves agriev'd if this Design be set on foot: The one is the *Grand Signior*, into whose Country they resort, to barter their *East-India* Commodities, and make a return of Merchandize there exchanged, to the great increase of Customs, that accrue to the Great Turk by it.

The other is the Great *Mogul*, King of *Cambaya*, but of late years known to us by the Traffique of our Merchants; they are the Subjects of this King that trade into the *Red Sea*, who besides his Customs and other Adventures in the Voyage, will receive detriment by the loss of his Ships, which no doubt will exasperate him.

These are the Considerations on which depends the conveniency or inconveniency to ground this Voyage upon; whether the forbearance of that Trade by us, or the Profit that will redound by it, will carry away the stronger Force.

Two Ships of his Majesty's, for Countenance and Strength, will be sufficient, with choice of Victuals, and other Provisions for Health; the rest of the Ships to be Rated in Tonnage, according to the proportion that may be judged to contain the Goods taken in the Ships aforesaid.



*A Project of the Genoeses to have brought the East-India Commodities into Muscovy by Land in 1520.*

**A** 5 Commerce and Trade draws a Concourse of People where Commodity appears, and by consequence Acquaintance, and Civility, Knowledge of one anothers Customs and Countries, and the ways and means to direct them thither; so did this Trade of the *East-Indies*, most especially being so lately discover'd, and yielding such great Wealth and Riches, a thing not dream'd of, till time gave light thereof, by the *Portugueses* new Discovery.

The way, and the nearest way that could be thought of, to attain to the *East-Indies*, was after attempted by several Nations, sometimes by the Cape of *Good Hope*, other some by the Straights of *Magellan*, and then again from *New-Spain*; and lastly, by the North-West Passage, which shews a great willingness and desire People had to search out the Secrets of those Countries, which they found so plentifully stored with all manner of Riches.

And because the *Genoeses* were a People not much accusom'd to Voyages in the Ocean, wanting both Ships, Sailors, and Harbors for such Navigations; yet because they would not be accounted slothful or idle, and seeing it was an Age of

Wit, in which every Nation sought to exceed one another; They in the Year 1520. propos'd a Journey by Land from the *East-Indies* to *Muscovy* and *Russia*, and one *Paul Centeraneo*, a Merchant of *Genoa*, was employ'd in it, and went with Authority from that State to *Basilina*, then King of *Russia*, with offer to bring that Trade thither: He shew'd the Rivers and Countries they should Travel through, and acquainted him that the *Portugueses*, who serv'd all *Europe* with Spices and Drugs, brought them by Sea, whereby they became mouldy, and lost their true Operation and Virtue; tho' indeed it was otherwise; for after the *Portugueses* loaded their Goods in their Carracks, they never mov'd or unshipp'd them, till they arriv'd at their Port of *Lisbon*; as on the contrary, if they should come to *Muscovia*, they were to pass many Rivers, where they should unlade and lade again, to the spoil and loss of their Merchandize, besides many dangers they should suffer by the *Arabian* Thieves; which the King of *Russia* did wisely foresee, and consider, and therefore refus'd and rejected that offer made by *Paul Centeraneo*; and it was never after attempted or propos'd.

*A Project how to attain to Tombagatu and Gago, the richest parts of the World for Gold, seated in Africk, and never yet Discover'd by Christians.*

**M**Any and several Attempts have been made by the *English* Trading into *Guinea*, to arrive at the Two places aforesaid; being incited to it by the Fame of the Abundance of Gold they yield, and the fineness of it, by the daily proof that is made of it in *Barbary*, whither it is brought in Truck of mean Commodities.

The King of *Morocco* or *Barbary* yearly sends certain Camels, which pass with much Hunger, Pains and Peril, in going and coming thither; and many times they are taken with violent Storms and Southerly Winds, which swallow and devour them, like the Sea; but yet this danger does not hinder the Trade, because the Profit is so great, that a Camel laden with Salt will return his Load in Gold. And this is the Encouragement our *Englishmen* have had to attempt it by Rivers, but have still failed, either by death of the

Undertakers, by want of Victuals, by the Encounter of the wild Negroes, or shallowness of the Water to hinder their Passage.

I will set down the Errors I conceive of the former Undertakings, and deliver my Opinion, how it is fitting to Enterprize it with little Charge or Hazard to the Actors or Adventurers, by example of the *Portugueses* happy and honourable Attempt made upon the Discovery of the *East-Indies*, which gave the first light to all succeeding Discoveries, as I have touch'd in my Fourth Book.

King *John* the Second of *Portugal* wisely imagining with himself, that the Riches of the *East-Indies* brought to us of *Europe*, by the way of the *Red Sea*, might have a Passage from thence by an open Sea, if it could be discover'd, and the Trade convey'd from thence directly to *Portugal*, without

without being beholding to Infidels, as then we were; he caus'd Timber to be Fell'd to build Two small Ships for that Discovery of the *East-Indies*.

In the mean time whilst he was employ'd in furnishing the Pinnaces for this Voyage, he employ'd these Persons following to discover by Land the State of the *Indians*, and to get what Light he could to encourage his Sea-intention.

The first Man he employ'd was a Franciscan Friar, who for want of Language return'd from *Jerusalem*, without effecting any thing. The next he sent were Two Servants of his own, both of them skilful in the *Arabick* Language; the one call'd *Pedro de Govillam*, the other *Alphonso de Paiva*. They left *Portugal* the 7th. of May, 1487, and coming to the *Red Sea*, parted company: *Alphonso* went to *Prester John's* Country, where he died: *Govillam* travell'd to *Calicut* and other places of the *East-Indies*, where he fully inform'd himself of those Countries.

In his Return from thence he met with Two Jews, the King of *Portugal* had sent to meet and advise him to inform himself thoroughly of the State of the *East-Indies*.

One of these Two Jews he sent back to the King, with a Relation of the State of those Countries; the other he carried with him to *Ormus*, from whence he sent him likewise to the King with a further Relation, and himself travell'd to *Prester John's* Country, where the King whose Name was *Alexander*, treated him courteously; who dying, the succeeding King detain'd him Prisoner, where he died, and never sent more to the King of *Portugal*.

The King being truly inform'd by the Relation of the Two Jews, he hasten'd the Preparation of his Two Ships; which Voyage prov'd successful by the Discovery of the *East-Indies*. By the example of this Land Undertaking, we are to prosecute our Intention for *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, and to labour how to arrive at them Two Places by Land, that we may with more ease, after we are there arriv'd, find out a Passage by a River when the Country is made known to us.

The Men by whom we are to work our Design, must be the Black People of that Country, whose Complexions are suitable to those of *Africk*; for White Men would seem Monsters to them, and soon be destroy'd by them: The Climate of the Country, the Diet, the Travels, the avoiding other Dangers and Inconveniencies, the Negroes can better

suffer than White Men can undergo.

Therefore I advise, seeing what we do, must be by the Travel and Endeavours of the Negroes of the Country that every *English* Ship that goes yearly to *Guinea*, may be enjoyn'd to bring from thence Three Negroes, with Care to treat them civilly and kindly, that at their return they may have just cause to commend our usage of them.

These Negroes being arriv'd in *England*, may be sent into several Cities and Corporations, Two or Three of them in company together, where they may be set into Free Schools, to be taught the *English* Tongue, to Write and Read, and the true Worship of God, with necessary Provision for their Apparel and Diet; and when they are thus made capable to perform so much as they shall be employ'd about in their own Country, then to send them back again, there to follow such Instructions as shall be give them, for finding out the way and passage to the Two places aforesaid; and after they return from thence, to assign them a place where they shall find a Ship and Men to entertain them: For the only thing that is to be requir'd in this Voyage, is to discover a way to *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, and to know the true State of that Country, and a means how to settle a Trade with the People thereof.

The Rivers by which we must make this Attempt, are *Senegal* and *Gambia*; and tho' there be two Entrances into the met they make but one River, and betwixt them compass an Island.

I confess there have been many Undertakings by the *English*, to find a Passage by the River, to *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, but to little purpose, as it has been carry'd. Therefore my Design and Desire is, that what follows may be put in execution.

Besides the ordinary Ships that trade to *Guinea*, and make their Return for *England*, I wish that two Pinnaces, each of 20 Tuns, and two substantial Shallops, be appointed to follow the Discovery in the Rivers, to be well Mann'd, sufficiently Victual'd and Arm'd, to stay out a whole Year, with several Commodities the Negroes desire to have, to allure and entice them to us.

These Two Barques are to Sail so high into the Rivers, till they be stopp'd by Shoals, and then to cause the Two Shallops to proceed further with their Oars; for the greater way they go by Water, the less Journey the Negroes shall have to travel by Land.

These

These Ships and Shallops are to make their abode thereabouts the space of 9 or 10 Months, and to employ themselves in Traffique, to know the State of the Country, to learn the Condition of the People, to win them by Civility; and by content

of them to obtain a place ashore to inhabit and fortifie, and make it a Rendezvous for a yearly Course and Trade ever after, as the *Cañle de la Mina* is to the *Portugueses*.

### A Project for a Private Voyage to Guinea.

There is much more use to be made of the Country of *Africk*, than either we, or any other Nation have labour'd to find out, which I do impute to the unhealthfulness of the Climate, and the neglect of People in not labouring to bring the Blacks to Civility, by courteous handling and treating them; as I have touch'd in my precedent Project.

And because I would have nothing attempted that may not bring a possibility of Profit, I here present a Private Voyage with one Ship of 200 Tuns, and 4 or 5 Shallops, to be quarter'd and carry'd in her.

It is not unknown to as many as Trade to the *East-Indies*, what Succour they find in the Bay of *Saldaña*, near the Cape of *Good Hope*, especially of Oxen, where there are the greatest Abundance, and the biggest of Body in the World; and the Seas thereabouts afford great quantity of Whales, out of which may be made Train Oil.

My Directions in this Voyage are to buy and freight a *Holland Ship* of 200 Tuns burthen, with the number of Shallops afore said, to carry in her to the value of 2000 or 3000 *l.* Cargo, 200 Tun in Cask, with all things necessary to kill and boil the Whales; and 3 or 4 Butchers to fley their Beefs.

The place whither they must first resort, is the Bay of *Saldaña* afore said; but in their way, to touch at the *Ile of Moy*, at *Cape Verde*, there to take Salt to save their Hides they shall truck for: At their coming to this Bay, some of their Men must be employ'd in Traffique with the Blacks, some in killing their Cattle for their Hides; and others in Filthing the Whales, and making Oil of them: And as they shall find a decay of either Oxen or Whales, then to remove to the Northward, where I doubt not but they shall find a sufficient store of both; as also Gold and other rich Commodities, to settle Trade ever after.

### A Project how to Trade to the West-Indies for Tobacco, with the Consent of the King of Spain, or some one Merchant his Subject.

THE Colour of our *English Ships* resorting to the *West-Indies* in time of Peace, is to seek a Trade for Tobacco; and under that pretence they have committed divers Piracies, tho' the King of *Spain* has us'd all the strict means and courses possible to avoid that mischief: He has made it Death by Law, if any of his Subjects either directly or indirectly Traffique, or have Commerce with any Forreign Nation; and has often us'd the Rigour of that Law, as well upon his own Subject that have offended in that kind, as upon Strangers with whom they have traded: and yet Gain is such a Temptation, that in some places the *Spaniards* will not for Traffique, tho' they run into imminent danger.

But to take away the occasion of this abuse, and that *England* may be serv'd

with better Tobacco than any other growing elsewhere; and that the King of *Spain* for his part, receive no prejudice in his Customs for Tobacco, this is the way that I devise.

That a Merchant of *Spain* and another of *England* do make a Contract, that the *English* shall take off such a quantity of Tobacco, and at a certain Rate agreed on, and to receive it at one of the *Tercera Islands*, which will be an ease to the Navigation, having the less way to sail, and by consequence, the less danger of the Sea and Pyrates; and this to be done with a Ship of the *Spaniards*, and mann'd with *Spaniards*; and for such Commodities as shall be brought out of *England*, to deliver either at the Islands afore said, or in any Port of *Spain*, at the election of the *Spaniards*, whereby the King of *Spain* shall

shall not be deceiv'd of his Custom, either going or coming.

When the *Spaniards* have a certain vent for their Tobacco, which is the thing they desire, they will not hazard to Trade with any strange Nation by stealth; and when the *English* perceive they are out of hope to truck for Tobacco in the *Indies*, they will be disappointed of Trade, and in a little time make them become Strangers in those parts; and this is the reason that must be us'd for the King of *Spain* to grant his consent to it.

And when we shall be served with Tobacco, and shall have proof of the goodness of it, in comparison of the beastly stinking Tobacco that comes from other places, People will desire it for wholesomeness, and detest the other; which when our Planters at *Virginia*, and other Colonies, shall find their Tobacco undervalued, it will be a cause that the People will apply themselves to more beneficial

Labours than they now do in Planting Tobacco only.

And because Tobacco shall be better us'd and made up, to make it the more vendible in *England*, (for the Goodness and Badness of Tobacco consists in the ordering of it) we desire that two or three *Englishmen*, practis'd in that Art, of making up Tobacco, may be hir'd by the *Spaniards*, and carry'd to the *Indies*, to make it Merchantable there where it grows; so shall we be sure to serve *England* with none but choice Tobacco, where it will give a better Prize to the Seller, and more Content to the Buyer.

Both the Kingdoms and Subjects of *England* and *Spain*, will receive Benefit by this Project, if they be govern'd by the Directions aforesaid; and if there be a question of the King of *Spain's* consenting to it, it is no more than Merchants within themselves may contrive, without making Request or Suit to either of the Two Kings.

*An Answer to a Project of the Hollanders for surprizing the Island of Canaria, and that of St. Thome, under the Equinoctial, An. 1599. in reproof of some of my Country-men, who seek to prefer their Actions before ours.*

IT is wonderful to behold and see the Mutability and Uncertainty of this envious spiteful Age of ours; and amongst many intolerable Vices that Reign, Emulation is most ripe: For let a Man be advanced by Virtue, in his Vocation, as namely a Scholar to Promotion and Dignity by his Learning, it breeds a secret Hate in all Scholars against him: The Soldier for his Service, makes all Soldiers Envy him inwardly: The Courtier, preferred by Favour of the Prince, makes all Courtiers repine at his Fortune, and enter into examination of his Merit above others; as tho' they should be Judges of their own worth. This shews the Corruption of Mens Minds in our time; for Virtue was never envy'd but by Men of Vice; nor Honour despis'd, but by them that could not judge of it.

Envy stops not at private Grudges; for very often it enflames the Hearts of Princes against the greatness of other Potentates; it Reigns in one Kingdom against the Prosperity and Welfare of another; but this kind of Emulation I confess to be tolerable; for the example of one good Prince may make another Virtuous; and the example of one Kingdom, make another strive and endeavour to equal it.

But the fault I find, is with this malicious Humour you shall find in my ensuing Discourse; where, in this Expedition of the *Hollanders*, my Countrymen are apter to give them Honour, and to attribute good Success to them, it being an Action of their own, than if they had join'd with us.

I know not what to impute it to; whether Envy to others, because they could not be Actors themselves; or a natural Love to the *Holland* Nation, not perfectly knowing them; or to their popular Government, because they have cast off all subjection to Monarchy: But sure I am, that their Partiality has discover'd a great deal of Envy, as they shall know by what follows; for I will so unmask them, that they shall not deny it.

After their engaging us in a War with *Spain*, it is known to as many as know any thing, That notwithstanding our Prohibition of Trade with *Spain*, which continu'd 18 Years, they never committed any hostile Act by Sea against *Spain*. nor had Encounter with Fleet or Ships of *Spain* but to the contrary, supply'd them with all manner of Provisions and Ammunition against us.

Then seeing there appear'd no Act of theirs, to commend either their Sufficiency or Valour, it is strange to me that my Countrymen should extol them above our Selves, only out of an Imagination of what they would do, but not by Proof of what they have done.

This Trade of theirs into Spain continu'd all the Reign of King Philip the Second; but he dying, and his Son succeeding, hecaus'd a general Embargo and Arrest of all Ships within his Dominions, which belong'd to any parts of the *Netherlands*, that were not obedient to his Father's Government; and publish'd an Edict, That it should be lawful from that time forward to use the same Law upon any such Ships as should be found in his Country.

This was effected accordingly, and the *Hollanders* being certity'd thereof, knew it was not their advantage to suffer their Ships to lye and rot without Employment: Neither had they means to maintain so many Mariners as were in the Country, without they had the use of Navigation. For these Two Reasons, and a desire they had to annoy the King of Spain, they sent this present Year, 1599. 73 Ships to Sea; the General whereof was *Peter Van Doist*.

Whilst this preparation of theirs held, there was an Overture of Peace made to her Majesty by the King of Spain, and Arch-Duke *Albertus*, which the Queen was inclin'd to hearken to; but upon the earnest Intercession and Request of the *Hollanders*, with promise to secure her at home, with their Fleet abroad, from any hurt Spain should intend against her that present Year: She, out of a Gracious Respect to them, was willing to surcease Speech of that Treaty for a time.

And now in answer to a Book they Publish'd at their return from the *Canaries*, which they entituled thus. *The Conquest of the Grand Canaries made this last Summer by 73 Sail of Ships, sent out by the Command and Direction of the States-General of the United Provinces, to the Coast of Spain, and the Canary-Iland; with the taking of a Town in the Island of Gomera, and the Success of part of this Fleet in their return homeward, which set Sail from Holland, the 25th of March, and return'd home the 10th of September 1599.* When you read the Two first words *The Conquest*, you will not think there followeth less than a Kingdom; for commonly it is not a Phrase us'd to any State but to a Kingdom.

The *Grand Canaria*, which the think to blind the ignorant People with, to be a place of so great Fame and Renown, be-

cause of the length of the word in pronunciation, is an Island of 12 Leagues in length and breadth; many Villages in it, and one Town bigger than the rest, call'd a City, where the Bishop's Seat is, for all the other Islands.

There are in *Nombre 7* Islands, *Grand Canaria*, *Teneriff*, which is the biggest, wealthiest and strongest; *Palmo*, *Gomera*, *Fuerteventura*, *Larezarose*, and *Ferro*.

Upon the first Discovery of these Islands, they were call'd the *Fortunate*, and now the *Canary Islands*, and by setting down the *Canaries*, he would have the World think, that they had Conquer'd all the Islands, whereas, if he would have spoken Truth, and according to Sense, he should have entituled his Book, *The Surprize, and Taking of the City of Palmo in the Island of Grand Canaria*; The Title of this Book is as Ridiculous, as if we should write the Story of the Sack of Cadiz, and Intitle it *The Conquest of Spain*, because Cadiz is a City in Spain: Thus you see they are People that will set a great Gloß upon a small Show.

Their Promise made to her Majesty at their setting from home was, to view and search all the Harbours upon the Coast of Spain, and to destroy the King's Ships, whereby she should be secur'd at home.

The first Port they fell withal was the *Groin*, being guided with a favourable and large Wind; for from *Holland* thither, they were Sailing but 11 Days; but when they came before the Harbour, they behav'd themselves so unadvisedly, that the Town took the Alarm, and was provided to withstand them.

Here lay divers of the King's Ships, which they would not attempt, but Dishonourably departed; tho' I must confess they perform'd half their Promise made to the Queen, in viewing the Harbours; but not the other half in destroying their Ships.

If her Majesty had rested upon their assurance of Safety, and not otherwise provided to stand upon her own Guard, I am of opinion the *Spaniards* had sooner visited us, than they them; and yet they stick not to boast, That they cast Anchor in 12 or 13 Fathom Water, and that the Town shot 200 Cannon Shot, but killed never a Man; They also say they tow'd out their Ships with Boats, in despite of their Shot; whereas it appears, they lay so far off, that they were in no danger of their Shot, or that they were in Fee with the Gunners not to hurt them, as any Man may conjecture.

But



But it ſeems they were ſo much diſcourag'd with looking into this Harbour, that they never offered the like to any other upon that Coaſt : But forgetting their Promiſe to the Queen, the General made known his purpoſe to his Captains, that he meant to attempt the Iſlands of *Canaria*.

If this Project was deſign'd him from home, or that it was left to the Diſcretion of the General, to undertake what he thought fit; in the one the States ſhew'd themſelves Ignorant in Maſthal Sea Affairs, or the General had no diſpoſition to Enterprize the Service that might bring danger; for the *Canaries* are known to be of ſuch ſmall importance, that we never held it worth our labour to poſſeſs them, tho' it were many times in our power.

Says the Author, 'The place of Landing was diſcommodious and difficult, but that 'moſt of the Enemies were ſlain, to the number of 30, or 36. The Lord General leaping firſt on Land was thruſt into the Leg with a Pike, and had in his Body Four Wounds more, being in great danger to loſe his Life, but that one of the Soldiers ſlew the *Spaniard* that did it; but his Wounds were of ſmall moment.

Gentle Reader, Firſt you are to obſerve, That by their own Confeſſion, they had very great difficulty to I and; and that before they Landed, they ſlew moſt of the Enemies, which were to the number of 30, or 36, then let us think whether it was greater Valour in the 36. to withſtand the 24 Companies as they report of themſelves after; or for the 24 Companies to overcome the 36 Men: After this proportion it was Three *Spaniards* to Two Companies of *Hollanders*.

Then follows a Report of their Lord General's Valour; a Lord we will allow him, becauſe the Author gives him the Title, tho', if it were examin'd, he was no more Lord, than they have Authority to make a Lord; he was the firſt Man, the Author ſays, that leap'd aſhore, and received a wound in his Leg with a Pike, and Four in his Body, which put him in great danger of his Life. but that a Soldier ſlew the *Spaniard* that did it; and that his Wounds were of ſmall moment.

Mark the Improbability of the one, and the variety of the Report of the other: For how is it likely that one Soldier ſhould come to the pulſh of Pike, upon the General's leaping aſhore, and give him ſo many Wounds; having his Troops ſo prepar'd, that they would not ſuffer the Head of a Man to appear; this Man's Valour far exceeded the 36. for he undertook their whole Force, being 24 Companies.

The Author ſays the General was in great danger to loſe his Life; and in the Line following, his Wounds were of ſmall moment: Theſe Two are contraries, and for my part I know not which to believe; but conſidering the probability of the manner of his Hurts, and the contrariety of the ſtate of his Wounds, I do verily think the 36 Men could not make the Reſiſtance they ſpeak of. Secondly, the General came not to the pulſh of Pike at his firſt Landing; and Thirdly, he received not ſo many Wounds, as for his Glory they Report of him.

After they had thus Landed, they follow'd the Victory with great loſs to themſelves, and little to the Enemy, by their own Report; for they ſay, they neither found Wealth nor Priſoners in the Town, their Goods being all carry'd into the Mountains, and the People having quitted it, and eſcap'd.

The memorableſt thing they did in the Town, was the delivery of 36 Priſoners, who reported that Two others, one an *Engliſhman*, the other an *Hollander*, were carry'd into the Mountains, being cenſur'd by the Inquiſition, whom they had not the means to Redeem for want of Two *Spaniards*.

The Author reports, That after the taking of the Town, their People committed ſuch Diſorders in the Country, the Paſſages being known to the *Spaniards* and not to them, that at one time Twenty of them were kill'd; another time they return'd with the loſs of 70 Men, and in the poor Iſland of *Gomera*, 80 and made the reſt retire; beſides, at divers other places they received Loſs.

This proceeded rather out of Diſorder amongſt themſelves, than any unlawful Act of the *Spaniards*; for thoſe thus ſlain, were no leſs than Free booters that went a Robbing, without leave of their Officers; tho' the *Hollanders* rail and exclaim againſt their Cruelty, alluding to their Names, that the *Canaries* were ſo call'd, becauſe of *Gomes*, the abundance of Dogs then found in the Iſland; they ſay that the People would run as ſwift as Dogs, and were as Tyrannical and Blood-thirſty as ravening Wolves, which they ſufficiently manifeſted; for as ſoon as they could lay hold on any of their People, like to mad Cu's agreeing with their Names, they would preſently worry them; and they, I confeſs, had no other remedy but Patience; for they took never a *Spaniard* to exerciſe accuſtom'd Cruelty.

But tho' they did not ſufficiently revenge themſelves upon the People, as you

R r r 2 have

heard, yet they neglected not to rife their Cloisters, Monasteries, and Churches; and not being content with the Spoil of them, they destroy'd and burnt them down to the ground. This example they never learnt of us, in the Actions they have been with us; for we ever had a Respect to the Churches, tho' we diff'red in Religion, and held it was a House of our God as well as theirs, tho' we serv'd him, not both in one kind.

The *Hollanders* are People that will omit nothing for their Glory; and amongst many Famous Acts they have achiev'd in this Expedition, they set down the taking of Seven Fishermen by one of their Pinaces, Fishing under *Fuerteventura*, and the General's committing them to Prison.

These Seven *Spaniards* stood them in great stead for their Reputation; for had it not been for the taking of these Seven Men, they had return'd without manifesting their Landing in any part of the King of *Spain's* Dominions; not having taken a Man before to have testify'd to the World they had met with an Enemy.

After the Sack and Spoil of the City of *Palmas*, the General imbarqu'd his Army, and was willing to perform some other Service, that was not of Danger; and call'd a Council of his Captains and Pilots, enquiring of them which was the weakest Island, for there he meant to land; you see he was not desirous to know the Wealthiest but the weakest Island; making account where there was Wealth there was Strength that would resist them: But he wisely considering that the taking an Island, tho' it was of no Importance, yet it would carry a great Shew and Gloſs to the World, (for Men would not enter into the Value and Worth, but into the name of an Island) did hereupon courageously resolve upon the Attempt of *Gomera*, a place of so small account, that they might have been asham'd to undertake it, but especially to publish it in Print.

If all our Deeds, according to that computation were publish'd to the World, we have had many Ships, not above Three in company, that have perform'd greater Service; and yet the *Hollanders* stick not to boast that they left the Island of *Gomera* burning, which was never done before by any Nation.

Some Man that knows not the state of this poor silly Island, would think it were to be compar'd with *Vienna*, which the *Turks* have often assaulted with huge Armies, and never had Power to prevail against it. And in the same case Men may imagine, seeing they did that which

was never done by any Nation, That it was a place of that invincible Strength, as tho' many Armies had attempted it, yet they had never Power to prevail against it; where is in very truth, this Island is poor in Wealth, and weak in Power, readier to yield to a weak Enemy, than to withstand a mean Army.

This Island was subdu'd upon the first Discovery, without Fight: All the rest withstood the Conquerors; which it is like the General well knew by his Demands, which was the weakest Island, which embolden'd him upon the Enterprize.

Here he found no Resistance; for all the People abandoned the Town and fled to the Mountains, and committed many Murders upon the *Hollanders* by their undiscrēt Stragling.

Once again the General Embarqu'd, and dispatch'd 34 of his Ships back for *Holland*; and himself with the rest meant to proceed to the *West-Indies*: Those Ships that return'd took Two Prizes of small value, that had but 30 Men in both, which takes up a long Discourse in this Book I have answer'd. If all our Prizes were estimated, and the number set down, since the beginning of our Wars with *Spain*, there have been at least 600 greater and richer Vessels brought to *England*, which we think not worthy to boast of: But indeed they are to be excused; for the taking of these Two Barques, and the 30 Men, are the only Deeds they did in their Project to the *Camaris*.

You have heard, upon the division of the Fleet, the General resolv'd for the *West-Indies*; which Resolution was suddenly altered, and he directed his Course to *St. Tome*, an Island under the Equinoctial Line: What becomes of them I am not very Inquisitive to know, till I see it Published in Print, as this was; neither in my Opinion can they expect any thing but Death, the Country and Climate exceeding all parts of the World for Sicknes: And I verily believe this latter Project to *St. Tome*, was design'd by some Traitors amongst themselves; for the *Portugueses* that live in that Island confess, That no Man born in *Europe*, ever liv'd there so long, as to have a white Beard, or attain to 50 Years of age.

And to conclude, seeing how indiscreetly the *Hollanders* have carry'd themselves in this last Action, wherein they have deceiv'd the Expectation of all their Well-willers, that are not too much transported with Partiality; I would not have my Countrymen hereafter to magnify them above their worth; but that in Reason without

without Affection, they will compare the managing their Actions with ours which in Discretion they are bound to do; and they shall undoubtedly find great difference betwixt us.

What I have here Writ, I protest is neither in Malice to the *Hollanders*, nor in Partiality to our selves, but out of a sincere

love of Truth; for I am so far from any detracting Humour, that if I can see Amendment in them and their Actions, I will be as ready to do them Honour therein, as I am now willing to defend my Countrymen from the Scandal of spiteful Tongues.

*A Project how to Ruine Spain, with the Assistance of Holland, if his Majesty enter into a new War with that Crown.*

**I**F the King of Great Britain Declare himself Enemy to Spain, no Man need doubt but that he shall have Assistance of Holland to join with him in any Action against that Crown; and then it may be suppos'd what hurt in time may redound to Spain in the Indies, if both the Nations do really join together, and their Designs be well grounded; by example of what hurt the *Hollanders* alone have done the Spaniards in Brazil and the Indies, without the help of any other Nation.

And to descend to Particulars, there is lately an occasion, and an unavoidable opportunity offered, never thought on by England or Holland, when they both had Wars, and studied how to vex the Kingdom of Spain by their hostile Actions: Now I say there is anew Discovery wherein the Indies may be hazarded, the Spanish Nation subverted, and all the Rule, Government and Riches settled upon us and Holland, if we join mutually together, as we have done in sundry other Actions heretofore.

The ground of this Design stands upon the Peopling and Planting of an uninhabited Island, Eighty odd Leagues from Carthagena, in Terra Firma, and not above Ten or Twelve Miles in length, and as I formerly said, Six in breadth; Five hundred Leagues West from the other Islands the English now possess; and where there are already seated Six thousand able and sufficient Soldiers, with their Arms, and other Abilliments for War; and are like daily to encrease by the forwardness of People that willingly put themselves into such Actions.

Such Islands as the English are seated in, are in the hithermost part of America, and by which all Ships that go to the other Islands aforesaid, or to Terra firma are to pass by, with a certain and settled Wind which never fails; and the Men that there Inhabit, their Bodies are made able and fit to live in such unnatural Climates to their former breeding; their hard and evil Diet,

with Drinking Water, is made familiar to them, and they are become excellent Soldiers.

These People thus Planted will much forward any Enterprize that shall be made upon the Indies, by the Conveniency and little Charge to Transport them consider'd; as likewise the Ability of them, which we may account Treble to as many as we shall carry out of England.

But now I will proceed to the Design, and to the way how to put it in execution, which may prove the most dangerous Plot that was ever intended against Spain, since the first Discovery of the Indies; tho' at the first apprehension, it may seem ridiculous, and rather to be contemn'd than fear'd by the Spaniards: But if they will call to mind the Precedent of other times, they shall find that their King Don Rodrigo, and his Country, was Conquer'd in Two Years, by a few barbarous Moors, not worth naming, and could not be recover'd in 700 and odd Years of Wars after. The like may be said of England, when it was subdu'd, and subverted by less than 400 Saxons at the beginning; things not to believ'd, but that Times and Stories make it manifest; and in reason this Island may prove as dangerous to the Indies, as the others have been to Spain and England, for it is like a spark of Fire, out of which greater Fires may be kindled and made unquenchable.

This Island which I have spoken of in my Fourth Book, is near Carthagena, and not far from Porto Bello, and Nombre de Dios, whither the Treasure of the Indies is brought first from Peru, by Sea to Panama, and after to the Places aforesaid by Land, before it be embark'd for Spain.

This Island has of late chang'd her Name, from Carthagena to Providencia, out of a foreseeing Providence and Care, that some well-minded Englishmen do owe to their Country, that have so named it; thinking to work the Effect, for which they possess and so call it, as may

be gather'd out of a Discourse ; it being of that Importance, by reason of that impregnableness, and the Commodity of an Harbour, to receive some Shipping of a reasonable bigness, and being naturally encompass'd about with Rocks and Shoals, that it is impossible for any Barque or Boat to make an Enterprize upon it, but only in the Harbour, which is so Fortify'd, that no Force is able to assail it; inso much that it may be said of this Island, That God has plac'd it with his Finger, to impede and forbid the Trade of the *Indies* upon that Coast, as aforesaid.

And tho' this Island affords nothing but Water for the Sustainance of the People that shall Inhabit it; yet in a short space it may be supply'd from the *Tortugas*, which we enjoy, near *Hispaniola*, with Hogs and Beeves, sufficient to relieve as many Men, as the Circuit of the ground can contain.

But now to the use that can be made of the Island: It is to be considered, as aforesaid, how dangerous a thing it will be to the *Spaniards* Navigations thereabouts. Secondly, that whereas in all our Voyages and Expeditions in the Queens time to the *Indies*; we have still quailed, because our Fleets never made their aboad out of *England* above 6 or 7 Months, going, coming, and staying there, for want of Provisions to abide there any longer, but were still forc'd to Return when their greatest Service was to be executed.

The use we must put this Island to, is to make it a Magazine to relieve our greatest Enterprizes upon the main Land, without either sending or turning back into *England*; for every thing that *England* can supply us with, this Island may receive from thence without Charge; and the Ships thus Freight'd may return laden with Salt that shall cost them nothing, to countervail the Expence of their Transportation.

Here shall we be fully furnish'd, and all difficulties taken away, to further our Enterprize upon the main Land; which upon our first Landing we must divide our Armies into Two parts, the one to go to *Panama*, and possess the Port of the *South Sea*, whilst the other enjoys *Cartagena* and the North Coast; that betwixt them they shall give the greatest blow to all the *Indies*, as ever was projected by Man, as well *Peru* as *New Spain*.

These Places being taken, as it will prove no great Difficulty, by example of fewer Forces that have done far greater Exploits in the same Place, Seas and Towns; this is the way for *England* and *Holland* to become Masters of that Land and Sea:

For the Strength of the *Indies* consists in the People and Inhabitants of *Peru* and *New Spain*; the one North the other South, Thousands of Miles from thence; which distance will debar them of Succours, and all that Coast will be left to their own Defence; whose weakness the *English* have found in sundry Actions heretofore: Or if it be alledg'd, That their Ports and Towns are better Fortify'd than they have been, it may be answer'd, That if it were so, yet our Army and Strength will be Twenty times double to that in former times: And that moreover, a Country invaded, (that relies upon the Force of Towns and Fortifications) by an Enemy that Commands both Land and Sea, tho' it be never so impregnable, in the end must yield.

Leaving some Attempts, formerly made by our *English*, before they were warrant'd by the War with *Spain*, who then join'd with the *Shemecrones*, which are Negroes Revolted from their Masters, betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, a place where they seiz'd upon the King's Treasure ashore in those times; I will recite some particular Exploits done upon Towns of the *Indies*, during the War of Queen Elizabeth.

Drake, with fewer than a Thousand Men, took *St. Jago* in *Cabo Verde*, *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, *Cartagena* in *Terra Firma*, and *St. Antonio*, and *St. Helena* in *Florida*. 1585.

Drake and *Hawkins*, with 750 Men, took *El Rio de Hacha*, *Rancheria*, *Tapia*, *Santa Marta*, *Nombre de Dios*, and *Porto Bello*; and were forc'd for want of Supplies to return for *England*; as if the Island of *Providence* had been theirs, the Advantage of it foreseen, and they supply'd from it, as is now intended, they had taken *Panama*, and by consequence had an Entrance into the *South Sea*; which would have prov'd the most dangerous Design against *Spain* that ever was projected. 1595.

If we call to Mind Private Men's Undertakings, Captain *Preston* with 150 Men took *Puerto Santo*, *Chicbo*, the Town and Fort of *Chapa*, the City of *St. Jago de Leon*, and the Town of *Camena*. 1594.

Captain *Parker*, with Two small Ships and 180 Men, took *St. Vincent* in *Cape Verde*, *Porto Bello*, and a Fort call'd *St. Jago*, with the King's Treasure, in *Terra Firma*. The same Captain *Parker* in a Voyage before, and with fewer Men, took one Town of Importance, call'd *Campeche*. I could repeat many more, but these shall suffice. 1595.

The Earl of *Cumberland*, with fewer than 1000 Men, took *Puerto Rico*, a Place of great

great Strength and Defence, with the loss of 28 Men. These precedents shew what these Places are, or may be made in strength.

And if so few Ships and Men could surprize and take so many Cities and Towns without the Countenance or Help of the Queen, or the Assistance of other Princes or Countries, and in time of War, that gave continual Alarms to them to provide for Enemies: What may *England* and *Holland* now do, joining their Forces together, that have the Command of more Bodies of Men, more number of Ships; and to be furnish'd with greater Celerity to second their Actions, than all the World besides; but especially, having this Island that will serve for a Key to open the Lock of the *Indies*?

But to end with the Design of the *North Sea*, which is so distinguish'd by the *Spaniards*; I will now sail into the *South Sea*, and *Peru*, the Fountain, out of which the Treasures of the *Indies* flow, and will set down the last Resolution taken by the Projectors, Counsellors, and Adventurers of this Action, which in my Opinion seems to be a thing of great Reason. They conclude, as upon a matter of greatest Consequence, to take away all occasion of Help or Succour from *Spain*, is to forbid the ordinary Trades of their Neighbour Countries into *Spain*; which being done, the *Indies* is hopeless of Help: And the way to put it practice, as they conceive, is, to put out a general Proclamation throughout *Europe*, for all Nations, Towns and Cities, to take notice of, That if such Countries, Towns and Princes, will from thence forward desist from their Traffique with *Spain*, with Ammunition, Victuals, or other Abilliments for the War; that then from that day they shall enjoy the Immunities and Privileges of Trade into the *Indies*, as freely as now they do, or have at any time done, in their Commerce, of *England* or *Holland*: As to the contrary, if they relieve *Spain* with the Commodities aforesaid, they are to stand upon their perils, and not to expect Favour. This will debar *Spain* of Foreign Helps, and be a means to unfurnish them of all Materials to fit out Fleets; so that the *Indies* will be left to themselves, and the Dwellers there to defend them.

The Conference and Resolution of the Treaty aforesaid provided for all things to be presently put in execution, and to forecalt all Doubts that might be Impediments to them; and they consider'd, how easie a thing it was to go through the Work they had projected: So on the

other side they weigh'd, That the Substantice of the Wealth of the *Indies*, was Thousands of Miles from *Panama*, whither it was brought by Sea, not having Means or Passage to Transport it by Land And therefore conclude, that the Ruine of *Spain* in the *Indies*, was to have an Entrance and Command of the *South Sea*.

They know the Condition of that Sea, and all the Harbours and Towns inhabited and possess'd by the *Spaniards*, from *Chile* and *Peru*, till they arrive at the Ports of *Navidad* and *Acapulco* in *New Spain*; which are the Harbours whither *Mexico*, and all that Coast send their Commodities, as well into the Ports of *America*, as into the *Philippine* Island, and that by the taking those Ports, the whole Country of *New Spain* must necessarily submit and yield.

They are not ignorant, That tho' that Sea affords Ships for Trade from Port to Port, yet they and their Ships are shut up from any other Traffique out of that Sea, by reason of the *Streights of Magellan*, and that the Ships there built, are made only for Merchandize, not for Defence and Strength, not one of them carrying one Piece of Ordnance.

They likewise know, That the *Spaniards* thereabouts are Rich and unaccustom'd to War; that if they may have good Conditions for Life and Goods, they may be easily drawn to live under our Subjection and Government.

They moreover know the evil disposition the People of those Countries bear to the *Spaniards*, and how willingly they will be drawn to join with us against them; and to join the one and the other more heartily to the Invader's Party, they resolve to make a Publick Act and Decree, That all Indians, as well the one as the other, shall be freed from their Labours, their Slaveryes, and forc'd Tyrannies. And because the *Spaniards* shall have no Dependency or Necessity of the help of *Spain*, it shall be lawful for all Men to Plant Wine, Oil, and other Commodities they desire: It shall be also as lawful for them to enjoy their Religion as in former times: These will be Motives and Reasons sufficient, as well to draw the one as the other to the Government of *England* and *Holland*, when all the possibility of Relief shall be taken from them.

For the effecting of this they determine to send 40 or 50 Warlike Ships into the *South Sea*, by the *Streights of Magellan*, which shall carry a sufficient number of Men to perform their Design, with all manner of Ordnance, with Ammunition



to strengthen the Shores and Ships; no part but shall be possess'd, strengthen'd and inhabited by us, till we come to *Panama*, where they shall find it Planted and Enjoy'd by their Countrymen, in as good a manner, as tho' they should arrive in *England* or *Holland*; and from thence they may easily pass to the Ports aforesaid of *Navidad* and *Acapulco* in *New Spain*, and conclude an absolute Conquest of the *Indies*; they may say as *Julius Cæsar* said, *I came, I saw, and I overcame*.

And because this Council and Resolution shall not seem vain, by example of the *North Seas* aforesaid, where I have made a repetition of such Towns and Ports as have been taken by the *English*; so I will do the like in the *South Sea*, by one Ship alone that departed *England* in 1586. and

upon all Occasions and Services could land but 80 Men.

The first Exploit he did, was by taking away certain Ordnance from a Port, built by *Peter Sermiento* in the *Streights of Magellan*, where he found all the People dead, except Three only; Sailing from thence to *Chile*, he took *Santa Adria*; he took and spoil'd *Marmaroma*, *Arica*, *Pisica*, *Paraca*, *Cheripa*, *Paito*, the Islands of *Puna*, a place of great Importance for the Building and Trimming of Ships: And arriving *New Spain*, he took and spoil'd *Acapulco*, the Port of *Navidad*, the Port of *St. Jago*, the Bay of *Compojella*, the Island of *St. Ambrose*, and the Bay of *Musclalam*. And therefore let no Man doubt that any part of that Coast, or Seas, can resist 40 or 50 Sail of Ships sent from hence.

### *Projects for the Spaniards to annoy the Hollanders in several Trades.*

#### *The First Project.*

THE *Hollanders* have compassed a great and beneficial Trade into several places of *Guinea*, which anciently belonged to the *Portugueses*, as the first Discoverers of them: The *Hollanders* now resort thither daily, and are well accepted of by the Negroes of that Country, who bring them Gold, and divers other rich Commodities, in truck for their slight Merchandice.

The Project to hinder the Trade of the *Hollanders*, and quite to banish them from that Coast, is, to furnish, as Men of War, 6 or 7 of those Ships they ordinarily send to *Brazil*, well Mann'd; and these in their way to range along the Coast of *Guinea*, where they shall undoubtedly meet and take the *Holland Ships* that trade there in several Parts and Ports, as is apparent, having neither Port nor other Strength to resist them. Or if it shall happen that they have made any Defence on shore by the Assistance of the Negroes, they may easily supplant them with the Soldiers they carry with them; whereas by giving them a longer time to inhabit that Coast, it would become a more difficult Enterprize to subdue them: By the Example of the of the *Hollanders* possessing divers places in the *East-Indies*, which at the first might have been prevented.

If the *Hollanders* be but once thus serv'd, it will be a means to make them quit that Coast, and clearly thrust them out of *Guinea*: For *Guinea* is not like the *East Indies*, where the *Hollanders* maintain 100 Ships by their several Trades in sundry parts, as well those places they enjoy, as the others

that accept of their Commerce; whereas in *Guinea* the Traffick is but in particular places, whither the Merchandice is brought them by Negroes from afar off within the Land, which cannot be of any great Bulk, for want of Carriage of Ships or Boats; neither are they designed any particular Harbour, as the *Portugueses* are at *Casle de la Mina*.

The *Hollanders* have as little Hope of robbing and spoiling the *Portugueses*, because their Trade is but small, and their Ships few; whereby they are not able to maintain Footing in that Country without greater Expence than the Profit will countervail: Six or Seven Ships of *Portugal* will be a sufficient Strength to drive them out of *Guinea*, those Ships to range along the Coast, and cut them off where they shall find them trading in their several places.

My Project is, after they are thus destroyed, That the 6 or 7 Ships of *Portugal* stand over to *Brazil*, and there take their Freights of Sugar and other rich Commodities, which considering the Safety and Wastage by those Ships of War, will be a means to ease the Expence in Furnishing the Ships of War.

#### *The Second Project, to Russia.*

The North Part of *Russia* was but a thing imagined, till *Sebastian Cabot*, by his Persuasions in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, drew *England* to the Discovery of it, Anno 1553. which enjoyed the absolute Trade thereof for many years, till the *Hollanders* encroacht upon us, as they have done in all other Trades,

Trades, as I have said in my Sixth Book. In continuance of time the *Hollanders* have increas'd from 2 Ships to 100. as is apparent by so many as they yearly send; and have made a greater use of the Country, than to Merchandize alone; for they have set up a Trade of making Cables, Ropes, and other Cordage, in such abundance, that they out do all other Places in the *Baltick Sea*; and from hence they directly serve *Spain* with those Commodities: And because, the Passage being through our Channel, in time of War they feared to be intercepted by us, they directed their Course to the North Part of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, purposely to avoid us.

The Advantage *Spain* is to take of them in this Project, is to carry their Designs discreetly and secretly; to be provided of Pilots without Suspicion or Noise, which must be done out of *England*, for no other Christian Country trades into *Russia*; but we and the *Hollanders*: and tho' their Harbours are dangerous at their going in, by reason of their Bar, yet it is familiar with the Pilots that use it. The Force the *Hollanders* have to guard their 100 Sail of Ships, is commonly 3 or 4 Men of War, who suspect no Annoyance from *Spain* at any time; and by these 3 or 4 Ships you may judge of the Strength you are to employ against them: Tho' I advise you to carry no less than 30 Sail of Ships, well Mann'd, to Man the *Hollanders* after you have taken them.

Besides the Command you shall have over the Ships aforesaid, you shall possess their Storehouses, Cellars, Yards, and what else belongs to them, and spoil them, that they be never able to erect more, without an infinite Charge.

The Third Consideration is the Season of the Year; for they must call to be at *St. Nicholas* by the 10th or 12th of *July*; for no longer than the 17th. of *August* they can well abide there, by reason of the Winter so suddenly coming upon them: Or if they shall arrive earlier then the 12th or 14th. of that Month, perhaps they may come with the soonest, and find their Goods not Shipp'd; but tho' they should, it will not be very material, for they may Row up with their Boats to *Pol-magro*, 80 Miles distance, where the greatest part of their Commodities are made, and shall either meet them in their Transportation to the Ships, or possess them on Shore, where they shall undoubtedly find them.

Or if upon any other accident the *Spanish* Ships shall not arrive at the Port of *St. Nicholas*, before the others put out to

Sea, then they may stand to the North Cape of *Norway*, and there lye off and on the Headland, which the *Hollanders* must of necessity see and double, before they can direct their Course for *Holland*.

If *Russia* were a Country in League with *Spain*, or otherwise had Correspondence or Friendship with them in Commerce and Traffique, then I confess it were against the Laws of Nations and Honour, to offer violence to an Enemy within the Port of another Prince, when they are under his Protection. But I could never understand, that ever Leagues were Treated of, or Trade maintain'd betwixt *Russia* and *Spain*, or Ambassadors employ'd, or other Obligations of Friendship, since King *Philip* was King of *England*; and therefore the King of *Spain* can be no more tax'd or blem'd, if he us'd this opportunity upon his Enemy, that is offered him by this Proposition; especially when none of his Subjects can receive Prejudice or Fear of Hurt, or Imbargo to be made upon their Persons or Goods.

Let the *Spanish* Commander at his arrival in the Road of *St. Nicholas*, have a care to summon such *English* Ships as he shall there find in Harbour, and to admonish them to forbear offering Violence, or making other Resistance in defence of the *Hollanders* Ships, and to let them understand in a friendly way, how they are to carry themselves by the Articles of Peace, which they may carry and shew them; and withal to tell them roundly, if they exceed their Commission therein, that Justice will be requir'd at their hands by their Ambassador residing in *England*, who will be sure to prosecute it with all Rigour and Severity: And in the *Spanish* Fleet's behalf, let the General give assurance, no way to impeach the *English*, or by any direct or indirect means to trouble or molest their peaceable Traffique.

This Project prevailing, the *Spaniards* will be enrich'd with 100 Sail of *Holland* Ships, and their Lading; great part whereof is Cordage, and other things of considerable value, which *Spain* has most need to be furnish'd with, and need not hereafter be beholding to Friends for them.

#### A Rutter of Russia.

He that will direct his Course from *Spain* to the North Cape of *Norway*, must steer a Northerly Course. till he arrive to *Iceland*, where upon occasion he may refresh himself with Butter, Fleish and Fish, and from thence steer away E. N. E. for the North Cape.

From the North Cape to the North  
Kave, E. and by S. 13 Leagues.

Thence to *Marcroft*, E. S. E. 12 Leagues.

Thence to *Wardhouse* S. E. 15 Leagues.  
Here you may have your self from *Wardhouse*, to the point of *Kegro*, E. S. E. 11 Leagues; no good Road for great Ships.

From *Kegro* to *Zoufe* S. E. 9 Leagues.

From the 7 Islands to *Swetnos*, 21 Leagues; there are Islands where you may Anchor.

From *Swetnos* to *Lombasco*, S. S. E. 13 Leagues.

From thence to *Orgoulse*, S. S. E. 7 Leagues.

From *Orgoulse* to Cape *Caudenos*, N. E. 47 Leagues; but you must Sail from the Three Islands to *Crofs Island*, S. S. W. 13 Leagues.

From thence to *Calmouse Arkangel* S. and by W. 17 Leagues on this side of *Arkangel* is *St. Nicolai*.

#### The Third Project,

That the *Spaniards* may practice against the *Hollanders*, and to be as easily effected as the rest, and of greater consequence than all the others, is a Design against their Fishing, which all Men know is a means to uphold their State, to encrease their Ships, and to multiply their Wealth; in which, if at any time they be prevented or intercepted, they become more miserable than all other People, in that they shall be made a prey to their Enemies.

This Fishing I formerly Treated of, with the Condition of the *Hollanders* that only enjoy it by our permission: Now will I proceed to the design upon them, for the *Spaniards* to execute, so it be with the Approbation and Sufferance of the King of *England*.

I have already declar'd the place of Rendezvous, where the *Hollanders* meet; as also the time of the year, the Month and Day when they begun to Fish, with the Profit they make of it: The place of Rendezvous is *Blazownde* in *Shutland*, an Island in his Majesty's Jurisdiction of *Scotland*; thither commonly resort 1000 or more Fishing Vessels, call'd *Busses*, which

by a Law made amongst themselves in *Holland*, cannot put forth Line or Net to Fish, till the 24th of *June*.

And therefore the *Spaniard* must so cast, as to be at *Blazownde*, before that time, or at least Two Days to take their opportunity before the others going out of Harbour, which if they have a care effectually to accomplish, they shall bring both the Persons of the *Hollanders*, and their Ships, to their Mercy. And after this is effected, I need not teach the *Spaniards* how to carry their business, or what Conditions to make with the *Hollanders*; for they shall have time sufficient to compals their ends, after they have them in their Power.

#### The Fourth Project,

Is for the King of *Spain* to keep a constant Squadron of 20 or 12 Ships, choice Sailors, upon his own Coast: They will be able to keep the *French*, the *Hollanders*, and the *Turks* Pyrates, from the Incurfions they usually make upon that Coast, and put them to look their Prey in a vast and open Sea, which is as uncertain of meeting Ships, as the finding a Needle in a bottle of Hay: For I have often shew'd, if Capes and Headlands be well defended, the others will not be worth the Cost and Charges they shall be put to.

Besides the Service done against Ships of War in this manner aforesaid, they will secure their own Trades, and impeach all such *Hollanders*, that shall go in or come out of the *Streights*, if they keep a Squadron 12 or 14 Leagues South from Cape *St. Vincent*, and spread themselves N. and S. a League and more in distance from one another; one Ship of *Holland* that shall be taken in their Course out of the *Streights*, will countervail the Charge of a whole Squadron for many Months; and the example of it, seeing their good Success will encourage the *Spaniards* to keep Ships continually thus employ'd.

Here I end my Projects, till I have occasion to speak of them again; and now shall follow my Stratagems.

### Stratagems to be us'd at Sea.

1. A Fleet that is bound to a Port, and fears to meet an Enemy, may avoid him by this Stratagem following: Besides such Pinnaces as must be sent to look out the Ships expected, to give them warning of an Enemy, they ought to have other Pinnaces, choice Sailors, that should attend the Enemies Fleet; and finding they lie in a height, the others have Order to Sail

in, to draw near them, and to entice them to chase them; and in pursuit of them, they will be drawn to Leeward, and give passage for their Fleets Entrance.

2. But if this prevail not, they may cause one of their Pinnaces to be purposely taken, to deceive them with false Instructions, as for example; If their Fleet have Order

Order to come home in 37 Degrees; the Enemy finding those Directions, will not suspect a Deceit, but will stand into 37 Degrees, when the others will come home in 36. the height formerly assigned them, and so avoid them.

3. Or if a Fleet be sent out for guard of those Ships expected, and not so good of Sail as their Enemy, to force them quit their Coast; it were better such a Fleet should lye in a contrary height to that their Ships have Directions to sail in, than otherwise; for the Enemy finding in what height they lie in will verily believe they have Orders to come home in the same height, and will strive to meet them in that height, before they shall join together, when the others have Directions not to come within 40 or 50 Leagues of them.

4. If Fleets shall meet in the Night, or after an Encounter they forbear Fighting when it is dark, and one of them have a desire to quit the other, they may cause so many Lights as usually their Admiral, or other Ships carry in the Night, to be carried by Pinnaces in such a height as may equal the Poop of their Ships; and the Enemy accompanying those Lights, will not suspect the flight of the Fleet, who in the mean time may convey themselves away, and leave only the Pinnaces behind them.

5. If a Fleet will deceive an Enemy of a less Force, that is so far to Windward, that they cannot fetch them, they may do it with counterfeit Flags, and working like Merchants Ships; and for a Bait, may appoint part of a Fleet to chase another after, and the Chaser to wear the Enemies Colours. The Ships must shor, but miss one another, which they to Windward spying, will come home in hope to have part of the booty, and to be brought into the wake of the Fleet, and entrapp'd.

6. This Stratagem will serve as well for a Road, to cause in the like manner one Ship to chase another, as tho' the that is chased, labour'd to recover the Road: and a Flag seeming to be a Friend, may embolden them to go forth to the rescue of her, and so fall into the Laps of the Enemy.

7. People are not so easily deceiv'd with counterfeit Flags as they have been; for the often practice of such Stratagems, makes Men more cautious: We were wont to make it a common Custom, after we had taken a Spanish Carvell, to Cloth our Men with the others Garments, and to send them into the Harbours of

Spain to be inform'd of the State of their Shipping.

8. In 87. and the first time I went to Sea as Captain, I had Two Pinnaces, and one Spanish Frigate with me: The Frigate took a Portuguese, and after was robb'd her self by a French Ship of War; out of necessity this Frigate was forc'd into the Harbour of Setuval in Portugal, and the People seeing her Portuguese built, and the Men attir'd in the Habits of the Portuguese they had formerly taken, and having a Portuguese aboard with them, that came out of England, and whom they trusted, they were supply'd with what they wanted from the Shore, and departed without suspicion.

9. One night I came into the Road of Cefimbra, pretending to be a Flemming bound to Setuval to lade Salt, and desired a Pilot; under which colour I deceiv'd the Pilot, and divers other Boats and Barques that came aboard me, by whom I understood the state of the Fleet at Lisbon, ready to set to Sea in pursuit of me. I could recite many Stratagems of this kind.

10. If a Fleet intend an Attempt upon an Harbour, where a strong Fort may impeach their Entrance, by example of Lisbon, and the Castle of St. Julian, the Stratagem is to set 2 or 3 old Vessels on fire, fitted with all manner of necessities to make a Smoak, and to run them ashore under the Castle, that the Gunners may not see a Ship, much less have any aim at them, and so they may pass without danger.

11. What Stratagems may be us'd against such Ships, as are entred a Harbour, and how to prevent it, I have expressed in the Second Book, where I treated of the last Expedition at Cadiz, in 1625.

And because I have named Lisbon, I will set down a Stratagem I had in mind after my Imprisonment there.

12. Both many years before and after I was Prisoner in Lisbon, the Hollanders had a free Trade into all parts of Spain, which I took advantage of in this Stratagem following: I devised that 20 Holland Ships freighted with Merchandize, under the colour of Merchants, should repair to Lisbon, and that every Ship should have a number of Men secretly hid in them; and when they came to Anchor at Belem, which they generally do, and are viewed by the King's Officers, these Men should not appear; and after their Discharge from Belem, I had order'd that every Ship should ride as near the King's Palace at Lisbon, as conveniently they could; and

SSf 2 that

that in the night when there was no suspicion of them, and the Galleons had no more Men on board than the Ship keepers, the *Hollanders* should steer aboard possess and burn them, for they were sure to find no resistance: After this was done, there was no danger of their coming out, for it is an ordinary thing for Ships to pass *Belem* in despite of the *Cattle*.

13. If a Ship fall into company of a Fleet at night, it is necessary to have a sudden and a ready Answer; as also 2 or 3 of the Nation to speak as they shall be directed, as for example, and as you shall read in my last Voyage in the Queen's time, how in the Night I lighted amongst 24 Galeons of *Spain*, and being so nigh the Admiral, I could not avoid her, had I been known to be an Enemy. I commanded a *Spaniard* that serv'd me to call the Admiral, and tell him there was a strange Ship entered amongst our Fleet, which of all others he could not suspect mine, because of the warning I gave him; and in the mean time I tack'd from him, and so escap'd in a secret manner, making no noise.

14. In the *Island Expedition* I met the *Indies* Fleet, and it blowing little Wind, I went off in my Boat to descry them; when I perceiv'd what they were, I made my self and Ship known to them, urging them to pursue me, which if they had done, I had brought them into the Wake of my Lord of *Essex* and his Fleet, from whom I departed but Three Hours before, where they had been taken, and the state of *Spain* utterly destroy'd.

15. It is a common use when Ships are scatter'd, and chance to meet in the Night, not knowing one another, to hail one another in a strange Language (which I disapprove) as a thing dangerous, for the other being satisfy'd by his Tongue, not to be his Comfort, or of his Country, prepares to Fight; and thus had it like to fall out with me: The *Mary-Rose* and I meeting one Night, after we had lost company, one of my Company hailed her in *Spanish* without my Privy, whereat I was angry, and caus'd her to be call'd to in *English*, even as she was giving fire to her Broad side. It is Folly in this case to counterfeit, for no good can come of it, seeing the one cannot part from the other, without knowing what they are.

15. The Signs that direct a Fleet in the Day time, are Striking or Hoisting the Top-sails, shewing their Flag, or Shooting their Ordnance; by shewing Lights in the Night. Many times I have known when a Ship hath lighted in company of an Ene-

my, that by chance she has made the very same Sign given by the General, by which means she has escap'd; and in the like manner Ships have been taken by the same fortune: Therefore there cannot be a better Stratagem than when a Ship shall make a Sign, to be answer'd by the same; and the contrary Ship begin a new Sign, before the other make any; for it is not to be doubted, but the other Ship will answer every Sign that shall be made by her that makes the first.

17. I once knew an unlikely Stratagem take good effect, in this manner; After Three Days Chace of a rich Ship, my Lord of *Cumberland* was out of hopes of fetching her up, she was so far to Windward, only a Pinnace kept her company, and in the Night carry'd a Light for us to follow; I advis'd my Lord to fire a Culvering at her, tho' we could not fetch her at twice, saying, that perhaps she would yield to the Countenance of the Ship, that would not for shame do it to a Pinnace; this seem'd ridiculous, and I had much ado to persuade my Lord; yet upon my importunity he yielded to it, and the Ship, as I foretold, submitted her self.

18. A Ship that is chas'd and distressed shew Fear, thinking to draw her that chases into her clutches, must counterfeit and work as tho' she were distress'd, and lye like a Wreck in the Sea; she must cast Dreggs, Hogheads, and other things overboard to hinder her way; she must shew no more Men than an ordinary Gang, and hail in her Ordnance, and shut her Ports, that her Forces be not discern'd, till the other Ship come within Command of her.

19. As Ships ought to observe their Admirals working in the Night, by his Light, so ought they to be more careful when they are nigh a Shore, lest they mistake a Light on Land, instead of their Admiral; by example of 97. when the *Admiral* drew down his Fleet from *Lisbon* to the *Groine*, and coming nigh the North Cape, the greatest part of the Fleet steer'd with a Light on the Shore, mistaking their Admiral, and cast away 36 Ships and 5000 Men.

20. As Lights direct one another at Sea, so are they Directors of Ships from the Shore, as I can instance in many cases, some of which I have already declar'd, to which I refer you.

21. Lights kept in the Night, off of a Headland, as the *Lizard*, or such Capes, are a safeguard to Ships in their passage, that are in view of them. Lights likewise give warning of an Enemy that is upon a Coast,



Coast; and for that use Beacons were invented.

22. Ships that are appointed for more readines of a Service to ride in the Sound of *Plimouth*, in the Range of *Dartmouth*, or other Roads upon our Coast, and in the Night are suddenly taken with a Storm at South, which is a deadly Wind in those Roads, if Lights be plac'd on either of the sides of the Point of *Cartwater* or *Dartmouth*, will be guided into the Harbour be it never so dark.

23. In a barr'd Harbour, such as *Dunkirk*, that is continually Beleguerr'd by an Enemy, by keeping Lights from half Tide to half Tide, he that enters, is directed how the Tide encreases or decreases, and thereby how to avoid the Enemy.

24. Ships riding at the *Downes*, and fearing a Surprise from an Enemy in the Night, with a Southerly Wind, by placing two Boats with Lights on either side of the Brake, will direct one how to pass the Chanel and avoid the Sands, which being done, and the Lights taken away, the Ships that pursue them will run upon their Death if they follow.

25. The cutting down Mills, Trees, taking away Buoys, or other Marks that direct the Pilot, is a great Safety to any Port, or Place, such as the *Tbames*, where many Sands must be pass'd.

26. The placing of Ships for the advantage of Wind, is a Matter of great Consequence; as for Example, if an Invasion against *England* be intended from the Southward, that Wind that brings an Enemy for *England*, will keep in our Ships in Harbour, that they cannot stir out; only one Place is advantageous to us, which is *Limehouse* near *Plimouth*; for that Wind that brings an Enemy from the Westward or Southward, will serve our Ships that lie in *Limehouse* to follow them, if they pass into any part of our Chanel to the Eastward.

27. Prospective Glasses, if they were not so common, were an excellent Stratagem to be used in many cases at Sea, and yet it is no hard thing to deceive those that use them; for a Merchant Ship that carries not above 10 or 12 Men, may have the Shapes of Men made, and seem to be 100 afar off; they likewise may have counterfeit Guns made of Wood, which the Glass cannot discover from Iron, to the terror of the Assailant. It may as well serve for a Man of War, to slow his Men in Hold till a Ship come near him.

28. The best and the greatest Ship in the World may be sunk by a Bark of 20

Tun, by this Stratagem, *viz.* To place a Cannon in the Hold of a Bark with her Mouth to the side of the Ship, the Bark shall board; and then to give fire to the Cannon which is flow'd under Water, and they shall both instantly sink; the Man that shall execute this Stratagem, may escape in a small Boat hauled on the other side of the Bark.

29. Two Gallies may be Mann'd, and furnished in the manner following, and will be as great a Guard and Safety to a Fleet of Gallies, as the Wings of an Eagle to little Birds, or a Cattle to a Ship.

The two Gallies shall carry each of them 1000 Men, with all kind of Arms for Offence and Defence: There shall be placed aloft such kind of Fowlers as I will invent.

Their Hatches shall be made with Trap Doors, and Pikes placed under them, that as fast as Men enter they shall fall upon the Pikes so placed; all the Deck, shall be strew'd with round Pease tallow'd, that treading upon them, no Man shall be able to stand upon his Feet; the Ships on the Outside to be stuck with Tenter-Hooks, that they shall take no hold to enter with their Hands, and their Cloaths will stuck upon the Tenter-Hooks, that they shall not be able to enter: There shall be Barricadoes, and close Fights made with all advantage, and all Parts of the Ship be made Musket-proof for the Safeguard of Men.

Aloft by the Water and without Board they shall be fortify'd with Packs of Wooll, that no Shot shall pierce them, or Gallies be able to board them; Every Ship shall have upon his Yard-Arm, a Barrel or two of Gunpowder mixed with Bullets, that as the Gallies shall approach the distance of the Yard, the Barrel of Powder shall be let fall with a Pulley, and matches about the Barrel, that shall give fire upon the Fall, and breaking of the Barrel: In this manner will the Galleys be burnt, and the Men slain, all at one instant.

30. If Gallies attend a Fleet of Ships, thinking to cut off some stragglers, as they did to Sir *Francis Drake*, and after to us at *Cadiz*, where they took some few Vessels; in such a Case, the great Ships must be a Guard of the outside of the Fleet to the lesser Ships, and if the Fleet chance to Anchor, to place the least and weakest Vessels outermost of the Fleet in the Day time, which will imbolden the Gallies in the Night to assail them; but when the Darkness of the Night shall approach;

approach, then to remove them, and in their place to cause the best and the greatest Ships of the Fleet to anchor where the others did, that if the Gallies attempt them they shall be entertain'd to their loss.

31. If a Ship will board an Enemy under a Castle, let him that boards bring the Ship boarded, betwixt him and the Castle, for then dares not the Castle fire for hazarding their own Ship boarded.

32. Sinking of Ships full of Stones is an old Invention, and used as well to defend ones self in a barr'd Harbour, as by an Enemy to keep in Ships from going out; but it is to little purpose to him that possesses a Harbour; for when the Water is decreased, such Ships sunk may be waded to, the Stones taken out, and the Ships burnt without hurt to themselves or Harbour.

33. Booming Harbours for the Safeguard of Ships is usual; but at each end of the Boom, Sconces must be built to defend it: For this I refer you to my first Book, which will give you more particular light.

34. One of the known Dangers in a Ship of great Burthen, and in a great Storm, that carries weighty Ordnance, is, the breaking loose of one of her Pieces in the Lower Tire; for before she can be muled, or overcome by force of Men, what with the rowling of the Ship from one side to the other, the Piece will carry the Ship side, and founder her in the Sea.

35. For avoiding these Perils, there is but one Remedy, if it take effect, which is suddenly to heave up the Hatches of the Deck, that in her recoil she may find the Deck open, and fall into the Hold, where she shall be easily over-master'd.

I am of Opinion, if any had escap'd aboard the King of Spain's Ships that were wreck'd, which was impossible, they would confess the breaking loose of their Ordnance was the occasion of their Destruction; and no marvel, for they us'd to carry their great Ordnance upon Field-Carriages, which makes them the more Dangerous and Unserviceable, when they come to traverse them.

36. If there could be made a Ball of Wild-fire, as I have heard some take upon them to do it, which Ball should burn without quenching, then were it an easie thing to convey one of them Balls secretly into a Ship, and privately to hide it till the Party be gone out of the Ship, which then being set on Fire, will not only burn the said Ship, but all others near her.

37. In passing a Fort in the Night, it is good to make both the Ship and Sails black, with a Care that no light be seen in her; but the way for an Enemy to prevent her entrance is this, to make a Fire opposite to the Fort, and to lay the Ordnance point blank with the Fire, that when they shall see the Shadow of the Fire taken from them by the Ship and Sails, then to discharge their Ordnance, and be sure to sink the Ship.

38. A Ship that will keep another from boarding her, she being to Windward and may board her, the Remedy is, to put forth two Masts at two Ports, that the Ship covering to board, she shall light upon the Masts, and keep her from coming near the Ship.

39. It is a good Stratagem to board a Ship though she presently fall off again; and during the time she is on board to appoint the Carpenters with their Axes to cut the Port-ropes of the Ships boarded, that at her coming off again, when she shall begin a new Fight, her Pieces may serve for no purpose, because her Ports will be cloged, and not able to put forth a piece of Ordnance, but lie to be annoyed by the Enemy.

40. A number of Ships lying in an Harbour dry, from half Tide to half Tide, may be thus destroy'd, as I will make a Comparison betwixt England, Flanders, and France, where two of them have Wars with one another, and the Third Peace with both, I will suppose that a Ship of France, and a Man in her that I will trust, freighted for Dunkirk, where English Barks are forbid to go, the Bark is to be laden with Deals, and other dry substance apt to burn, and under her Boards there must be stow'd Pitch, Tarr, Rosin, and other Ingredients not to be quench'd: The French Man that shall execute this Stratagem, must forecast at his Entrance into the Harbour to seek to lie a board the best Ships, and where he may do the most Hurt and Spoil to the rest, when his Ship is on fire.

All things being thus provided, and the Train sufficiently made, the French Man must watch his Opportunity that his Match come to the Train by that time it is low Water, which he may compute by Hours, and the length of his Match; and in that time he may have his Horse in readiness to carry him over the River of Gravelin, but 9 Miles from thence, where he will be in France, and free from Danger.

The Fire thus taking, and all things order'd by these Directions, as well this Ship as all others in the Harbour will be

destroy'd;

destroy'd; for Ships, and they able to remove quench the Fire that in the mean time destroy'd.

41. If Ships or Sconces, that if it were taken To embark the Boats in the Night their Oars, and Fort as they came and in the mean Boat, not near are, to show a as though it were not willingly, drift, which they suddenly let fly which the others suddenly land their Scaling, nance can be

42. If an Enemy upon a Shore should be very kind of them, kind of Bridge, that may be the Boat to the and instead of go in ranks a

43. If an Shore is all Stones, like boulders, where to impeach the advice, that much at the come on the Stones or boulders, that not a Man

44. A Ship and to be executed this Stratagem; to Men; to the Signs of victory and whilst pillage, the subdue and

45. If others from may be so tant quite detriment they are the Place to deep Water

destroy'd; for the Water going from the Ships, and they lying dry, they are not able to remove or stir, or have Water to quench the Fire till the Flood rise; so that in the mean time they will be utterly destroy'd.

41. If Ships desire to surprize a Fort or Sconce, that would give them landing if it were taken, it is thus to be done: To embark the Men secretly in their Boats in the Night, and without noise of their Oars, and then to row as near the Fort as they can, without being discover'd, and in the mean time to cause a small Boat, not near the Place where the others are, to shew a Light or two with a Match, as though it were accidentally done, and not willingly, and to leave the Boat a-drift, which the Fort perceiving, will presently let fly her Ordnance against her, which the other Boats seeing, they may suddenly land, and enter the Sconce by their Scaling Ladders, before their Ordnance can be laden again.

42. If an Enemy should land in Boats upon a Shore that the Siege of the Sea should be very inconvenient for the landing of themselves and Arms, there is a kind of Bridge to be made with boards, that may be laid over from the side of the Boat to the Land, and avoid the Siege, and instead of wading, their Men may go in ranks ashore, without wetting.

43. If an Army shall land where the Shore is all Beachy, and full of little Stones, like *Dal* and the Castles thereabouts, where they may bring Ordnance to impeach the Enemy's landing, I would advise, that the Artillery shoot not so much at their Boats, but suffer them to come on shore, and then to let fly at the Stones or Hills piled up on purpose in heaps, that will scatter and disperse, as not a Man will be left alive.

44. A Ship that desires to be boarded, and to be enter'd by his Enemy, may use this Stratagem; To haul in all his Ordnance; to shut his Ports; to hide his Men; to strike his Sails, and make all the Signs of yielding; which the Enemy perceiving will be emboldned to board him, and whilst they are suffer'd to enter and pillage, the Defendants may suddenly rise, subdue and master them.

45. If an Enemy sink Ships to keep in others from going out, such Ships sunk may be suddenly weigh'd, if the Assailant quit the Harbour, without any great detriment to the Ship sunk, therefore they are to make choice of the shallowest Place to sink their Ships, and nearest to deep Water, where their own Ships may

ride and float, that with their Ordnance you may keep the Ship sunk, that no Boat, or other help, can weigh them; themselves shall be kept from any danger of Firing, for no Enemy can approach them, so long as the Ships sunk lie there.

46. There is a Stratagem as old as the Invention of Ships, tho' the Common People attribute it to the Wit of Sir *Francis Drake*, at *Cadiz*, in 1688, against the *Spaniards*; to fill old Ships and Vessels with Pitch, Tarr, Train-Oil, Brimstone, Reeds, Dry Wood, and to join three or four of these Ships together in the Night, and then turn them a-drift with the Tide, where the Enemy's Fleet rides, and either burn or disperse them, after they are thus put from their Anchorage.

47. At my being at Sea in my Youth, 1585. two small Ships of us accompany'd together, we met a strong and obstinate Ship of *Holland*, who refus'd to strike his Flag, or to shew his Cocker; this Ship had in her an *English* Pilot, by whom we expostulated with the *Hollander*, without any semblance of boarding her; but being very nigh her our Master cry'd to the Man at Helm, with great Anger, to Port the Helm, lest we should come foul of her; but privately he gave charge to the Helmsmen, to put his Helm a-star-board, when he should have put it Port, and cry'd with great vehemency to the *English* Pilot to bear up, for our Ship came against her Helm, and will'd them to get Fenders, and have Spikes to fend off, lest we should come foul of her: The *Hollanders* thought all we said was true, and every one of them put their helping hand to keep off our Ship with Fenders and Oars, not apprehending our Intention; and when we saw their People thus employ'd, and not to have time to take Arms, we suddenly boarded, enter'd, and took her by this Stratagem.

48. As the greatest Advantage of a Fleet of Ships of War, is to have Intelligence of their Enemy when they come upon their Coast, so the way to obtain it arriving upon the Coast of *Spain*, is to let a Ship's Boat lie under the Island of *Burlings*, where they shall not fail by break of Day in the Morning, to take Fishermen that will be able to inform them of the State of things ashore: It may as well serve for any other Place, if they see fair Weather in hand.

My Lord of *Cumberland*, arriving upon the Coast of *Spain*, was sore distress'd for Intelligence; and a sudden Calm arising, two or three Leagues from us, we spy'd two Caravels; whereupon I put my self into

into the Ship's Boat, and rowed to them ; one of them I took ; the other might have escap'd, but by this Stratagem I prevented her, I took out two or three of her Men and Mann'd her with my own Company, and immediately without delay sent her to meet with her Comfort, who made signs that they might think her discharg'd, and row'd my Boat on board the Ship that there should be no suspicion ; so that the Caravel was thus taken by Deceit, which otherwife might have escap'd ; but when I had so much as I desir'd for Intelligence at their hands, I dismiss'd them, and after found, I being taken my self, that they reported well of my good Usage of them.

50. I had a Stratagem upon Prince Cardinal *Albert*, when he was Vice Roy of *Portugal*, but was prevented by his sudden going into the Low Countries ; and thus it was : When I was Prisoner in the Gallies, about the 10th of *September*, the Cardinal pass'd down to a Pleasant House call'd *Cintra*, with a small Train, where he spent his time in Devotion. Usually he repair'd thither at the same time of the Year, and to the same Purpose, which I well observ'd, and meant, if ever God gave me liberty, to have surpriz'd him in this manner : To have comforted with two or three Ships of War, which would no way have hinder'd the hope of their Voyage, to have anchored before *Cintra*, that is seated upon a Hill, and not above two Miles from the Sea. I meant in the middle of the Night, when there was no Noise or Suspicion, to have landed 100 Men with Firelocks, who might, without Difficulty, have surpriz'd him and his House, and have brought him to the Place where the Boats were commanded to attend.

51. When I was remov'd from the Gallies to the Castle of *Lisbon*, I had another Stratagem on foot, but was prevented by a Traitorous *English* Man, whom I was forced to use as an Interpreter, before I had the Language.

There was in Prison with me a *Portuguese* Gentlemen, call'd *Emanuel Fernandez*, who had been in *England* Servant to *Don Antonio*, their pretended King : This Man was much devoted to the Service of the Queen ; and I observ'd, that a Pilot of the King's, usually employ'd to meet the *Indies* Fleet with Letters of Advice, to direct them the Course they were to come home in, resorted to him. I so dealt with *Seignior Emanuel*, that upon Considerations agreed on betwixt us, if my designs should prove successful, he did

really undertake to prevail with the said Pilot, instead of carrying the Letters of Advice to their own Fleet, to carry them to the Queen, that so the Treasure might by this Intelligence be intercepted : For I had so contriv'd it, had I not been prevented by the said Treacherous *English* Man, that the Queen should have notice of it, by Letters I wrote to the Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High Treasurer, and to the Lord Admiral, and conveyed the said Letters in the Soles of my Boy's Shoes ; but by the false Dealing of the *English* Man aforesaid, my Plot was discover'd, and my Boy carry'd into *Belem* Castle, three Leagues from thence ; so that when I thought my Servant had been embark'd for *England*, two Months after I had Intelligence by an *English* Man, Gunner of the said Castle, that he was still there Prisoner, and had famili'd if he had not taken Pity of him.

The first thing the *Spaniards* did, after the Imprisoning my Boy, was to rip and search his Shoes, according to the Intelligence given them ; but tho' it was unfortunate to me, yet in another kind it fell out luckily, for a great Rain falling that Morning he was carry'd away, it so moistned his Shoes and Letters, that they were moulder'd, and could not be read, as the Boy after confess'd at my arrival in *England*, so that they could have no Witnells, but the *English* Man who was my Accuser.

Since I am upon this Project, tho' it may seem tedious to the Reader, yet will I set down the Danger that beset the Gentleman and me, upon the Occasion aforesaid : This Signior *Fernandez* had been Prisoner in the Castle of *Lisbon* almost Seven Years ; and his Cifence, for coming out of *England*, with Letters and Messages to *Don Antonio* his Friends in *Portugal* ; yet such was the Power of Money, that by means thereof he was to receive Liberty, had it not been for this Treason discover'd by this vile *English* Man. A Day was appointed for his Sentence of Death, which with weeping Eyes he acquainted me with, like a Friend in a desperate Case : I advis'd him, if all other hopes fail'd, to seek some Stratagem to escape Prison, with promise of my endeavour to help him ; and to be short, for delay could do no good. He provided himself of a Rope and a Cudgel to put betwixt the Battlements of the Castle Wall, thinking when we went to our necessary businells, which was once a Day, with a Guard of two Soldiers, to have taken an Opportunity to have slipped down

down the Wall, and to have run into a Church, thereby stated, to take Sanctuary.

But after Four Days Trial made at our coming to the Wall, as I have said, we found it impossible to put this Stratagem in execution in the day time; and I considered withal, the danger that might have befall'n me, if he had escap'd; therefore we thought upon another course, tho' it was more improbable, and which was as followeth: Over the little Room he lay in, was a Chamber where Soldiers had been Lodged, that a Week before were Embarked in a Fleet to Sea; the Chamber was not so high, but that by the help of a high Stool, which he had in his Room, the top of it could be reach'd to; here we put our helping hands, one of us still working, till we cut with our Knives a Trap-Door out of the Boards above head, that a Man might creep through it; and finding by the Amatack when the Nights would grow dark, we contriv'd all things against that time, to perform our devis'd Plot; and by means of his Son, who had access to him, he was provided of a Sword-Scabbard, and a Stick to serve instead of a Rapier, that he might seem to be a Soldier as he pass'd the Centinels; he carry'd his Rope and Cudgel afore-said, and a Bag with a little Bread and Wine for his Sustainance, under his Cloak: and thus he went Armed out of the Chamber above, as a Soldier with a wooden Sword by his side.

He pass'd the *Corps de Guard* and Five Centinels before he came to the Wall, pretending he went for his necessary Occasions, which they never mistrusted, seeing he carry'd the Sign of a Soldier, which was a Stick in his Scabbard. At his arrival at the Wall, without fear, or any sense of Age, he slip'd down by the Rope, and happily escap'd.

Not long after, the Round passing about the Castle, espied his Rope, Cloak, Cudgel, and wooden Sword, which assur'd them of the escape of some Prisoner; whereupon the Drum beat, the Alarm was taken, and the Soldiers furiously came running into my Chamber, as they did to others where Prisoners lay, with their Swords drawn, and threatening Death. I confess I look'd here to have ended my Life, but that pass'd, and Two Soldiers were left to guard me till Morning.

They finding it was my Neighbour Signior Emanuel Fernandez that was escap'd; the Hue-and-Cry went through the City and Country, and Command for his Apprehension; but such was his Fortune, that he escap'd the Fury of the Tumult, and I

was left at stake to be baited for the Offence: In the Morning early, I appear'd before the Judge, as the only De'inquent, the rest of the Prisoners casting it upon me; all agreeing, I was the likeliest to know of his escape, because of our continual Conversation, but little knowing the true Cause of our often meeting.

But neither Threats, ill Usage, or Promise of Liberty, could make me confess any thing to the Prejudice of either of us. I was so urged and threaten'd, that I was forced to use for my Defence this Argument (*viz.*) That I was no Subject to the King of Spain, but to a Prince his Enemy; that I was taken in War, and therefore requir'd the benefit of that Law for my Redemption; I came not willingly to their Country to learn their Laws, or to bring in others to breed Innovation; I was subject at that time to the universal Law of Honour and Arms, by which I challeng'd the Privilege of a Gentleman for my Freedom; and for the Accident now in question, I deny'd that I had any knowledge thereof, or that I was any way privy to it, and that the unlikeliness of it should plead for me, and be a sufficient Testimony of my Innocency; I told them they knew I was so unskilful in their Language, that I could not devise a Practice or Plot with a Man I understood not; and that my Imprisonment had kept me from Acquaintance, either in City or Country, to contrive any evil against their State; and if it shou'd Guilt to be accus'd, no Man could prove innocent; and therefore I desired them that they would rather pity my Misery than accuse me unjustly; I intreated them to consider that I was a Prisoner among my Enemies, destitute of all Relief, and in a place where no Friend could resort to me; for I bemoan'd my Wants, there being a Restraint of Entercourse and Trade betwixt the Two Nations.

But what I could say did little prevail; for they aggravated my supposed Offence with cruelty of Threats, inasmuch that I was forc'd to plead in another Style, and let them know, that by the Law of Arms, they could prove nothing against me that deserv'd punishment: the privilege of which Law I challeng'd, as being taken in War, and continu'd Prisoner for my Redemption, during which time, it was lawful for me to seek my own Liberty, and to neglect no occasion, wherein I might do Service to my Prince and Country, and therefore what they accus'd me of, could not be deemed an Offence.

I told them moreover, tho' I us'd this but as an Argument, yet their barbarous

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Use of me deserv'd a greater Revenge than I had Ability to perform; whereas, if they had Treated me with Courtesie, I had been more bound to them, than if they had repos'd Trust in me. I ended with this defence, That they should be wary what Violence they offer'd me, for I had Friends in *England*, and was of a Nation that both could and would sufficiently Reveng what Cruelty soever they should use towards me.

These Reasons begot a more calm Respect from them; and another while they us'd persuasive Arguments, with promise of Liberty and Reward; making me believe the Gentleman was taken, and Confess'd so much as they accus'd me of; but I well knew their Words were but Wind, for that they would never have warn'd me, if they could have justify'd their Allegations by a Personal Testimony: Yet I confess the thoughts of one thing much terrify'd me; which was a Letter I gave Signior *Fernandez* at his departure, which might have been produc'd against me; the Letter was in his behalf, to all *English* Captains at Sea, for his Friendly Entertainment; his design being to put himself into a Fisherboat, to look out at Sea for a Man of War to Transport him for *England*.

After a tedious Examination of Four Hours, when they saw their Subtleties could work nothing out of me, Presumption being but an unequal Judge, they return'd me to Prison, with charge to be more strictly look'd to; and after neglected no cunning means to entrap me, as I have more largely express'd in another Discourse, at the Request of some of my Friends.

I will again return to the Gentleman Signior *Fernandez*, who no doubt was as much perplex'd out of Prison, as I who could not fly from the danger of my Enemies, in whose custody I remain'd. All Hue and Cries, Searches, promises of Reward, and other devised Policies, not prevailing for the Apprehending of the poor Gentleman: he liv'd in a disguis'd obscure manner, till time furnish'd him an opportunity to Embarque in a Fisherboat, to make use of my Letters aforesaid, where he spent 14 Days at Sea, and failing of meeting any Ship at Sea, and wearied with Sea-Sickness, he was forc'd to return to Shore, where he liv'd some time among poor Shepherds and Herd-men, till he thought his Disguise and Disfiguring himself, had so altered him that he could not be known.

Now thinking his new formed Shape would secure him from being Discover'd;

and hoping that the long time since his escape, might make his Fact to be worn out of memory; he was emboldned in a Beggars Habit to try the Charity of good People, and chancing to Repair to a Gentleman's House for Alms, it hapned that the said Gentleman and he, had been fellow Prisoners in the Castle of *Lisbon*, who by his Tongue, and other Semblances and Marks, discover'd who he was; and immediately call'd a Servant, which gave a suspicion to Signior *Fernandez*, that it was to give warning to the Officers to Apprehend him; but to prevent what his Heart misgave him, he suddenly ran into the Church there by, and took Sanctuary for his Defence.

This Accident being so strange, and falling upon a Man the whole Kingdom had an Eye upon, because of his former escape, the Prince Cardinal was immediately with speed advertized of it at *Lisbon*, being above 120 Miles from thence. It was my Fortune before this happen'd, to be releas'd out of my Imprisonment, which I account a Happiness, that thereby I was brought into no danger.

The Cardinal being advertis'd, as you have heard, of Signior *Fernandez* taking Sanctuary, with all speed caus'd him to be taken out of the Church, and brought to his old accustomed Lodging in the Castle of *Lisbon*, where not long after the Law proceeded against him, and he receiv'd the doom of Death due to such an Offence; but not without Grief and Sorrow to many of the Beholders, as well *Spaniards* as *Portugueses*; for indeed he was a Man of much Goodness and great Charity, and to his Ability oblig'd many a Soldier in the Garrison.

The day appointed for his Execution being come, and having received all the Rights and Ceremonies of a *Christian*, he was brought out of Prison, with a Wind-ing-Sheet lapp'd Bandalier fashion about him; and many Soldiers and others to behold him, to give him their last adieu; and for a farewell from himself, he took occasion to speak to the Soldiers there present, in this manner; he told them, How much he had lov'd them, and that to some of them he had give testimony of it, in his better Fortunes, which he knew they would thankfully acknowledge; and in lieu of all his former Courtesies and Kindnesses, he desir'd them to requite him with one now at parting, as the last Request he should ever make, which was, For one of them with speed to repair to the House of the *Misericordia*, an Office of great Reputation and Trust concerning Religion and Charity,

Charity, and his Desire was, That they might be inform'd of the Injury done to God, Themselves, and the Holy Church, by taking perforce a penitent Sinner out of Sanctuary: A Thing so unjust and unsufferable, that it behov'd them to take notice of it.

This little Hope gave great Content to the Soldiers, and happy was he that could make greatest haste to the House of the *Misericordia* to make relation of the strange Accident that had happened. The Gentlemen of the *Misericordia* weighing the Dishonour and Injustice done their House, delayed no Time, but posted on Horseback to the Place of Execution, where they found poor Senior *Fernandez* ready to recommend his Spirit to God, and the Hangman as ready to perform his Office; but such was his Fortune by the Speed and Courage of the Gentlemen, that they redeem'd him from present Death, and return'd him to the Place from whence he came; for as they were loth to lose their Privileges, so they were as unwilling to offend their King.

The Strangeness of this Accident may put a Man in mind of an old English Proverb, that *Marriage and Hanging goes by Destiny*.

52. In the 48th Stratagem, I have shewed how necessary it is to get Intelligence of an Enemy, and how to obtain it, as you shall there find, for that part of *Spain* and *Portugal* I spoke of; so likewise you shall read in my First Book, how to compass Intelligence of the South Part of *Spain*, as namely *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz*, by Example of a Precedent of my own: As also in the same Book, I refer you to the way how to procure Intelligence at the *Tercera* Islands; to which Book I refer you for brevity sake.

53. When the Queen lived, she was inclined to hearken to a Project of mine, for the taking and inhabiting the Castle *De la Myna* in *Guinea*, many years possess'd by the *Portugueses*, and for Defence whereof, they rely'd most upon the number of Negro's, in whose Country *Myna* is seated; and to indear the Negro's the more to them, and to exasperate them against the Enemies, they make them believe, That what War soever they have with others, is in their Defence against those who seek to slay them, and to possess their Country. But to meet with this Project, I divid'd to carry a number of Negro's out of *England*, that could speak their Language, and were able to report the Difference betwixt the *Portugueses* Usage of them and ours; for in *Portugal* they sell

their Negro's in open Market for Slaves, as we do Horses, which they know we do not, by which means we shall be able to disappoint their Designs.

54. The Marquis of *Santa Cruz*, when he took the *Tercera* Islands, made offer of landing at the City of *Angra*, and finding the Island had drawn all their Forces together to withstand him in that Place, he instantly winded his Gallies about, and row'd 5 Leagues to the Eastward of it, and landed where he found no Resistance. The same did my Lord of *Essex* at the Island of *St. Michael's*, who pointed to land at *Porto de Gallo*, but left that Resolution, and went with his Boats to *Villa Franca*, which he took easily, all their Forces being drawn to *Porto de Gallo*.

55. Naming *Villa Franca*, I will say something that happen'd to me 18 years before this I have spoken of, rather to make you Laugh, than for Seriousness sake, and yet I place it amongst the Stratagems; and thus it was: You must know that, notwithstanding the Wars with *England* and *Spain*, some of those Islands conniv'd at the Trade betwixt them and the *English* Ships, which went under the Name and Colour of *Scots*: It chanced that one Evening I came into the Road of *Villa Franca*, but without the Command of the Castle, attending the Darkness of the Night to go aboard an *English* Ship there riding, to avoid suspicion of being seen from the Shore: Upon my boarding of the same Ship, I was carried by the Master to Banquet in his Cabin; his Company that were on board espied a Boat rowing from the Shore, and brought us News of it, being in the Cabin, which put the Master to a deadly Fear, for my being discover'd would have prov'd his Undoing. I comforted him, and will'd him to follow my Directions, and he should escape any such Danger. I desir'd him to go out of the Cabin, and leave me there, and to say what I should bid him. The Boat came to the Ship side, and told the Master, That the strange Ship that rid not far from him was an *English* Rover, and will'd him to be careful, for that Night 'twas thought he would surprize her: I will'd the Master to tell them, That he suspected as much, and stood upon his Guard, but fear'd that the Ship had deserv'd their Boat coming off from the Shore, and it was likely they would intercept their Boat in their return to Land, and advis'd them, as they lov'd their Liberty, to hasten away. This put the *Portugueses* in such a Fear, that suddenly, without speaking one Word more, they put off their Boat

without enteriing into the Ship; which made us Laugh heartily, and was a good Addition to our Supper.

56. In the year 1611. there was a Complaint made by the Inhabitants of the Cinque-Ports, that the *French* incroach'd upon their Fishing at Sea, a Rocky Ground 5 Leagues South from *Rye*, which Place serves all *London* with choice Fish: Whereupon I was sent down to redress this Disorder, and made use of the Stratagem following, because if I had discover'd my self with my Ship, the *French* would have fled: Therefore I Mann'd the *English* Fisherboats with my own Company, and gave them Order, as I should pass by with my own Ship, and shoot a Piece of Ordnance, to board the *French* and possess them; which they did, and by means thereof the Cinque-Ports enjoy'd their antient Privilege.

57. The Stratagem of taking the Pirates in the *anno* 1614, is amply set down in my second Book, to which I refer you, wishing you to peruse it, for it will give you Pleasure and Content in reading it, and a Light withal how to use the same Stratagem, if there be occasion.

58. A Ship, and by consequence he that is employ'd in her, may be deceiv'd by touching the Needle in the manner following: A Ship going her Course to the Port she is bound, may be deceiv'd in touching the North Point South with a Loadstone, which is contrary to the Place she is going to, and may, perhaps, carry her upon some Shoals and Rocks, that in a right Course there is no Cause to fear.

59. In the Voyage with my Lord of *Lindsey*, in 1635, we sent over a Fisherboat to *Brest*, *Baltour Bay*, and other Places upon that Coast, to spy and view the State of the *French* and *Holland* Fleet, which we knew was thither retir'd, but with such Insinuations as the *French* could not suspect it; and that they might see we had great Confidence in them, and to receive Advertisment from them, we pretended the Cause of our employing the Boat was to look out certain *Turkish* Pirates, who we suppos'd hover'd upon their Coast. The Boat return'd with a true Relation, as we after found, which gave us good Satisfaction.

60. Not long after my being taken by the Galleys in *Spain*, if I had not been by Accident prevented, I had escap'd the Imprisonment I endur'd for many Months in the said Galleys at *Cascais* and *Lisbon*, which was most grievous to me, by this Stratagem following. Whilst we rid in the Harbour of *Lisbon*, there came aboard

the Galley where I was, a Master of a Ship of *Holland*, who spake good *English*; this Man came from *Brazil*, for at that time the *Portugueses* freighted *Holland* Ships in most of their long Voyages, tho' they pretended to be in War one with another. This *Holland*er pitying my Case, with'd me privately aboard his Ship, promising to conceal and hide me that I should not be found; besides his Word, I took his Protestation and Vow to perform his Promise, if I could devise to escape out of the Galley. I verily believe the Man meant truly and honestly, for he confirm'd it by many Protestations at other Times and Days: Whereupon I was not idle to devise an Escape, and writ a Letter with my own Hand, directed to the rest of my Company, then Prisoners with me, declaring that my Captivity was so hard, that I could no longer endure it, but chose rather to end my Life by drowning my self, and with'd them to signify so much to my Friends in *England*: And one Night, when all Things were whilst and silent in the Galley, I intended secretly to escape, by stealing secretly into the Ladder of the Galley at the Tide of Ebb, and to convey my self into the Water without Noise, or moving either Hand or Foot, till I was brought clear off the Galley's View, and then to swim on board the *Holland* Ship, who lay just in the wake of the Galley, and in view of me: This I might easily have done without Suspicion, or Notice taken of me; but unluckily it fell out, that the day before I meant to put this Stratagem in Execution, the Galleys were commanded upon some Service to Sea, so that before our return to *Lisbon* the *Holland* Ship was gone a new Voyage, and I frustrat'd of my Hopes.

As commonly one Discourse begets another, so this Accident puts me in mind of some others that befall me, or that I was witness to, in the time of my Imprisonment, which I have been desir'd by my Friends to put in Writing, that there may remain a Remembrance of them after my Death: And what I insert, is neither as Project, or Stratagem, but only a plain Narration of what I have heard, and seen.

Riding in the Port of *Lisbon*, for there is no other place for the Galleys to reside upon all that Coast, there was discover'd to the General a Practice by an *Italian*, to draw the *Forgado's* or Galley-Slaves to take Arms and rise against the Soldiers, and possess themselves of the Galley and Men where he was, in order to recover their

I bet

Lieries, and dispose of the Galley as they pleas'd. This Treason being examin'd, the *Italian* confess'd it, and for his Reward, his two Arms were made fast to the Stern of two Gallies, and his two Legs to two others, and he quarter'd by rowing of the Gallies. If this *Italian* had had the Wit of an *Italian*, he would not thus have play'd the Fool, for he might well know where so many Men were to be trusted, as are in a Galley, it could not chuse but be reveal'd. The Slaves consisting of so many Nations, and the Treasures being so different, some Condemn'd for Life, others for Years more or less, and any one revealing it, was able to purchase his own Liberty and Reward. Or suppose they had prevail'd in their Design, the rest of the Gallies had been able to have master'd them; or if not, they had been destitute of Victuals to sustain them, not having so much as Water, for every second Day they used to fetch their Water from the Shore: Or tho' all those I have spoken of had been no Impediment to them, yet there had been no Place to have fled to, but some Port of France, no nearer them than 7 or 800 Miles.

The next Accident I take notice of, was in the same Port of *Lisbon*, and in the same Gallies, that happen'd to the Captain of the Vice-Admiral, a churlish and ill-natur'd Man, as my self had some occasion to say; for after my being taken Prisoner, I found him discourteous and uncivil towards me, for without Leave, Knowledge, or Warning, to my Page that serv'd me, nor Permission to see me, he sent him to the farthest part of all *Spain*, intending he should never return more into his Country; tho' after he fail'd of his Purpose, by means of an *Englishman* that liv'd thereabouts, whither he was sent, and understanding of this Accident of his coming thither, and that he had been my Servant, whose Name and Friends he well knew, tho' he was unacquainted with me; yet at my Request by Letter, when I heard of the Condition of the Man, most courteously he procur'd Means, and obtain'd Liberty and License for my Servant to return to me, and of his own accord furnish'd him with Money sufficient for his Journey, who arriv'd safely, and continu'd to do me Service during the time of my Imprisonment; whom after I preferr'd to be a Captain in the Service against the *Spaniards*.

This ill-condition'd *Spanish* Captain after tasted a just Reward for his ill Disposition; for as it is the use of Captains of

Galleys to make Choice of some *Moor* or *Turk* to attend them in their Cabins, as People more neat and officious than Christians, and more obsequious and desirous to please than their own natural Countrymen: Out of those suppos'd Reasons the Captain made Choice of one of them, a *Turk* in Religion, and most consonant to his Humour, as he conceiv'd. It happen'd, that as this *Moor* exceeded in Diligence, so it increas'd his Credit and Trust with his Captain; who sending him one day ashore to wash his Linnen, (for some of the *Moors* exceed Women in that Employ) he carry'd with him 100 Crowns of his Captain's, which he had in Charge among other Monies and Plate; this *Moor* was entic'd by Company to play, where he made a short End of his 100 Crowns.

After some time, his Theft was discover'd to his Captain, who was so intrag'd, having no Means to recover his Loss, that he return'd him to his Oar and painful Bank in the Galley, where he remain'd in his former Slavery. But this was not Revenge sufficient to please the Captain, but he order'd him a cruel Punishment usually inflict'd upon Offenders, laying them flat over the *Crosses*, where he was unmercifully beaten with a Bull's Pistle, till he was made unable either to stand or sit, or to do the King's Work, nor was the Captain willing he should do him Service, till time had overcome his Passion; but then finding a great Want of his Attendance, he once more deliver'd him out of his Chains, and accepted of his Service as he was wont, and so he pass'd some time, as he was formerly wont to do.

But the *Moor* carried a canker'd Revengeful Heart against his Captain, which he crasily dissembled, not giving any kind of Suspicion, till he had found a Way and Opportunity to compass it, which was in this manner:

At his usual Hour in the Morning he repair'd to get up his Captain, but provided all Things for his Purpose; as first, a Cross-bar to keep down the Scuttle; and being below he provided himself with Powder, Fire, Match, and other Necessaries, which he plac'd in the outward Room, and suddenly rush'd into his Captain's Cabin with a naked Dagger in his Hand, to whom he gave eight Stabs, making account he had slain him, but hearing a Noise without, he left the Captain, and betook himself to a Gentleman, who cry'd out for help; which being done, he put the Match to the Train he had prepar'd, and set the Galley on fire, which he leap'd into and burnt himself to Ashes;

but

but by the help of the other Gallies that rid near her they suddenly boarded her, saved all her Slaves, and the Captain, who was not quite dead; but what else was in her was all consum'd. A rare Example of Revenge in a Heathen to a Christian: And tho' the Captain and he differed in Religion, yet not much in Condition and perverse Natures.

This Captain was after question'd as the Author of the Destruction of the King's Galley, by the ill Usage of this Slave, and had it not been for the General's sake, Don Francisco de Coloma, Brother to Don Carlo Coloma, who was after Ambassador into England in King James and King Charles's time, he had deeply smarted for it.

Misfortunes thus left not the Captain, but still attended him, as a thing fatal to his ill Nature; for after the Recovery of his Hurts, and Restitution of his Command, he was once more rifled and robbed by another Moor he entertain'd in the place of his other Servant: This Moor was entic'd by two Spanish Soldiers to commit the Theft, and after it was done he and the Soldiers pass'd over the River without interruption, and kept Company together till they arriv'd upon a spacious great Hill, where the Soldiers, finding a good opportunity for their purpose, slew the Moor, possessed the Money, and escaped themselves; so that they were never heard more of whilst I was in Spain.

I will leave speaking of the Gallies whilst I was in them: And now I was removed to the Castle of Lubon, where I remain'd Prisoner a good space; but I will end with the hap of two of the said Gallies, which my Eyes beheld, and my self was made an Actor of Revenge upon them.

In my first Book, and in the year 1591, you will find how I became Prisoner to the Spaniards, and what pass'd in the Fight betwixt six Gallies and the Ship I was taken in: It happened that about 11 years after, and as you shall likewise find in the same Book, that Sir Richard Lewson and my self had the surprising a Carrack and two Gallies, which we burnt in the Road of Zeximbra; which two Gallies were of the Numrer aforesaid that took me, and one of them the very same wherein I was kept Prisoner. This Act of Revenge to some Men would have been very pleasing.

In September, which is commonly the Month for the Gallies to make their retreat into Harbour for Winter, 1 and 8 of my Company were strongly guarded to the Castle of Lubon, there to lie imprison'd till a Course was taken for our Re-

demption out of England, with an Allowance of 7 d. 2 q. per Diem, for each Man for his Maintenance, a Proportion that did not equal 2 d. per Diem, according to the Rate of things in England. All the time of our Imprisonment we were close confin'd, only in the morning we relorted to the Castle-Walls, with a guard of Soldiers, to perform our necessary Occasions.

It happened on St. Andrew's Day following, being upon the Walls, at our usual hour, we beheld a great Galleon of the King's turning up the River, in her Fighting Sails, being sumptuously deck'd with Antients, Streamers and Pendants, with all other Ornaments, to shew her Bravery. She let fly all her Ordnance in a Triumphant manner for the taking Sir Richard Greenville in the *Revenge* at the Island of Flores, she being one of that Fleet, and the first Voyage she ever made.

I confess it was one of the greatest and sorrowfullest Sights that ever my Eyes beheld, to see the Cause the Spaniards had to boast, and no Remedy in me to revenge it but in my Tongue, but hop'd for future Comfort, and took such Englishmen as were in my Company to witness what I should say to them: I offered to give them one for ten, if I did live, to be at the taking and possessing of that Triumphant Galleon, that carry'd the Name of that Day, viz. St. Andrew. This pass'd but as an idle Desire I had to see my word come to effect.

In the year 1596, which was five years after, ensu'd our Cadiz Expedition, under the Command of the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, where, amongst 58 Ships there destroyed and burnt, the said St. Andrew was, and she and another only saved from the Fire: But this was nothing to my Prognosticating Wager, for I could assume no more to my self than any other Man of that Fleet; but it happen'd, as I was Captain of the *Repulse* under my Lord of Essex, I was appointed in the *Repulse's* Boat and some others to save the Galleons that were run ashore, whole Names were these, St. Matthew, St. Andrew, St. Philip, and St. Thomas: The St. Matthew and St. Andrew we preserved, tho' it was with some Peril to us: The St. Philip and St. Thomas let themselves on fire, even as I was ready to enter the St. Philip: And I may boldly say, what I spake in the Castle of Lubon was now punctually performed; and for the Truth hereof, it is not long since one of the Englishmen liv'd, and till his Death would my Words to be true.

These



These four strange Accidents I have inserted in this Fifth Book, at the entreaty of Friends that have heard me often relate them; but what shall follow was upon the Impotency of some of my Children, who consider'd how young I was when I put my self into the Wars at Sea, how long I have since lived, and been acquainted with the Affairs of the World, which amounts to 56 years, and the often Dangers and Perils I have gone through by the Sword, by Famine, by Danger of the Sea, and other Casualties, as all Men are subject to that run such desperate Adventures. These Reasons prevail'd with me, that I yielded to their Request: And tho' in my first Book I have had occasion to speak of most of them, when I treated of the Voyages that then happened, and wherein there was occasion to mention them, yet for brevity sake I have added them to the latter part of this fifth Book, that they may suddenly be turned to, and found, referring to the Year and Book where you shall find them; and I will make my beginning in the Year 1585, when the Wars with *Spain* began, and wherein I was an Actor at the taking of the first *Spanish* Prize.

In that Voyage of 85. and in the Month of *September*, I was a Youth of 16 years of Age, and so enclin'd to see the World abroad, that without the knowledge of Father or Mother I put my self into an Action by Sea, where there was in Company of us two small Ships, fitted for Men of War, that authorized us by Commission to seize upon the Subjects of the King of *Spain*. We departed from the Isle of *Wight*, to which Place we return'd with our dear bought Prize: She was a *Biscayner* of 300 Tuns, well Mann'd, sufficiently furnish'd, and bravely defended: She came from *Grand Bay* in *Newfoundland*, which, at our first Arrival upon the Coast of *Spain*, we met with, and refusing to yield to us, we suddenly boarded, and by Consent of all our Men entred her; but the Waves of the Sea growing high, we were forced to ungrapple, and to leave our Men fighting on board her from 8 of the Clock in the evening till 8 in the morning. The manner how, and all other Circumstances, you will find in my second Book.

My next Escape was in the year 1587, and the first Voyage I went Captain to Sea, where, abiding longer than I expected, I was put to great Extremity of Victuals, and coming from the *Canary* Islands towards *England*, I fell with *Ireland*, and put into *Dingle* Bay, where the same

morning I was taken with a most dangerous and tempestuous Storm, being upon a *Lee Shoar*, and the Weather as dark and foggy as tho' it were night. The Master found himself so nigh the Land, that within an hour we could not escape Shipwrack upon the devouring Cliffs, if God did not send us the sight of a little Rock called the *Crow*, half a mile from the Entrance of the Port of *Dingle*. Every Man was as careful to look for this Rock as for Life, for our Safety consisted in the sight of it; and by great Fortune it was spy'd by a *Brazilian Indian* that serv'd me; which Rock was a perfect Director to our Master, and in half an hour he harbour'd us in the Port of *Dingle*. This put me in remembrance of what I had formerly read, That there was nothing more pleasant to a Man than to see himself at the point of Death by Shipwrack at Sea, and suddenly to escape the Danger by arriving in a safe Harbour.

Here I receiv'd two Lives from God, the one was the escape of Shipwrack, as you have heard, the other of Famine; for when we were safely arriv'd we took view of our Bread, for other Victuals we had none, and we had divided to every Man his Proportion of Bread a fortnight before, and found but six Biscuit Cakes amongst our whole 50 Men and more.

Reckoning according to Years, which Course I mean to follow, my next shall be in 1589, when I serv'd as Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Cumberland* to the Islands *Azores*; and coming to *Flores*, the most Westernmost Island of the seven, my Lord had Notice of certain *Spanish* Ships riding in the Road of *Fayal*, ready to take the first Wind for *Spain*, to the Southward of which Island my Lord had paid 8 days before. Upon this News my Lord hasten'd thither, both to be resolv'd of the Truth thereof, as also to make an Attempt upon those Ships, if he should see a possibility to prevail; but arriving two days after towards the evening, a Calm took him, and he was not able to reach within two Leagues of the Road where the Ships lay; whereupon there was a Council called, as in all Cases of Difficulty there is, wherein my self and Captain *Lyster* very earnestly propos'd, and by entreaty prevail'd, that we might have leave in that Calm to row to the Road to take a view of the Ships, that against morning we might see where to take Advantage by surprizing them.

As we drew near the *Spaniards* the dashing of our Oars was heard, which gave the Alarm to the Admiral, who only wore

the

the Flag, and instantly let fly her Ordnance, without any certain Aim, more than the dashing of the Oars directed. Captain *Laffer* and I seeing our selves misled by the Shot, were so much encouraged, that, rather like mad than discreet Men, we ran aboard the Admiral, with an intent suddenly to surprize her; but finding so great an inequality in our Forces, (for the Ship carry'd 16 Pieces of Ordnance, was well Mann'd and provided) we were glad to put off our Boat and retire, repenting of our Bargain.

As we were rowing towards our Fleet again, which all this while beheld the Fight, and heard the Report of the Ships Ordnance, we met another Boat of greater Burthen sent to succour us; and after joyful Salutation, we resolv'd and concluded with both our Boats to return again, and give a second Assault upon the Admiral, telling them the State and Condition of the Ship, which did so encourage both the one and the other, that by Consent it was agreed, they should board her in the Quarter, and we in the Hawse, and we to cut her Cable and let her drive off to Sea. All this was successfully acted, and the Ship miraculously enjoy'd, notwithstanding the continual Shot from the Castle, to which the Ship was moored, and which Castle a Month after we took, and afforded us 45 Pieces of Ordnance, mounted and dismounted. I must not forget that as we entred the Admiral on the one side, the *Spaniards* leapt over-board on the other, except the Captain, *John de Palma*, and one more.

Now having got an unexpected Victory, rather by Valour than Reason, we row'd out the Ship with our two Boats, the Castle not sparing to fire at us, till we brought her without reach of the Shot, and then we agreed to take out all our Men, except one at Helm to govern her, and struck down her Sails, and we our selves return'd in our Boats once more into the Road, where we possessed our selves of the other seven Ships left behind, three of which were of reasonable good Value. For the other Particulars of this Voyage I refer to my first Book, where you shall find this Relation following.

Coming into the Island of *St. Mary's*, we found an unwelcome Entertainment, tho' indeed we meant the People no further hurt than to be supplied with Water from the Island; but it seems they were better prepar'd to forbid us than we expected; for at our offering to land with 200 and odd Men, two parts of them were suddenly hurt and slain, in which

Encounter my Sword, which I placed naked, and the point upward, was shot asunder, and the Bullet pass'd through the Belly of my Doubler, which, if it had not been for my Sword, had done the like through my Belly.

My Lord being thus frustrated of all hope of Water and other Refreshment, was to seek the help of another Island to give him Relief; for now Drink began to be scarce, and it was likely it would put us to desperate want; and standing from hence to the Island of *St. George*, by Labour and Pains, and by the help of my swimming, my Ship drawing little Water to come near the Shore, I procur'd so much Water as kept us after from perishing.

Passing by the other side of the Island of *St. George*, we might see a goodly Spout, issuing out of the great Cliff, which gave my Lord a great Comfort to be supply'd with Drink by that Spout. Now began our People to be in despair of any help of Drink, either by Sea or Land, and by one Consent, in a tumultuous manner, cry'd out to return to *England*, which much troubled my Lord, who hop'd for a better fortunate Voyage before his return; and finding no Man so heartily true to him as my self, he bewail'd himself and his Case to me, how much it importuned him to try what Water that Spout would yield him, conjuring me, by the Love I bore him, that I would put my self into a small Boat that row'd with three Oars, one Man to steer, and my self to sit, and to venture ashore, to see the possibility that Spout would yield him for Water, promising that he and his Ship should stand within a mile of the Land, to take me up at my return: I perform'd it as honestly as he repos'd Trust in me, tho' by an Accident it had almost cost me my Life.

In my way, rowing towards the Shore, a great Whale was spy'd from my Lord's Ship, lying with her Back upon the Water asleep, as is the nature of Whales before Storms. This Whale was suppos'd to be a Rock, and dangerous for the Ship to bear farther into Land, and thereupon tack'd about to Sea, leaving me to the mercy of the Waves. I had no sooner set my Foot ashore, but it began to be dark with Night and Fog, to blow, rain, thunder and lighten, in the cruellest manner that I have seen: There was no way for me to escape Death, but to put my self to the mercy of the Sea; neither could I have any great hope of Help or Life, for the Ship was out of sight, and only appear'd

pear'd a Light upon the Shrowds, to direct me: This sudden Alteration of Weather, gave me lost in the Opinion of my Lord and all his Company.

All this while the Ship lay upon the Lee; and seeing it was in vain to expect my return, the Master called with the Whistle to fill the Sails; but the Master Gunner being a Countryman of mine, and one that lov'd me well, (an approv'd Man of Skil and Art, by the Place he held as Master Gunner in the Pope's Admiral Galley in the victorious Battel of Lepanto, in which Battel he was sore wounded,) he humbly besought my Lord to forbear filling the Sails one Hour longer, which my Lord willingly granted, and in that interim of time, one of the Company in the Ship spy'd a Flash of Fire, and heard the Report of a Musket, for all our Powder was spent to that very last shot, by means whereof we were preserved, rather by Miracle, than any Humane Art: And to make it the more strange, we were no sooner risen from our Seats, and Ropes in our Hands to enter the Ship, but the Boat immediately sunk. And tho' I have pass'd many Dangers, as will appear by this Treatise, yet I account this the Greatest of all, and none of the rest to be paralleld with it.

What Miseries we endur'd in the latter end of the Voyage, you shall find in the First Book, where I have occasion to speak of our Return, and the Extremity we endur'd, which was more terrible than belien; Ship in the Eighteen years War; for laying aside the continual Expectation of Death by Shipwreck, and the daily Mortality of our Men, I will speak of our Famine, that exceeded all Men and Ships, I have known in the course of my Life: For 16 Days together we never tasted drop of Drink, either Beer, Wine, or Water, and tho' we had plenty of Beef and Pork of a Year's Salting, yet did we forbear eating it for making us the drier. Many drunk Salt Water, and those that did died suddenly, and the last word they usually spake was Drink, Drink, Drink: And I dare boldly say, that of 500 Men that were in that Ship seven Years before, at this day there is not a Man alive but my self, and one more.

The first Port we arriv'd at was the *Vintry in Ireland*, five Miles by Land from *Dingle Church*, that gave me succour in my former Voyage, as I have said; here we made shift to furnish my Lord with a Horse, and my self and some other Gentlemen follow'd a-foot: At our coming

to the Town, we found my Lord in the House of the Sovereign, which is the Title of Mayor, telling his strange Adventures, and his dangerous Escape of famishing with want of Drink: The Sovereign told his Lordship, That about two Years before, a Gentleman came into their Port, in as great a want of Meat, as his Lordship was of Drink; and even as he was repeating my Name I enter'd the Door, who my Lord took by the Hand in their Prefence, and said, *Lupus est in fabula*: They beheld me with Admiration, and told my Lord, That it was my Fortune that brought him thither, and held themselves happy that it was in their Power to give him Relief, as they had done the like to me before.

In the Year 1590, my former Sickness you have heard I took in *Ireland*, kept me from Employment, or thought of the Sea; but now finding my Body as willing as my Mind to follow my begun Courses, this Year of 91, I attended my Lord of *Cumberland* once more, and had the Command of the *Garland* under him, wherein he went Admiral. I can say little of any Consequence in this Voyage, that concern'd my self, but my Imprisonment by six Spanish Gallies, near the Island of *Burlings*, which I have had cause to remember, by some Accidents you shall read in my succeeding Voyage.

My constancy has been such, tho' to my Cost, where I have made profession of Love, that no small unkindness could suddenly divert me, when my Affection has been grounded upon true Friendship, as may appear by my Faithfulness to the Lord I now speak of, for whom I have often ventur'd my Life, with little Fruit of his Favour: And I must confess it was some blemish to my Judgment; for notwithstanding many Admonitions, I was incredulous, still relying upon him, and follow'd him in this Voyage of 1593, in the Place I had formerly held, Captain of the *Golden Lyon*, a Ship of the Queen's, wherein he serv'd as Admiral. What I shall say here relates to some principal Accidents that concern my self in this Voyage, and for the rest, I refer you to my First Book, where I have shew'd, that my Lord being sever'd from his Fleet about the *Burlings*, met with twelve Hulks of the East Country, that after some Fight yielded, and deliver'd him a large quantity of Powder, which they carried for the King of Spain's Service; my Lord took the one half of those Ships, and stood off to Sea; the other half he left with me to examine and rommage. Towards

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Night

Night my Lord cast off those of his company, whom I spy'd making towards me and their Comforts; which seem'd strange to me, that was left guarded but by a small Ship, and his Long Boat with 50 Men. I fear'd, as after I found true, that those Ships had a Resolution to board and take me; but to prevent their Design I leap'd into my Lord's Boat, on one side of the Ship, as they boarded her on the other; in which leap I receiv'd a hurt in my Leg, which to this Day, in 1641, I have found a great Decay to my whole Body.

In the said Book you will find, that from hence my Lord stood to the Island of *Cuervo*, where he was taken with a most melancholly Sickness, and in despair of Health or Life, unless he might be reliev'd with the Milk of a Cow; and I feeling in what condition he was, and valuing his Life as much as my own, I ventur'd my Person to get him a Cow from the Hands of the Enemy, either by fair or foul Means, and put my self into the Hands of the *Portugueses*, of the Island of *Cuervo*; first shewing a Flag of Truce, I told them the Cause of my coming to them, was out of Love, and that we had a great Fleet at Sea thereabouts; and lest any of them should do them Injury, I brought them a Protection from our General the Earl of *Cumberland*, to defend them if any Violence should be offer'd them, and so insinuated to them, as they afforded me courteous Entertainment; and because Night drew on, they desired me to stay all Night: I willingly embrac'd their offer, and by my Liberal Carriage, obtain'd what I required, and the Day following carried a Cow and other Refreshments, aboard, which gave plenty of Milk till my Lord's arrival in *England*. This Cow in all likelihood was the saving of my Lord's Life for the Present, which he acknowledged.

In the ensuing Year, 1595, I was Married, but before my Marriage I engaged my self by Promise to attend my Lord of *Cumberland*, as his Vice-Admiral to Sea. Himself went in the *Malice Scourge*, a brave Ship built by himself; his Vice-Admiral, *Allister*, a goodly Ship of the Merchants.

Now I began to have a Proof of what before I had just cause to suspect, viz. the inconstant Friendship of my Lord of *Cumberland*; for though I was drawn by his sweet Words and Promises to this Voyage; and that we had proceeded upon it so far as *Plimouth*, and from thence 8 or 9 Leagues to Sea, towards the Coast of

*Spain*, without imparting or making shew of any thing to me, he suddenly quitted the Voyage, and appointed another Captain for his own Ship, which did so much discontent me for the present that I abandoned the Company of his Ship at Sea, and betook my self to my own Adventure: This bred an alter Quarrel betwixt my Lord and me; and it was a long time before we were reconcil'd.

My Voyage produced no Danger of Famine or Sword, as other Voyages had done; the worst Enemy I found were Storms, which were such as forc'd me to cut my Main-mast by the Board, and compelled me to bear for *England*. After I had weather'd the Coast of *Spain*, the Storm held on so outrageous, and of such long continuance, that I was driven to *Spain* before the Sea, betwixt the *Graia* in *Gallicia*, and *Blavet* in *Britany*, which Port the *Spaniards* at that time possess'd. The Sea was so grown, and the Waves so mighty, that they rak'd me fore and aft, for want of a Main-mast to keep up the Ship; so that I expected for many Days together nothing but foundering in the Sea; but at last it pleas'd God to send me to *Plimouth*, where I found the People much distracted, upon the News brought them of the arrival of four *Spanish* Gallies, from *Blavet* to *Penzance* in *Con. wall*, which Village they took and sack'd. These four Gallies could not chuse but pass me that Night in a Calm unken. Sir *Francis Drake* was now at *Plimouth*, ready bound with his Fleet to the *West Indies*, in which Voyage he died: Upon the News of these Gallies, he instantly put to Sea, and my self with him; and arriving at *Penzance*, we found the *Spaniards* were gone, and the poor Spoil not worth their labour they found in the Town.

The next offensive Voyage by us, was to *Cadiz*, in 96. under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, and my Lord Admiral, whereof I had formerly occasion to say something, when I made mention of burning of 58 sail of Ships, and the taking the *St. Andrew*: The principal and dangeroudest Thing that happen'd to me in that Voyage, was the Accident following.

My Lord of *Essex* having made way through the Town, at length came to the spacious Market-Place, where he found the greatest and sharpest Resistance from the Houses thereabouts, that sorely flank'd him, which way soever he pass'd or look'd, and one House more than the rest seem'd most dangerous; whereupon I desir'd my Lord to spare me 50 old Soldiers of the  
Low.

Low Countries, to give an Assault upon that Houſe, which his Lordſhip granted, and I performed, and took it. In that conflict I was ſhot with a Muſket-bullet through my Scarf, and Breeches; and the Handle and Pummel of my Sword ſhot from my ſide, without any further hurt: As I ſtoop'd for my Handle and Pummel of my Sword, Sir *John Winkfield* was next to me a Horſe back, who had received a Hurt in his Thigh a little before; and as he was aſking me how I did, (for it ſeems he fear'd I was forely wounded by my ſtooping) he was ſhot with a Bullet in the Head, and ſuddenly fell down dead; and theſe were the laſt words that ever he ſpoke. What more concerns this Voyage in general, you will find in the firſt Book: But by the way, this I note, that as the Sword is the Death of many a Man; ſo it hath been twice the Preſerver of my Life, the one at the Iſland of *St. Mary's* in 89. the other now at *Cadiz* in 1596.

The Iſland Expedition ſucceeded this to *Cadiz*, in 1597. equal with it both in greatness, goodneſs, and the Perſon of the Man that Commanded it: In this Expedition I was Captain of the *Rainbow* of the Queen's, which Ship had a ſpecial Cauſe to be remember'd, by meeting the *Indies* Fleet in the manner following.

My Lord of *Effex* had Intelligence from the Iſland of *Graciosa*, where he had ſome Men alhoſe, of certain Ships deſcry'd off to Sea: The Night drawing on, his Lordſhip divided his Fleet into three Squadrons; and my ſelf being the next Ship to him, he commanded me to ſtand away South that Night, and if I ſpy'd any Ships, to make Signs, with ſhooting my Ordnance, and making falſe Fires, promiſing to ſend 12 Ships after me. I inſtantly departed as I was directed, not doubting but the 12 Ships would follow me. It blew little Wind, and within leſs than four Hours, about 12 a Clock in the Night, I fell in company of a Fleet conſiſting of 25 Sail, whereupon I put my ſelf into my Boat, the Calm continuing, reſolving, though it were with my apparent Peril, to diſcover what Ships they were, before I would preſume to make Signs, as I was directed; approaching near the Fleet, I hail'd them in *Spaniſh*, who answer'd me in the ſame Language; and by their Courſe, I knew them to be the *Indies* Fleet; and having as much as I deſired for the preſent, I returned on board the *Rainbow*, and after performed ſo much as I was commanded, in ſhooting of my Ordnance, and making falſe Fires: I accompanied the Fleet that

Night and the next Day, till I brought them into the Road of *Angra*, in the Iſland of *Tercera*; and what alter beſide me and them, I refer to my firſt Book: All the hurt that happened me in this deſperate Attempt of mine, beſides the hazard of ſhot from the Caſtles and Fleet, my Ship being ſhot through 15 times, was foul Words and railing Language, with ſome Shot from the *Spaniards* when I firſt hail'd them in my Boat.

In our return this Voyage, I was in more Peril, Hazard and Danger, than any other Ship of our Fleet, for the *Rainbow* is known to be the moſt rowling and labourſome Ship in *England*, eſpecially in the Condition I was in, having ſpent my Fore-maſt in a mighty Storm and mountainous Seas, where we hourly expected Death.

My next Voyage, of all others, was moſt Fortunate to me, wherein the Carrack was taken, and the beſt Service perform'd by ſo few Ships, that happened in all the Queen's time; and yet it gives the leaſt Occaſion to ſpeak of, of many others wherein I was an Actor, ſave only that I muſt aſſume to my ſelf to be the chief Perſuader of the Attempt upon her. The Reſolution taken by conſent of Council, how to aſſail her, was in this manner, That Sir *Richard Lowſon* and I ſhould Anchor in the Road of *Zeſimbra*, near the Carrack and their other Forces, the reſt of our Ships to ply up and down, and not to Anchor; Sir *Richard*, according to his Directions, made his firſt Entrance into the Road, but by the Negligence of his Maſter, much to his diſlike, he failed in Anchoring, and the Current taking him on the Bow, carry'd him out of the Road; ſo that it was the next Day before he could recover in again: My ſelf having the Rear, follow'd my Admiral according to former Order, till I had brought one broad ſide againſt the Galleys, and my other againſt the Carrack and Caſtle, which done I let fall my Anchor; and for what follow'd upon it, I refer you to my firſt Book.

This Voyage ending, the next was the laſt undertaken by the Queen, for not long after ſhe died, and this was the laſt Voyage againſt *Spain*; for by her Death the War ceaſ'd, and as I was a Soldier and Youth at the beginning thereof, ſo I was General of this laſt Fleet; and for the Particulars of this Voyage, more than theſe few following, I will refer you to the firſt Book aforeſaid.



I departed *England* the last of *August* 1601. and arriv'd at the Rock the 26th of *September*, where a Light was elpy'd by my Ship in the Night, which after we found to be a Fleet of 24 Galeons, which I had intelligence of the day before by the Caraval I sent into the Shore to discover. I drew so nigh those Ships, that I could not escape them if they had taken me to be an Enemy; and finding my self thus intangled, I Commanded a *Spaniard* who then serv'd me, and held a Dagger at his Heart, upon his Life to speak as I directed him, which was as follows: To call to them with a loud voice, that there was a strange Ship fallen amongst their Fleet, and that he knew not what she was; I conceiv'd that having warning from me of it, of all others she could not suspect I was she; and in the mean time, in a secret manner I tack'd about, and quitted my self of them, without further suspicion; but the *Adventure*, (for only she and the *Whelp* was left with me) could not carry her self so dissemblingly, but she was in danger of being taken, and escap'd with the loss of some Men.

The next Morning they chav'd the *Adventure* and *Whelp*, for I was gotten a little way to Head of them; Three of the best Sailing Ships of the *Spaniards* drew near the *Whelp*, and perceiving that unless I acted some desperate thing she would be taken; I struck my Top-sail, tho' it was much against the Will of my Master and Company, crying out, that I would lose my self and Ship; I stood with the *Whelp* and *Adventure*, and caus'd them to stand their course to Sea, whilst I staid for the Three *Spanish* Ships, with whom I would make tryal of their Force, and hop'd to make them have little Lift to pursue them. The *Spanish* Admiral was a Stern with his whole Fleet, who perceiving my working, and the little Respect I had to his Three Ships aloft, tack'd in with the Shore, and shot off a Warning-piece for his Fleet and the Three Ships to follow him.

Being thus luckily acquitted from the *Spanish* Fleet, wherein Don *Diego de Bobadilla* was General, I return'd to the South Cape, with the *Whelp* only; for I had lost company of the *Adventure* Two Nights before; and arriving there the One and twentieth of *October*, I gave chase to a Galeon of the Fleet of *Ciriago*, who recover'd under the Castle of Cape *Sagre*, before I could fetch her up; But tho' I knew the force of the Castle, by sundry Shot I had formerly receiv'd from it, and was acquainted with the Excellency of the Gun-

ner, who was an *Englishman* of my acquaintance, in the fight of their General *Ciriago* and his Squadron, I attempted, and had taken her, had it not been for the Cowardliness of the Helms-man, that heard off as I was ready to board her; the Fight was not long, but dangerous, with the loss of 12 Men on my side, and in no less danger of sinking; who was to beaten from the Castle, that it was a spectacle to behold my Ship, for she might be crept through from Side to Side. For all other circumstances I refer to my *First Book*, and so I take my leave of this *English* Reign.

This Voyage ended, and I return'd for *England*; at *Christmas* after, there was a Consultation by the Lords of her Majesty's Council, to prepare Two Fleets, the one for the Spring, the other to second the first in *June* following; Sir *Richard Lewson* to Command the former, and my self the latter, in some Action against *Spain*; but tho' this was a pretence to satisfy the World, yet the Lords had another intent in it; for at that time they knew the Queen being sick, there was much danger of her death, because of her Years, which made them the more willing to hasten this Fleet to Sea, to have it in a readiness to defend the Kingdom, if the Queen's Death should happen.

And tho' Sir *Richard Lewson* was nominated General of this Fleet, he was belov'd by the Lords, fearing his Ambition; yet they continu'd him in his Place and Command: And whereas I was appointed to second him in a latter Fleet, yet the Lords by importunity persuaded me, to accompany him as Vice-Admiral in this Voyage, they having a greater Trust and Confidence in me than in him; and therefore I was order'd to Command the *Meredonour*, a better Ship than that Sir *Richard* serv'd in.

All this was done out of Policy, and few of the Lords, but such as were intimate Friends to the King knew of it; for their intention was, if the Queen dy'd, and King *James* had found any Opposition, that my Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Suffolk*, should take charge of this Fleet, and come aboard me, and I to go into Sir *Richard's* Ship, and Sir *Richard's* Authority to cease. But God be thanked, there was no cause for this wise Forecast of the Lords, for his Majesty repaired peaceably to *London*, and we return'd safely to *Chatham*, after we had seen the King's Entertainment by his well affected Subjects.

Two Years after, and in the Year 1604. I was nominated Admiral of the *Narrow Sea*, without suit or seeking of mine: And the first Service I was appointed to, was the Transportation of the Constable of *Castile*, who was to repair hither, to conclude a Peace betwixt the Two Crowns, that had been 18 Years at variance. What hapen'd in that Employment, as also in the 12 Years after, that I serv'd as Admiral, I refer you to my Second Book throughout; only I must say, That as in former Employments, I went not without danger of Life by Enemies, by the peril of Sea, and Famine, as I have formerly repeated.

In this Employment I was to fear neither Foe nor Famine, the King having a general Peace with all Princes and Nations, and my Employment being not so far from home, but that in few days I might be supplied with Victuals; tho' I account another Danger greater than the rest, which consisted in Accidents of the Sea, and Extremity of Storms and foul Weather, in the South and straitest part of *England*, where commonly I was to lye at Anchor; and upon any occasion being put from my Anchors, the narrowness

of the Seas betwixt Land and Land, would put me into imminent danger of Shipwreck and Life: The Shoals and Sands were no less dangerous, considering, that very often we were to be attended with Fogs and Mists; besides that we were sometimes put to double a Lee-Shore, which if we failed of, we presently perished.

But God so provided for me, that I escap'd all these hazards, and at last found Malice had a greater Power and Force against me, than by Sea I found, or otherwise I deserved: For when I thought to have left my painful Labours at Sea, and to have enjoy'd Tranquillity of Peace on Land, Envy, unluckily and unlook'd for, seized upon my Innocency; for being thought a bosom Friend to a Nobleman I much Honour'd, who at that time began to be aim'd at, and was afterwards born down by a Court-Faction, tho' I was one of the meanest in number, and unworthy to have knowledge taken of me, as a Man of no Eminency; yet considering how my Estate then flood by my Engagements, and otherwise I found Fortune more averfed to me than most of the others had felt by malicious Practices.

The

# The Sixth Book.

*Which Treats of a Fishery to be set up on the Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Benefit that will Accrue by it to all His Majesty's Three Kingdoms : With many other Things concerning Fish, Fishing, and Matters of that Nature.*

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

**T**HE Dedication of Books is both Ancient, Usual, and Useful, tho' in these later Times they are turn'd into Apologies, expressing the Unworthiness of the Author, and the Insufficiency of the Matter, Modesty carrying with it so sham-faced a Countenance against the Law of History; for Cicero saith, That Eloquence is not so much to be respected in Writing, as not to publish Fallhoods, and dissimble Truths.

For me to follow the Rules of Apology, will betoken a great Weakness and Imbecility, and look as if I had obtain'd Victory over an Art I am ignorant in; for Eloquence belongs to Scholars, who by their witty Pleading, will drive every Circumstance to a Consequence.

Silence were better in my Case than Speech, were it not I am to speak of Things I know, of Things needful and necessary both for Your Sacred Majesty, and Your whole Commonwealth.

I need not reiterate what the ensuing Narration reports; I only and humbly crave Leave of Your Majesty, That my Defects may not blemish the Worthiness of the Work now in hand, no more than a homely Painter that takes upon him to draw a fair Face: The Benefit of my Labour will be to Your Majesty an Immortal Honour and Glory, to Your Kingdoms an Everlasting Praise and Profit, and to Your faithful Subjects an Essential Proof of Happiness.

All in One must Applaud Your Sacred Majesty for Achieving this Work, which never any of Your famous Progenitors had in Agitation; so that we may truly judge, That from the Beginning (by God's Providence) it was reserv'd for King CHARLES to make Your Name, Your Fame, Your Fortune, and all other Blessings, Equal with Your Progenitors Charles's, and especially Charlemain, from whom Your Majesty is Lincally descended: And as that Charles worthily deserv'd the Title of Great, so I doubt not but the same God will pour the same Greatness and Happiness upon Your Majesty, that our Hemisphere may Enjoy as great a Renown by You, as other Lands have done by those from whom You are descended.

If Your Majesty would have been sway'd by pretended Policy of State, by Solicitation, by Affection, or other Enticements, and left the Common Utility of Your Subjects, this Work had lain still like a Child in his Swaddling-Clouts, without Care of Nursing it; but Your Majesty's Virtue appears herein, and we, Your Loyal Subjects, cannot Honour You enough for it. And if we should speak all the Truth of Your Sacred Majesty, it were to say far more than we do, of Your most Excellent Virtue and Goodness: But for want of Parts otherwise to express me, my Office shall be, to Pray for Your Majesty's Long Life, for Your Victorious Achievements, the Confusion of Your Enemies, and that all Men's Hearts may be as sensible of Your Majesty's Good, as the Meanest of Your Subjects.

W. M.

To

To all GENTLEMEN, and others,  
that have Read my former Discourse concerning the  
S E A.

I Have annex'd this Relation of Fishing to my former Treatises of the SEA, which you have done me the Honour to Peruse; I confess it had been more proper to have inserted it at the beginning of these Books, than at the latter end, for these Reasons: The Dedication would have requir'd it, as being humbly Presented to His Majesty's Protection; the Subject would have challeng'd it, as a Ground and Foundation of the Increase of Ships, Navigation, and Traffick; England would have stood upon it in Right, as a Work of greatest Consequence, Goodness, and Renown, due only to her.

But being thus in a Consultation and Dilemma with my self what to do, I consider'd and concluded, That the First View of a Book either gave Delight, or Disgust, to the Judicious Reader; and if I should have presented you with this Rude and Laborious Fishing as the First Dish of my Banquet, it would have dishearten'd your farther Proceedings; and therefore I chose rather to please your Pallate and Taste with strange Occurrences and Accidents at Sea, as most delicate Meats to keep you from Surfeiting.

There are Two Parts to be plaid in the Scope of my Discourse; the one by you, which is the Speculative Part, out of Curiosity to inform your selves of the Secrets and Practice of the Sea, not intending to make Profission or Profit by it, but like to a Student in Alchimy, who covets to know the Depth of the Art, but not to spend a Penny in the Practice, or Design to compass it.

The Second Part is only proper to those that mean to make themselves Apprentices to the Sea and the Art of Navigation, to enlighten their future Knowledge and Understanding: But this is not attain'd to by Ease, or Sloth, but by Practice and Pains; not by Imagining and Reading, but by Peril, Travel, and Toil; not by Youth and Carelesness, but by Years and Stayedness: For tho' Alexander the Great was but 20 Years of Age when he began his Conquest, yet none of his Captains were under 60; and tho' Demosthenes was the most famous of all Philosophers for Eloquence, yet at first he was but a Scholar, and taught by Plato.

There are many Things contain'd in the former several Books, which cannot be accounted within your Element; I commend therefore such Things to your idle Hours, as give Delight and Recreation to your Wastful and Consuming Time, when Leisure admits no moment of Matter to think on, like the Sport of young Whelps, that are to be us'd for Pleasure, when one has nothing else to do, or for want of other Company.

The reading of these Discourses is not worthy the Name of Study, for they handle no serious Thing, either of History or Learning, but are to be esteem'd for Curiosity-sake; as Romulus did Carvers of Stone, or Caius Cæsar Goldsmiths, or Vespasian Painters.

Your Wisdom knows better how to apply your selves to the Reading, and making Choice and Use of what is comprehended in the former Discourses, than I can either Advise, or Instruct: And (for a Farewell) I wish you as much Happiness as one Friend can do to another; thus is, Content to your Mind, Honour to your Deserts, Wealth to your Will, and Blessing from GOD. All Happiness is comprehended in these few Words, and they are made the Subjects for the Eloquence of Tongues to Amplify upon, for it is Matter that makes a good Orator, tho' I confess Form adds somewhat to it.

A Disco-

*A Discovery of the HOLLANDERS Trades,  
and their Circumventing us therein; and the Means how to  
reduce the Fishing into our Hands, (as of Right due to us :)  
With the Honour and Security that will redound to His Ma-  
jesty, and all his Subjects.*

**N**O Man is so void of Reason, as not to know, That he is born for the Service of God, his Prince, and Country; God requires it for our own Good; a Prince, out of Duty deriv'd from the Commandment of God; and our Country, by the Law of Nature, next to our Parents; God directs us by his written Word how to serve him; a Prince, by his Human Laws, how to serve and obey him; and our Country, by Instinct of Nature, how to serve and reverence her. The City of *Paris* had a Saying of old, *One God, one King, one Faith, and one Law.* These four Words are effectual, and as much as can be comprehended in our Service to God, Prince, and Country. *Cicero* saith, 'That take away the Piety towards God, and you take away all Conjunction of Humane Society.'

As most Men differ in Feature of Face, in Diet, Condition, and Education; yet all good Men agree in an Unity of the Service of God, Prince, and Country, in their several Degrees and Qualities: The Divine, with Prayer; the Soldier, with his Arms; wife Men, with Counsel; and rich Men, with Treasure.

These being done willingly, makes a sweet Harmony betwixt King and Commonwealth; for that Prince is happy that has young Men to take Pains, and old Men to Counsel; the one supports the other in convenient time, like Fruit, that all comes not together, nor ends together, some Teaching, and others Obeying.

The next Consideration is, how to make the People subsist in the Service of God, Prince, and Country; for there must be a Rational Means to work by, seeing Monarchy cannot be upheld and supported without People employ'd, and set to work in their several Labours: And therefore considering God has created Man for the Service of him, his Prince, and Country, every one is bound to apply himself to the Service of them, and to prefer them before all private Respects. Let me follow that Maxim, as the Meanest of many Thousands of other Subjects, and offer my Mite, as the First Fruit of my

Harvest; not like the Divine, the Soldier, the wife or the rich Man I speak of, but with my poor Talent God has endu'd me with, which is, my Experience, that could not have been compens'd, if God had not given me a longer Life than many others; if with that Life he had not marvelously defended me from Dangers of Enemy, the Sword, Water, and many other Casualties incident to Mankind.

If with those Days and Years he had not given me a Desire and Means to Observe, Confer, and be Inquisitive, I had not been able to have presented this my Desire to serve my King and Country, but should have gone as naked out of the World as I came into it.

My meaning is, Not to leave our fruitful Soil untill'd, or Seas unfrequented, our Islands unpeopled, or seek remote or strange Countries disinhabited, and uncivil Indians untam'd, where nothing appears to us but Earth, Wood, and Water, at our first Arrival, for all other Hopes must depend on our Labours and costly Expences, on the Adventure of the Sea, on the Honesty of Undertakers; and all these at last produce nothing but Tobacco, a new invented needles Weed, as too much Use and Custom makes it apparent.

In what I propound, I will not direct you to the Elegance of Boots to Perfwade, to the inventing Wits to Entice, to the affecting Traveller to Encourage, nor to any Man that with fair Words may Abuse you; you shall know as much as I can say, in casting a Line and Hook into the Sea, His Majesty doth instantly challenge his own, and by Example of one Line and Net, you may conjecture by Multiplication the Profit that will arise by the Work. You shall be made to know, That tho' you be born in an Island seated in the Ocean, frequented with invisible Fish, swimming from one Shore to the other, yet your Experience has not taught you the Benefits and Blessings arising from that Fish.

I doubt not but to give you that Light therein, that you shall confess your selves blinded, and be willing to blow from you the foul Mist that has been an Impediment



to your Sight; you shall be awaken'd from your drouse Sleep, and rouse your selves to further this best Business that was ever presented to England, or King thereof: Nay, I will be bold to say, to any State in the World.

I will not except the Discovery of the *West-Indies* by Columbus; an Act of greatest Renown, of greatest Profit, and that has been of greatest Consequence to the *Spanish* Nation.

You will wonder, being born a Subject of England, and casting your Eyes upon the gainful Soil of the Land, that you never conceiv'd what the Sea afforded; I confess it were impossible for you to live in that Ignorance, if it did not appear by the ensuing Discourse, how you, your Country, and especially the Princes of these Realms, have been abused, and the Profit thereof conceal'd.

*The Comparison betwixt the West-India Trade and our Fishing.*

To make my Comparison good betwixt the Trade of the *West-Indies* and our Fishing, which of them yields most Honour to their King, and most Profit to their Country, most Danger and most Labour to the Subjects, I refer to my collected Reasons.

If Men consider the divine Work of God, and the end of his working, it is marvellous to behold, that *America*, being a Continent, and equal to all the rest of the World in bigness, should be conceal'd, from the Creation till 1400 odd Years after the Birth of Christ, and not so much as thought of, tho' some Philosophers seem'd to rove at it.

And when it pleas'd his Divine Majesty to call that Blessing upon *Europe*, if we consider the time he did it, and the Occasion why he did it, it will put us into Admiration, and Acknowledgement of the Power of Christ, against the Opinion of *Jews* and *Turks*; For could he shew himself a more just and loving God, than in pouring upon *Christendom* such a Blessing of Wealth, at the time it was likely to be swallow'd up by barbarous *Turks* and *Moors*, who were only withstood by the Wealth of the *Indies*?

We may hope the same God has the same Happiness in store for this Kingdom, to add immortal Glory to His Majesty's Goodness; or else it was impossible, in humane Reason, that our loving Neighbours, the industrious *Hollanders*, should for so many years enjoy this Fishing, who, to their everlasting Honour and Praise, have encreased thereby more

Vessels for the Sea, than all *Europe* besides can multer.

The first Discovery of the *Indies* gave no great Hope of Profit, till after a long, chargeable, and painful Navigation, it was brought to perfection.

The Fishing upon His Majesty's Coast of England, Scotland and Ireland, needs no Discovery; the Experience of our Neighbours having found it out, and practis'd it, since the Year 1307. to their unmeasurable Wealth, and our Shame: And for the Honour of him that first found out the Secret of pickling of Herrings, which was one *William Beckolow* by name, there was a famous Tomb in the Island of *Beverlute* erected, yet to be seen, where he was buried.

The *Indies* send forth more Gold, Silver, and other Merchandize, than all the *European* Trades besides.

The Fishing produces more Riches by its Trade, than the others do, as I will make appear when I come to compute the one with the other.

The Wealth of the *Indies* is not brought from thence without great Expence and Hazard, considering the Casualties of the Sea, and the Fear of Enemies to intercept it.

The Fishing is still in view of us and our Shores; our Vessels daily expected into our Harbours, and others ready to ease them of their Burthen, and to transport it into other Countries, not far remote, where they are in no Danger of Hurricanes, Enemies, or other Perils.

The Insurance in going and coming from the *Indies* may be valued at a great rate, which we shall have in our Fishing, there being no Fear or Hazard in it.

The Wealth of the *Indies* being surpris'd by an Enemy, is more prejudicial to the King of *Spain* than four times that Wealth would profit him, his Enemy being made strong and rich, and he weakened and impoverished by it.

No such Accident can prejudice us; for in the miscarrying of our Fishermen, we shall only lose so many Barks, Salt, and Nets, and no Enemy enrich'd or fortify'd by it.

Inhabiting in the *Indies* causes a Scarcity of natural *Spaniards*, whereby many times the King's Affairs fall and perish. The Fishing employs all our loose People, which abound in this Kingdom, and makes them capable to serve their Prince and Country.

The *Indies* set to work four times more Ships than all the rest of the Dominions of *Spain*, and add more Strength to them by Sea.

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The Fishing will maintain 20 Vessels to one of theirs; and *England* furnish them with most of the Materials belonging to them; whereas in *Spain* they are brought, in time of War, with great Peril and Danger of the Enemy.

The *Indies* are far remote from *Spain* to be supply'd, if there happen Changes in any Part thereof; which other Nations may take Notice and Advantage of.

The Fishing is one Body, govern'd by a Company, that no Enemy can annoy: And if Questions arise betwixt Parties and Parties, they are speedily to be determin'd without Charge or Detriment to either; whereas the others have their Appeals to their Courts of Justice in *Spain* from the *Indies*.

The chief Commodity of the *Indies* is Bullion, Hides, Cochineal, &c. Our only Fish countervails the Value of them all; and tho' for the present it affords no Bullion in Specie, yet it draws the Money coin'd out of that Bullion.

The Ships that trade to the *Indies* are great in Burthen, and make but one Return or Voyage in a year; and when they are carcen'd, the Water in *Spain* not rising enough to ground them, it is done with far greater Labour and Charge than ours, that are brought on Ground one Tide, and haul'd off another, ready for a new Voyage, and never wanting Freight.

But what I have observ'd is not to be effected with Words, but Works, not with Talking, but Doing and Acting; for betwixt Words and Deeds there is great difference; Words without Effect are like Water that drowns People, and does it self no Good.

The Property of a Merchant is to have Money in his Purse, and Credit upon the Exchange to advance his Trade.

All Men in this Work must become Merchants, not only for themselves, but for their Prince and Country; all are to reap Profit by it, none Pain or Sorrow, but the slothful, idle and base People, who are like Drones amongst Bees; for the Purchase of Sloth is Dispraise.

There are three Things necessary in every Work, the Man that works, the Instrument to work with, and the Matter. There is nothing requir'd of the Men in our Work but Labour and Pains; the Instruments to work with are Ships of several kinds to be made and erected; and the Matter to set on the Work is Money: All these concurring in one, will make it a Work of Fame, Renown, Strength, Riches, and and all the Good that God can bestow on a Nation and People. But if

Sluggishness and Carelessness, or other Mistrust of return of Gain, prevail, it being out of the Element and Breeding of Gentlemen, and others that apply themselves to the Profit of the Land and not the Sea, and that they neglect the Offer and Proposition following, we are worthy to be chastened with Penury and Want, and unworthy to enjoy the Blessing of God, which he has poured on this Land above all others he has been pleas'd to create.

What better light can we have for this Work, than from our nearest and intimatest Friends the *Hollanders*? who, by their long Travels, their excessive Pains, their ingenious Inventions, their incomparable Industry and provident Care, have exceeded all other Nations in their Adventures and Commerce, and made all the World familiar with them in Traffick; whereby we may justly attribute to them what the *Chinese* assum'd to themselves, That only they have two Eyes, the *Europeans* but one, and all the rest of the World none. How can this better appear than out of their Labours, and our Fish only?

They have encreas'd the Number of Vessels; they have supply'd the World with Food, which otherwise would have found a Scarcity; they have advanc'd Trade so abundantly, that the Wealth of Subjects and the Customs of Princes have found the Benefit of it; and lastly, they have thus provided for themselves, and all People of all sorts, tho' they be impotent and lame, that want Employment, or that are forc'd to seek work for their Maintenance.

And because their Quantity of Fish is not to be vented in their own Provinces, but to be dispers'd in all Parts of *Europe*, I will give you an Account of it, as it has been carefully observ'd and taken out of the Custom-Books beyond the Seas.

*The Quantity of Fish vented in other Countries.*

In Four Towns within the Sound, viz. *Koningsberg*, *Melvin*, *Sretin*, and *Danzick*, there is vented in a year betwixt 30 and 40000 Lasts of Herrings, which will amount to more than 620000 *l.* and we none.

*Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Liesland*, *Rie*, *Regel*, the *Narpe*, and other Towns within the Sound, take off above 10000 Lasts, worth 160000 *l.*

The *Hollanders* send into *Russia* above 1500 Lasts of Herrings, sold at 27000 *l.* and we not above 30 or 40 Lasts.

*Stode*, *Hamburg*, *Bremen*, *Embsen*, and upon the River *Elbe*, in Fish and Herrings above

above 6000 Lafts, fold at 100000 *l.* and we none.

*Cleveland, Juliers*, up the River *Rhine*, *Frankfort, Cologne*, and over all *Germany*, in Fish and Herrings, near 22000 Lafts, amounting to 440000 *l.* and we none.

*Glderland, Artois, Haynault, Brabant, Flanders*, and the Arch Duke's Countries, 8 or 9000 Lafts, fold at 18 *l.* the Lafts, amounts to 160000 *l.* and we none.

At *Roan* in *Normandy*, 500 Lafts of Herrings, fold at 10000 *l.* and we not 100 Laft, there commonly fold for 20, and sometimes 30 *l.* a Laft.

Besides what they spend in *Holland*, and sell there to other Nations, the value of many Hundred thousand Pounds.

Now having perfected the Valuation of the *Hollanders* Fish, caught on our Seas, and vented into Foreign Countries, our Shame will manifestly appear, that of so many thousand Lafts of Fish, and so many Hundred thousand Pounds in Money made by them, we cannot give account of 150 Lafts taken and vented by us.

The *Hollanders* are no less to be commended in the Benefit they make of the Return of their Fish; for what Commodity soever any Country yields, in lieu thereof, they Transport in their own Vessels into *Holland*, where they have a continual Staple of all Commodities brought out of the South, from thence sent into the North, and the East Countries; the like they do from out of the South into the North, their Ships continually going and bringing Inestimable Profit, like a Weavers Shuttle, he casts from one hand to another, ever in action, till his Gain appear in the Cloth he makes. And if we compare *Holland's* Forecast with ours, the Imputation of Sloth and Negligence will lie heaviest upon us, like him that beats the Bush for others to catch the Birds: For *Russia*, with our Adventure, Charge and Shipwreck, was first known to us, that for many years together, afforded great Profit, by the usual Trade of 8 or 10 Ships yearly.

About 20 Years past, the *Hollanders* encroach'd upon us with Two Ships, and in continuance of time they brought us from 10 to 2 or 3, and themselves to 60 Vessels or more, and lately to 100. the chiefest Gain arising out of our Fish, and other *English* Commodities they fetch from us.

*Newfoundland*, being an ancient Patri-mony of *England*, and we the first Discoverers thereof immediately after the finding out of the *West-Indies* by *Columbus*, has been since a great enriching to the Western parts, with the Fish there yearly

taken; and now the *Hollanders* of late have found the way thither, and sent in the Year 1629. and ever since, 12 or 14 great Ships, to buy the Fish taken by his Majesty's Subjects; whereby his Majesty does not only lose his Custom in going out, if it be brought for *England*, but in the Return of that Commodity, which might amount to 14 or 15000 *l.* if his Highness's Subjects had the Carriage of it.

To say no more of the *Hollanders* greatest Trade with *England*; there are Three Fishes of little Note, and not regarded by us, which they make Gain of themselves: The First is Lobsters, the greatest part whereof that serves *London*, at the time of the Year, they bring from the furthest Northern Part of *England*; which is never practis'd by the *English*. The Second is, the great quantity of Oysters yearly transported by them into *Holland*, which causeth the decrease and dearth of Oysters among us. The Third is Lampreys, out of the River of *Thames*, which they use for Bait for Codd in the North Seas; and this is the cause of the scarcity and dearth of this Fish in *London*.

#### *The Hollanders Navigation into the Streights.*

But the greatest Navigation of theirs, and of most Importance to their State, for Maintenance of Ships of Burthen and Strength, is into the *Streights*, from the Port of *Marseilles*, along the Coast as far as *Venice*. In this Trade I will compute but 60 Ships of 200 Tuns Burthen each, having above as many more trading into *Spain, Portugal*, and the South part of *France*, and all with our *English* Fish, taken by his Majesty's Subjects; as namely Pilchards caught in *England* and *Ireland*, Baccaloos or Poor John in *Newfoundland*, and Red Herring taken and made at *Yarmouth*.

The *Hollanders* are almost absolutely Masters of these Trades; what by combination made with the Merchants that deal in that kind of Fish, and what through the cheapness of the Freight in their Vessels; which makes them sell the cheaper.

During these 18 Years last past, they have so increas'd their Navigation, whereas before they had not above 2 Ships to 5 of ours within the *Streights*, within the said 18 Years they are able to shew ten of theirs to one of ours, and merely by the Trade of Fish; for true it is, there is no Commodity in the World of so great Bulk and small Value, or that can set so many Ships of Burthen to work.

As for example, A mean Man may freight his Ship of 250 Tuns with Fish, that will not cost above 1600 *l.* that 40 Merchants cannot do. of better and richer Commodities; I speak not upon surmise, but what is approv'd by divers Merchants, but especially one of good Account, whose Name I must conceal, unless Authoriz'd by him to Publish it, who computed 60 Ships of this sort of Fish aforesaid; of the which there is not return'd one Penny Profit into *England*, where they gather the sweet Dew of their Food.

The principal work I aim at, is how to undertake the *Hollanders* with our own weapons, and how to equal them with Pinks, Busses, and other Vessels, till we be made Partners with them in their Fishing; not by Hostility or uncivil Usage, nor to deprive them by His Majesty's Prerogative, which the Law of Nations allows us; or out of Envy to their Labours; or to revenge Discourtesies; only we will seek to do what Nature dictates (*viz.*) to enjoy and make use of our own, by the Countenance of our Blessed King, that in Justice gives all People their Right and Due.

*Holland* is enrich'd by the 60 Ships aforesaid, which I have computed, by the Carriage of Red Herrings, as I will after demonstrate, 621750 *l.* in their Return out of the *Streights*.

*The Hollanders Fishing in their Pinks and Busses, That the English may not only equal, but out-do them in it; and the great Benefit it will be to the Nation demonstrated.*

There needs no Repetition of any former Relation; for Truth has spoke it, which is so Glorious of her self, that it needs no Shade to give it better gloss: In what follows I will demonstrate by the particular proceedings of the *Hollanders*, in their Pinks and Busses, what certain gain they yearly raise out of them; and when Experience the Mother of Knowledge shall make it apparent to you, I hope you will remember what you are, and how easily you may make your selves and Country by it,

I confess this Fishing is a Business I have taken into Consideration. My Lord of *Northampton*, if he were now living, was able to witness how much it was solicited and desir'd by me, and no less wish'd and desir'd by his Lordship. I caus'd one *Tobias Gentleman*, a Mariner by Profession, but indeed a Man of better Parts than ordinary Seamen, and much practis'd

in their Northern Fishing, to Dedicate a Book to his Lordship, which gave particular notice of the *Hollanders* Proceedings in their Pinks and Busses; and what we shall do in the imitation of them.

But by the Death of my Lord, it rested unthought on by me, till the late Duke of *Richmond* reviv'd it, and importun'd me once more to it. His Death in the like manner made it die, till his Majesty of late, out of his Princely Care for the good of his Loving Subjects, for the Renown of his Kingdoms, and desire of the Unity and equal Benefit of his Two Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, took more than an ordinary Care how to effect it, well becoming so Blessed and Benigne a Prince: And now I will descend to the Particulars of the *Hollanders* Busses, as well in their taking Herrings, as Codd and Ling, and the Seasons of the Year for both.

From the *Texel* in *Holland* to *Braford* in *Shetland*, an Island belonging to his Majesty's Dominions of *Scotland*, is 230 and odd Leagues, whither there resort the 22 or 23 of *June* well nigh 2000 Fishing Vessels. The Twenty fourth they put to Sea, being prohibited till that day, and a penalty upon the breaker thereof, holding the Herrings till then unreasonable to Salt for their Families.

Every one of these Vessels that day directs its Course to find out the Shoal of Herrings, like a Hound that pursues the Head of a Deer in Hunting. When they have laden their Busses, which is sooner or later, as they find the Shoal of Herrings, they presently return home for *Holland*, and leave their Herrings alhoar to be there repack'd and from thence immediately to be sent into the *Sound*, where they receive them for a great dainty.

The Busses having thus disburthen'd themselves in *Holland*, once more furnish'd with Victuals, Cask and Salt, they repair to Sea to look out the Shoal they had formerly left; and then finding them, and filling them once again, they go as they did before, return to *Holland*.

Nor thus ceasing, the Third time they repair to the Shoal as aforesaid; and in their Three Fishings, computing with the least, they take to the number of 100 Lalls of Herrings, which being valued at 10 *l.* the Lall, which is no more than 18 *l.* a Barrel, will amount to 1000 *l.* Sterling each Ship.

Many times this Fishing Fleet is attended with certain Vessels call'd Yawgers, which carry Salt Cask and Victuals, to Truck

Truck with the Busses for their Herrings, and carry them directly into the Sound, without returning into Holland; for it is a Matter of great Consequence and Gain, to bring the first Herrings into the Sound, for there they are esteem'd as Partridges with us at their first coming: But now of late Years the *Hollanders* are Prohibited by the State, carrying or trucking away their Herrings, till they first land them in *Holland*, which will prove the more Commodious to us.

I will set down the Rate of a Busf new from the Stocks, with the Price of her Nets, Tackling, Salt, Victuals, Cask, Mens Wages, and all other Charges whatsoever belonging to her; and will rate the Profit gained by her four Months Fishing, which is likely to continue 20 Years, being the ordinary Life of a Busf.

|                                                                      |        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Imprimis</i> , a Busf, with her Furniture and Tackling, will cost | 500 l. |
| <i>Item</i> , 100 Lafts of Cask, at 18 s. the Laft                   | 90 l.  |
| <i>Item</i> , For Salt, 30 Weigh, at 3 l. 10 s. the Weigh            | 105 l. |
| <i>Item</i> , For Beer for the Men 4 Months, a Gallon a Day          | 16 l.  |
| <i>Item</i> , For Bread, after the same Proportion                   | 12 l.  |
| <i>Item</i> , For Butter, Cheese, Billets                            | 20 l.  |
| <i>Item</i> , For Mens Wages for 4 Months                            | 88 l.  |

It is to be considered, that Mens Wages are not to be paid, till the Voyage be ended, so that the present Disbursement is but 723 l.

Rating the 100 Laft of Herrings but at 1000 l. there is gotten clear in 4 Months 500 l. in a Busf, and 165 l. in Money; so the total Sum as appears gotten is 665 l.

Here plainly appears, that there is gotten Six hundred sixty five Pounds in one Summer; whereof if you deduct 100 l. for the wear of the Busf, and the Reparation of her Nets against the next Summer, yet still there remains 545 l. for clear Gain by one Busf in four Months; a Profit exceeding all other Trades.

It is to be noted, that I have proportioned in this Computation a Busf of 35 Laft, that is to say, 70 Tun, but I consider with my self, that we will make a greater Gain with a Busf of 20 Laft, which is but 40 Tun, than the *Hollanders* do with their 70 Tun, in respect of the nearness of our Harbours to put in upon all Occasions; and after the Proportion of our Busses, we must lessen so much

out of the 745 l. which is the first Disbursement, as aforesaid.

Now having shewn you the Charge of the Busses, I will shew you the Charge of a Pink of 20 Laft, that is 40 Tun.

A Pink being built new, and all things new to her, will not cost 260 l. with her Lines, Hooks, and other Fishing Appurtenances.

|                                                       |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Imprimis</i> , a Pink                              | 260 |
| <i>Item</i> , 20 Laft of Barrels                      | 18  |
| <i>Item</i> , Five Weigh of Salt                      | 18  |
| <i>Item</i> , Beer, Cask, Bread, and Petty-<br>Talley | 12  |
| <i>Item</i> , For Mens Wages for two<br>Months        | 20  |

Sum is— 328

Twenty Lafts of Barrel Codd, at 15 l. the Laft, amounts to 300 l. and deducting 68 l. 10 s. for the fitting her to Sea, there remains 232 l. 10 s. clear gain by one Pink in two Months, rating the Codd and Ling but as they are sold in *England*; but being Transported, commonly they will double their Price.

I present you not with Toys to please Children, or with Shadows of Untruths; for I know Truth to be so Noble of it self, that it makes him honourable that pronounces it; and that an Honest Man will rather bear witness against Friendship than Truth. I have made it appear with what facility the *Hollanders* go through with the Golden Mine of theirs, which they so term in their Proclamation extant: I make proof their Busses and Pinks are built to take Fish; that they fill themselves twice a Summer with Fish; that this Fish is vented, and esteem'd as a precious Food, in all the Parts of *Europe*; and that the Return thereof gives them means to Live and Breathe, without which they could not.

It is manifest that Fish has brought them to a great Strength both by Land and Sea, and Fame withal, in maintaining their intestine War against so great and potent an Enemy as the King of *Spain*.

And if all these Benefits appear in them, and nothing but Shame and Scorn in us, let us enter into the Cause thereof, and seek to amend it; let us labour to follow their Example, which is better than a Schoolmaster to teach us: Nothing is our bane but Idleness, which ingenders Ignorance, and Ignorance, Error; all which we may be tax'd with; for to a slothful Man nothing is so easie, but it will prove difficult if it be not done willingly.

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There are but two Things requir'd in this Work, that is to say, a Will to undertake it, and Money to go through with it; which being found, we will place Charity to begin at Home with our selves, before we yield it to our Neighbours, and then this Business will appear to be effected with more Benefit, more Strength, more Renown, more Happiness, and less Expence, than *Hollanders* have or can go through withal. Time is the most precious Experience, and you shall find that time will cure our Carelessness past, that Reason could not hitherto do.

The Instruments by which the *Hollanders* work, are their Vessels of several kinds, as I have declar'd; not produced out of their own Country, for it yields nothing to further it but their own Pains and Labour.

Their Wood, Timber, and Planks to build Ships, they fetch out of divers other Places; and yet are these no more available to undertake their Fishing and Navigation, than Weapons are without Hands to fight. Their Iron, Hemp, Cordage, Barrel boards, Bread and Malt, they are beholding for to several Countries; and if at any time out of displeasure they be prohibited the Transportation, they are to seek a new Occupation, for the State fails.

Comparing their Casualties and Inconveniencies with ours, you shall discern the Advantage and Benefit God has given us, in respect of them; for all the Materials formerly repeated, that goe to their Shipping, *England* yields most of them, or in little time the Earth will be made to produce them in abundance; so that we shall not need to stand upon the Courtesy of our Neighbours, or to venture the Hazard of the Sea in fetching them.

Whereas all manner of People of what degree soever in *Holland*, have commonly a Share, according to their Abilities, in this Fishing, and that the only Exception amongst our selves, is the want of Money, to undertake it; you shall understand how God and Nature have provided for us; for I will apparently answer the Objection of Money, and cast it upon the Sluggishness and ill Disposition of our People, who if they will take away the Cause of this Imputation they shall take away the Offence due to it, and by which we are scandaliz'd.

In the Objection of lack of Money to set on foot this Work, it would seem ridiculous to Strangers that behold the Wealth and Glory of this Kingdom, with

the sumptuous Buildings, the costly inside of Houses, the mass of Plate to deck them, the daily Hospitality and number of Servants to honour their Masters, and their Charitable Alms distributed out of their Superfluities. And to descend to People in particular, if they behold the bravery of Apparel vainly spent, the rich and curious Jewels to adorn their Bodies, and the needless Expences Yearly wasted, they would conclude, that it were not Want, but Will that must be our Impediment.

But leaving these Observations, let me tell you, there is never a Lord, Knight, Gentleman, or Yeoman, of any Account in *England*, but for want of Money is able to furnish either Timber, Iron, Wheat, Malt, Beef, Pork, Bacon, Pease, Butter, Cheese, or Home-spun Cloth out of the Wool.

All which shall be taken from them at an ordinary Rate, and the Value allow'd them in Adventure.

No Man that has or hires Land, but may as well plant for Hemp, to make Lines, Nets and Cordage, seeing the Laws of the Kingdom command it, as any other Grain; which Hemp may be spun by their Neighbours and Tenants, and so all People set on work.

Then what need have we of Money, but for the building of Vessels? For you see with what ease every thing else is compass'd.

Before these Buflles shall direct their Course to *Shetland*, to be there welcom'd by the *Hollanders* in their own Houses, (a thing not usual for Strangers to entertain their true Inhabitants,) I will first view all Harbours and Creeks, capable for Buflles, in his Majesty's Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and there lay such Provisions for the Benefit of our Fishing, that it shall appear, if the *Hollanders* have usually made 1000*l.* in four Months by their three Fishings, we shall be able to exceed them in the Course following.

I will suppose our Buflles to be at *Braesound* in *Shetland*, ready the 24th of June to put to Sea, in pursuit and chase of the Herring-Shoals. I will suppose likewise, that the one and the other have fill'd their Vessels full, the *Hollanders* ready in their way to *Holland*, there to unlade and return again, as I have said before. If you compute the distance and loss of time in the 400 Leagues, running backward and forward, then shall you find great difference of Gain; betwixt us and them for we shall not need to run many Leagues, nor perhaps not ten, till we make our repair into the next Harbour, where Provision

vision shall be made of Victuals, Salt, and Casks; and our Busses putting the Herrings ashore to be repacked again, with all speed they hasten to Sea in pursuit of the Shoal; and the Herrings being repacked, are immediately sent to the Sound to take their first Market: All which will be effected before the *Hollanders* can be at Home with their Herrings; and after they are arrived in *Holland*, they are to sail very nigh as far to the Sound, as we shall be from *England* or *Scotland*. There needs no Argument to prove the Truth thereof, seeing a Sea-Card or Plot will demonstrate it.

But I may be answer'd, that the Yawgers formerly spoken of, which truck with the Busses for Herrings, will sooner be at the Sound than we, and make a great Benefit by the first Sale of their Fish.

But to give you Satisfaction herein, I pray you conceive our Busses are in Harbour within the space of three Hours after they have Fished, and not subject to foul weather to hurt them: They shall have a Convenience to mend and dry their Nets; they are to unlade their Herrings, and to lade their Salt, Cask, and Victuals, without interruption, and to Sea again speedily: Whereas the Yawgers must watch their time for fair Weather, and a smooth Sea, to exchange their Salt, Victuals and Cask, for Herrings.

They must watch a fit Time and Weather to mend any Defects in their Nets, Busses, or in drying them: Thus you may see, all Casualties considered, our arrival at the Sound before them is more certain, for the Reasons before expressed.

But there was never any Business so easie, but it either found Objection, or Opposition, till made plain and apparent, as well to the Doubters as the Beholders; for most Men are guided by Opinion, rather than by Judgment: And so fares it with this hopeful and unanswerable Work, where some frame supposed Reasons and Impediments; but time will determine their Doubts, and declare their Mistakes.

There are three Arguments, but rather Errors, that possess Peoples Tongues with the Difficulty of our Fishing, which I do not mean to convince with bare Words, but with infallible Truths; for I had rather offend in telling Truth, than please by feigning Falshoods.

The first Objection is, The taking our Fish with greater Charge than the *Hollanders*, by means whereof they will overwork us.

The Second, That they would do no less in the Vent and Sale thereof, by their long practice in that Trade.

The Third is, The fear of Fraud and Deceit amongst our selves, after the Example of the *East-Indies*, *Virginia*, and other Companies lately erected.

Truth has no need of a Ghostly Father to absolve her; Reason shall make her speak to the First Objection, in taking our Fish, with the Comparison of *Holland*.

You must know that the Charges belonging to a Fishing Vessel, is her Hull, Tackling, Nets, Salt, Cask, Victuals, the Number of Men, and their Wages.

Butter and Cheese excepted, there is none of the rest of the Materials growing in *Holland*, and most of them afforded in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; by reason whereof *England* may yield them better cheap than *Holland*.

The several Victuals carried to Sea, are Flesh, Fish, Bread, Beer, Butter, Cheese, and Pease. For Fish, we may value at an equal rate, for it costs neither of us more than the taking; and as Flesh is more chargeable than the rest, it will cost us nothing; for it is to be consider'd that a fat Beef, in the Island of *Hybrides*, is sold for less than 20 s. the Hide and Tallow whereof in *England* will give 10 s. the other 10 will be raised in carrying Wine, Strong Waters, and other Commodities desired by the People of the Country; for every 10 s. so employed doubles the Adventure: As namely, *Aqua Vita*, 10 s. bestowed in *England*, will yield more gain than will purchase the Carcass of a Cow.

For Bread, Beer, Butter, Cheese and Pease, *England* affords them better cheap, than *Holland*: First, in respect they grow in *England* in greater Plenty than in *Holland*: Secondly, They all pay Excise in *Holland*, and not in *England*: And Thirdly, no Man but knows the difference of feeding betwixt the *Hollanders* and the *English*, and that a *Hollander* eats as much again as half one of our *English* at Sea.

Both the one and the other carries an equal proportion of Men, and their Wages are upon an even Rate; but herein we shall overwork them by the Reasons following.

In a Buss of 15 or 16 Men, the Meanest amongst the *Hollanders* has 20 s. a Month; and we will ease the Charge of Wages 8 in 16 in our Fishing about the *Lewes*, viz. we will carry but 8 Men to the Place of Fishing, where we will hire 8 more for less than half the Wages we give the rest, and herein shall we save 48 l. a Year in every Buss, by means whereof we shall

go cheaper than the *Hollanders* 5600*l.* in our 200 Busses: And moreover, in the Wages and Victuals of the Men, we shall save so much as will come to 1600*l.*

Whereas it is conceiv'd that the *Hollanders* will transport their Fish at a less Charge than we, it will appear otherwise; for the Yawgers that attend some of their Busses, to carry their Herrings to their first Market, as I have said, those Herrings of theirs are not repacked, but allow'd more than two Barrels to each Last, to make up their Tale; by means whereof they pay two Barrels Freight in every Last of Herrings, more than we that have the Shore near us to repack them, which in 200 Busses will amount to 3000*l.* more Gain to us than to the *Hollanders*.

Whereas every Fishing Vessel in *Holland* contributes to 20 or 30 Ships of War to defend them from the *Dunkirkers*, our Peace eases us of that Expence. And this shall suffice in Answer to the Comparison betwixt the *Hollanders* and us, in taking their Fish.

And to the second Point, to prove that we shall vent our Fish at as easie a Rate as the *Hollanders*, (thus I say) That your Experience must teach you, that in the *Sound*, where the greatest quantity of Herrings is utter'd, as I have before shew'd, Necessity will compel them to take them off; for it is not their Affection to the *Hollanders* above us that will make them refuse ours to accept of theirs; and then consequently ours will be better sold, in that we shall serve the Market before them, by the Means and Reasons aforelaid.

And if we go further from home, as to *Spain* or the *Streights*, you must understand that the *Hollanders* Ships go with fewer Men than ours, occasion'd by the slight Building and Tackling of their Ships, in comparison of ours: And as there is 20 or 40 Men difference in the Sailing of them, the like difference there is in the Strength of them: Wherefore the Merchant had better, for the Safety of his Goods, give 50*s.* Freight to us, than 20*s.* to the *Hollanders*; his Goods shall be better defended against Pyrates by our 40 Men, than the others 20.

The *English* Ships will double a Lee Shore, when the others will be forc'd in foul Weather upon the Rocks; the Cables and Anchors in the *English* will hold, when the others will be forc'd to come home and break; the *English* will be able to put out Sail at Sea, when the others will take in Sail; the *English*, upon some Accidents, may come on Ground, and by their Strength come off again without

hurt, when the others will perish; the *English* go deep in Water, which makes them whollome in the Sea, and carry the Merchants Goods with little Loss; the *Hollanders* are labourfome and dangerous in a Storm, which causes great Leakage in Oil, Wine, and such Commodities, to the great Annoyance of the Merchant; yea oftentimes more than the difference of the Freight.

As the *English* go in greater Security than the *Hollanders*, so shall the Merchants save by not insuring the value of difference in Freight, which I could compute and prove, but that it is too tedious.

And moreover, if the *English* have the absolute Carriage of the Fish taken by them, and the Laws of the Realm warrant it, our Ships shall never want Employment, nor have cause to look out for Freights, by reason whereof a Ship of 200 Tuns may go cheaper by 200*l.* than usually they have done. And thus much for our Foreign Trades.

Now let us turn to the venting our Fish in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Wales*.

If the late Proclamation for the oberving of Fish Days be duly kept, it will be a means to vent our Fish, and encourage others to venture in the Fishing; so as there be a Prohibition, as there is in *Holland*, That no Fish be brought into any of his Majesty's Kingdoms but by his own Subjects.

Neither will it seem a thing unreasonable to enjoyn every Yeoman and Farmer within the Kingdom to take a Barrel of Fish for their own spending, considering they save the Value thereof in other Victuals; and that it is no more than the Fishermen will do to them, to take off their Wheat, Malt, Butter and Cheese, for their Food at Sea. The Farmer by this means shall never be unprovided of Fish, to observe the Days commanded by his Majesty, without sending to the Market, as otherwise they would be compelled to do.

The Farmer will find by Experience that it is as cheap a Food as any other they can feed upon, and gives a better Delight to the Taste, considering the several ways of dressing it.

The Labouring Man who works with the Farmer takes of him his Butter and Cheese; for every poor Man's Cafe is not to keep a Cow; and such Labourers will be as willing to take Fish from the Farmer as any other Victuals, if he be willing to spare it.

There are few Farmers but will spend the Value of a Barrel of Fish yearly, and

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he that does so shall save 20 in the Hundred by buying the quantity of a Barrel together, rather than by Retail.

And because the Country shall be better serv'd with Fish and other Commodities than they have been, we will make several Staples of Salt, Coles, and other Merchandize desir'd by the Country, where Boats may have Passage up the Rivers not us'd heretofore: As namely, *Middlesex*, part of *Hertfordshire*, *Surrey*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Oxfordshire*, may be serv'd by the River of *Thames*.

*Essex* may serve it self, part of *Hertfordshire*, and part of *Suffolk*.

*Norfolk* will serve *Cambridgeshire*, part of *Suffolk*, *Bedfordshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Northamptonshire*, and a Staple there made will serve *Warwickshire*; for from thence go their empty Carts to fetch Coles, which may furnish the Shire with little Charge.

*Lincolnshire* will furnish it self, *Nottinghamshire* part of *Rutlandshire*, and *Derbyshire* by the *Trent*; *Cumberland* and *Westmerland* will furnish themselves by the *Ealt* and *West Sea*.

We will leap over the Land to the Westward, as *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, which will furnish themselves, part of *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Staffordshire*, and the North Part of *Wales*.

That side of the Sea will furnish *Wales* till you come to *Severn*.

The North side thereof will furnish *Pembrokeshire*, *Carmarthenshire*, *Glamorganshire*, and *Monmouthshire*, and the South part thereof will serve the North side of *Cornwal*, *Devon*, and *Somerset*; and up the River of *Severn* will serve *Gloucestershire*, *Hertfordshire*, part of *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Wiltshire*.

The South Sea of *England* will furnish *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Hampshire*, and part of *Wiltshire*, *Sussex*, *Kent*, and part of *Surrey*.

Thus is *England* and *Wales* compass'd, and a Consideration to be had for the meekest Place to erect our Staples, to utter the Commodities brought them, and to receive from them.

If at any time Corn fails the Countries, we will hereafter supply them at a reasonable Rate with our Trade to *Dantzick* with Herrings: If Plenty make it warrantable to transport by the Statute, we will take it off from them, so as they shall have no just Cause to complain either of Dearth or Abundance.

We will provide that no Rogues or Vagabonds shall be to them Annoyance, or the Poor of the Parish charge them; for all such People shall be set to work by

us: Then will the Contributions to the House of Correction cease, which will be a more ease to the Parishioners, than the value of many a Barrel of Herrings which they shall take off from us.

When our Staples shall be erected in the Country as aforesaid, out of them we will furnish every Parish within the Kingdom with Hemp by weight, to set the People to work, and to receive it again by weight, allowing every one such a Rate for their Work, that they may live well thereby. No Girl nor Boy of 9 years of age, no Man nor Woman how lame of their Legs forever, but shall be able to get their Livings; no Person so blind, but may live without Alms.

For besides the making of Nets, and such Work as belongs to it, we will set up a Trade of making of Cables, and all manner of Ropes, as well to vent abroad, as furnish the Kingdom at home; as also Pole-Davies for Sails, and not be beholden to *France* for them.

All these Reasons consider'd, it is apparent that the Farmers and People of the Inward Country, who hitherto have not tasted of these Happineses, and whose Passages by Water have not been frequented or known, shall reap as great a Commodity and Profit by this Filhing, as our selves; and have no more Reason therefore to refuse the taking of our Herrings, in the manner aforesaid, than we have to take off the Commodities by which they live. And this shall suffice for the second Point of venting our Filh.

These Six several Trades following we will erect in all Parts of *England*, not hitherto practis'd but in some Places near the Sea side:

|            |                             |
|------------|-----------------------------|
| Hempsters, | Ropemakers,                 |
| Spinsters, | Weavers of Pole-Davies, and |
| Corders,   | Net-Makers.                 |

Besides the Encrease of Coopers, Smiths, Shipwrights, Caulkers, Sawyers, Sailors, Filhermen, Basket makers, Sail-makers, Labourers, and many other Trades in great abundance.

In Answer to the third Allegation of Couzenage and Deceits amongst our selves, by Example of the *East-Indies*, *Virginia*, and other Trades, I cannot say whether they deserve the Imputation of the Fraud that is cast upon them or no; for Report is like an Eccho, heard, but no Man knows where: But to give Satisfaction as well in the managing our Trade, as that Truth speaks it, no Deceit can creep in at it, as that which follows shall

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declare: It is not intended (as I conceive) that a Select Company shall have the disposing of this Fishing, as the other has, or to receive, disburse, or employ the Moneys raised by the Adventurers, or to direct and order Things at their Pleasure; but contrarywise, for Example, Whosoever shall be a Member in it, shall have his Choice what to adventure, with whom to adventure, and the manner how to adventure, without Controulment of any other: As this, If he undertake for a Bus or a Ship, it shall be in his Choice to accept of a Partner, two, three, four, or more.

And after the Value of their Adventure, to erect so many Ships as it shall please themselves to nominate, and appoint such Persons for the ordering of it as they shall make Choice of: So that if Deceit appear, it will be among themselves, for no body else shall meddle in their Adventure.

But because in all Commonwealths there must be a Head to Govern, and execute Justice, to which the rest of the Body must submit, it is convenient that the supreme Commission and Authority be given to some of the Lords of his Majesty's Honourable Privy Council, and other Persons of Quality to be chosen, as well in the Kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as in *England*, to settle a Form of Government, with a Judge to Rule, and to provide for all Mischief and Inconveniences that may happen betwixt Man and Man, and prevent the Abuses and Questions that may arise betwixt Merchants, Mariners, Owners of Ships, Salters, Coopers, and others whom it may concern: But these Commissioners are in no wise to handle or meddle with the Parties in their Adventures, or with their Stocks of Money, or with the Employment of it.

Furthermore, to stop the Mouths of such suspicious Conceits of Fraud, you shall find it is not in the wit of Man to over-reach them, for the Reasons following: The Quantity of Fish that a Bus takes cannot be conceal'd; for of necessity the must repair to the Ports of *England* or *Scotland*, where the Customers enter every Barrel of Fish in their Books, and none can be transported without a Cocker: Besides the number of Cask they pay for, they must look to have them fill'd, and likewise the quantity of Salt bought, to have it employ'd.

The Price, as well of those that are vented at home, as transported abroad, is easily known; the usual Freight of Ships and the Factorage is soon guess'd at; and

therefore no Means left for Deceit to enter in at.

Now to return once more to the Fishing, where we left the Busses for that Summer, and provide them against the middle of *November*, to repair to the Island of *Lewis*, where, till the beginning of *February*, they shall take the principal Herrings of all others, in Loughs and Harbours, as I have formerly declared.

Which being done about the first of *March*, they depart from thence to the Island of *Rona*, betwixt 15 and 16 Leagues from *Lewis*, from whence there runs a Bank of 100 Miles in length, and as far as *Till-Head* in *Ireland*; which Bank affords the best quantity of Cod and Ling of any part of the Seas, and 100 and odd years not us'd.

From the first of *March*, as I have said, to the 20th of *June*, is the time I have assign'd to repair to *Braefund* in *Siberia*; in which space I make account they will fill their Vessels twice or thrice with Cod and Ling, and leave them in the Island of *Lewis*, there to be fetch'd by other Ships that shall bring Salt, and all other kind of Necessaries which shall be fitting.

The 20th of *June* approaching, the Busses are to repair to *Braefund*, as I have said before; from whence they must prosecute their Fishing of Herrings, as in the former year, till their Arrival at *Tarmouth*. If then they please to take an Account of their year spent, it will appear that one Bus employ'd by us, as I have projected it, will be of much more Value than to the *Hollanders*, and be the way to teach us how his Majesty's Dominions shall flourish, not for a while, but for ever.

At *Tarmouth* we may account the goodness of the Herrings spent; for betwixt *Winterton* and *Orfordness* they use to Spawn, and are called by the *Hollanders* the Rope-sick Herrings, which they forbear to take.

The Nature of the young Herring, after it is Spawn'd, is to seek the Comfort of the fresh Water, and put themselves into the Mouth of the *Thames*, or amongst the Sands, where the Water is not altogether so brackish: but like poor silly Creatures they are entrapp'd by the Stale Nets, that to take the Sprats; for one Sprat they take, they catch 100 of these young Herrings, and bring them to *Billinggate*, where they sell them not for above 2 d. or 3 d. a Peck; which if let alone, would by *Midsummer* following grow to be a perfect and big Herring, worth 25 or 30 s. a Barrel. This Mischief must be prevented, and the Fishermen enjoin'd not to go to the Westward of *Orfordness* to take Sprats.

From



From *Orfordneſs*, the Herrings direct their Courſe to the *North-ſealand* in *Kent*, where they furniſh both the *Engliſh* and *French* Shores with ſo many as are taken by both Nations, tho' they be both ſhot, ten, and of the worſt kind.

Their abiding hereabouts is according to the Winds; if it hang Southerly or Weſterly, they remain the longer; but if Eaſterly, they are taken, as it were, with the Wind in the Poop, which carries them the length of our Chanel, till they arrive at the *Lands-end* in *Cornwall*, from whence they divide themſelves like a Fleet of Ships that ſhould be directed by a General; ſome go through *St. George's* Chanel, betwixt *England* and *Ireland*; others to the Weſtward of *Ireland*, till they arrive at the Iſlands of *Hebrides* or *Lewes*, the Place of Rendezvous; and we may ſuppoſe, they are at home, by the Strength and Goodneſs they find in that Place; for tho' they run the length of our Chanel, lean and ſick, yet as ſoon as they repair to thoſe Iſlands, they become the largeſt the faireſt, and the beſt Herrings in the World; and here they are taken in Loughs and harbours, as I have ſaid, and valu'd at 40 s. the Laſt above others.

Here I will leave them taking their Reſt, and ſhew another Benefit we ſhall receive upon the Shoals of *Shetland*, *Orkney*, and the *Hebrides*, which the *Hollanders* have not, nor cannot make uſe of, in reſpect they are not Subjects of His Maſteſty.

And becauſe I have purſu'd the Herrings till I left them at the Iſlands of *Lewes*, I will begin with thoſe Iſlands, and truly ſay, They are placed for the Benefit of Fiſhing above all places in the World.

The Condition and Situation of thoſe Iſlands I refer to the Map, that will give you Light of their Seat, their Altitude, and their Neighbourhood with *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but the Nature and Diſpoſition of the People you ſhall receive from me, who have ſeen them, and can beſt ſpeak of them.

Of many Hundred Iſlands belonging to this Kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, I may ſay, thoſe of *Lewes* exceed the reſt in Fertility of Soil: It yields, with the Labour of People, (which they are not guilty of) all manner of Grain, Cattel, Fiſh, and Fowl; and altho' their Fire be not of Wood, or Coles, which we eſteem the beſt Fuel, yet it hath Plenty of Peate and Turf, that they have little Cauſe to fear Cold.

There is an old Saying, which may be well applied to thoſe Iſlands, and the Inhabitants of them, That they have a good

Land, and are ill People; for to ſpeak the Truth, the Chriſtian World cannot ſhew a more barbarous, more bloody, and more untam'd Generation. But His Maſteſty being lately inform'd of their Breeding, and uncivil Living, is graciously pleas'd to reduce them to the Knowledge of God, and the Acknowledgment of him, which hitherto they are ignorant in.

This being done, and the Iſlands being furniſh'd as is intended. I will make it appear, that the Seas about them, and the Loughs and Harbours within them, will yield more Commodity to the Subjects of His Maſteſty's Three Kingdoms, than any other Trades whatſoever, either near home, or far abroad.

Now will I ſtand over for the Iſlands of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which have no need of other Deſcription, but that it is pity ſo good and civil People ſhould inhabit no better a Country: We may ſay the contrary of them that we ſaid of the Iſland of *Lewes*, That it was a good Land, but evil People; theſe are good People, but poſſeſs an evil Soil.

The way to relieve them, is humbly to intreat His Maſteſty to pleaſe to accept of his Revenue in *Orkney* and *Shetland* in Fiſh. Encourage the People of thoſe Iſlands to Undertake and Practiſe the Uſe of Fiſhing, which through Poverty and the Want of Trade they are not now able to go through with.

Besides the Rent to His Maſteſty in Fiſh, whatſoever Fiſh they ſhall take by their own Labours, we will take off from them, and ſupply them with Salt, Nets, Hooks, Boats, and what elſe they ſhall ſtand in need of; by means whereof, every Man in thoſe Iſlands ſhall be able to ſubſiſt and maintain himſelf, that now knows not how to get his Living, but is brought up in Sloth and Idleneſs.

What is requiſite for the Planting of the Iſland of *Lewes*, and other Iſlands adjacent.

1. It is fit His Maſteſty call in the Grant lately made by the Earl of *Seaford* to the *Hollanders*, for inhabiting of the ſaid Iſlands, who take them purpoſely to erect a Fiſhing upon that Coaſt, whereby to defeat His Maſteſty's Subjects of that Benefit.

2. That His Maſteſty grant Liberty and Privileges to his Subjects of *England* and *Scotland*, there to erect and inhabit Towns, Villages, Storehouſes, and all manner of Manufactures and Trades; that hereafter we ſhall not need to ſupply thoſe Iſlands, but find all Things eſtabliſh'd to our hands, as in all other Places of *Europe*,

Y y y 2

where

where Trades are upheld and maintain'd.

3. That His Majesty institute a Governor there, to be resident for the space of Three Years, and not exceed that Time, lest in longer continuance Abuses creep in through the Avarice of Governors.

4. That in every Island there be erected one principal Town above the rest, and a Cittadel in it, to keep the People in Obedience; for the Inhabitants of those Islands are naturally inclin'd to Incivility, Treachery, and Liberty, which are next Neighbours to Rebellion.

5. That every Child be taught the *English* or *Scottish* Language, and that their Education be according to their Abilities of Body, and Disposition of Mind, or as the Estates of their Parents are able to maintain them, some in Learning, some in Manuring and Husbanding of Grounds, but the most part in Fishing and Sea-Affairs, having so convenient a Seat for the same.

6. That the natural Inhabitants of those Islands have no Correspondence with the *Hollanders* upon the main Continent more than is needful, considering the Danger that may ensue by their too great Friendship, who are naturally the most dangerous and worst People of all His Majesty's Dominions; and that there be special Care that they Marry one with another in the Island, or with *English* or *Scottish*, and in any Cases to prohibit all Marriages between them and the Islanders aforesaid.

I have annex'd hereunto what I think fit to be put in present Execution, for Planting the Islands of *Hebrides*; which being done, all the Good formerly express'd will follow; besides, there are other Things, which I forbear to touch, as Matters not fit for me to handle.

I have brought my Intention to an End, and laid open the Mischief our State has long suffer'd by resigning, at least conniving at the *Hollanders* Fishing, who have made long use of it.

I have made it appear how easie it is for us to enjoy, or to be restor'd to what we have lost, and the Profit all kind of People shall reap by it, if Will and Money be not wanting. I have made it plain to as many as desire to know the Truth, That the encrease of Ships in *Europe*, is occasion'd by the Taking and Transporting our Fish: That 9000 *Holland* Vessels are kept by it, and all their People daily set to work, inasmuch that I dare boldly say, If the Food of Fish were prohibited by all sorts of Christians, and duly observ'd, it would lessen the Number of Shipping Three Parts in Five. And therefore fee-

ing our Fish is able to make us happy, and this Narration lays down the Way how to attain to that Happiness, let neither Excuses, false Pretences, or Affection to the *Hollanders*, divert us from it, as it did in the Year 1609, when by Proclamation the *Hollanders* were to resort to *London* for Licence to fish on the Coast of *England*; and *Edinburgh*, for the like in *Scotland*; and yet neither of them both was perform'd, nor the Contempt question'd.

Two Hundred Usurers, with willing Minds and forward Purples, are able to master this Work; but I fear, the Devil, whose Friendship is not to Advise, but to Deceive them, will not allow a Gain so well gotten. The excessive Practice of Usury is the Decay of Commonwealths, repugnant to all Humanity, Charity, and Natural Benevolence, and a Slavery to those that desire to live Poor to die Rich.

But to speak the Truth, it is pity that a Work of so great Goodness and Gain should be tainted by Men of so penurious a Condition, who are neither Good nor Evil by the Disposition of another, but by their own perverse Will and Nature: God, I fear, will bless our Endeavours the worse for them, they are like Trees that carry no Blossoms in the Spring, and therefore no hope of any Fruit at the Fall.

This Work is unspotted; and pity it should be desir'd with the Sin of Avarice. His Majesty's Greatness and Glory will appear by it, for nothing can be to a Prince more Royal, than to make the State of his Kingdom better than he found it; or of evil and slothful Servants, to make them Profitable to a Commonwealth.

This shall suffice for so much as concerns our manner of Fishing, our Commodity arising by Fishing, and the Use other Nations make of our Fish, which I have divulg'd to many of my intimate Friends: And now shall follow other Matters, still concerning the Subject of Fishing; and the first shall be touching Salt and Cask.

#### Concerning Salt and Cask.

The next necessary Thing we can endeavour and labour to advance our Fishing by, without being beholding to other Nations, is Salt and Cask; for in my former Narration I have shew'd, that most of the Materials belonging to our Fishing may be found in *England*, except Salt, Pitch, and Tar: And to take Fish without Salt to save it, is like choice of Meats and no Cook,

or

or others to dress it; for both putrify without present help.

Such Salts as are for the use of Fishing are of divers Kinds and Strength, some too hot and strong, others too weak and faint: and therefore if a Mean betwixt both could be invented, and made within His Majesty's Dominions, we might esteem it a great Jewel, and next in value to the Philosopher's Stone; and the finder out of the Secret to deserve as great Honour of his Country as *William Bacalute*, who was the first Diviler of Packing of Herrings amongst the *Flemings*, as in my former Relation I have declar'd.

There are many, as I am inform'd, at this day, who make trial to attain to the Art and Secret of making Salt; I mean with the convenient strength for the Salting and Pickling of Fish, I do not speak of the making of our White Salt, long practis'd in *England* and *Scotland*; for that kind of Salt of it self, is not for this use, and yet not bad, if according to the quantity it be mixed with the stronger Salt, for it makes a Fish the whiter and better to the Eye for Sale.

Those that undertake this Work and Invention of adding strength to Salt, above our ordinary White Salt, must have a care of the place they chuse to make it in; First, for the conveniency of the taking it off by Fishermen when it is made; Secondly, such a place where the Salt water hath no mixture with Freshes or Sands; and Thirdly, where they shall find plenty of Fuel for their purpose.

The first Practice that was made of it, was in the Isle of *Wight*, a place in my Opinion, ill chosen by the Projectors; First, for uttering of their Salt, if they had brought it to Perfection; for the greatest quantity they could vent, is at *Tarmouth* in *Norfolk*, and the Coast Towns thereabouts, to the Northernmost part of all *Scotland*, which was almost as great a Voyage as to bring it from the Coast of *Britany* where it is made.

Neither had the West Country any advantage in the Transportation, for that all the Ports of *Dartmouth*, *Plimouth*, and all parts of *Severn*, which only use the Fishing of *Ireland* and *Newfoundland*, shall be easier and more conveniently serv'd out of *Britany* with Salt, than from the Isle of *Wight*; *Southampton* and *Portsmouth* alone would receive benefit, by reason of their nearness, and not considerable, in respect of the little Fishing they use.

The Isle of *Wight* was a place as ill chosen, in respect of the brackishness of the Sea, and scarcity of Fuel, in comparison

of the Northern parts, that can be supply'd with Coals at an easier rate; and for proof of the freshness of the Sea, in comparison of other Seas, these are my Reasons; Where Two Lands make a Streight so small, as betwixt *England* and *France*, and both the Kingdoms send forth many fresh Rivers which fall into the Sea, the Sea cannot have such force of Strength or Saltness, as the Northern Coast has, where the Ocean comes pouring in upon them.

We see by experience in *Holland*, that the Salt they make, is not with the Water that comes near those Towns where they make it, tho' a Man that knew not the contrary would sensibly think it had sufficient Saltness for that purpose; but they find it otherwise, and have Ships purposefully made to fill themselves with the Salt Water off at Sea, and not near the Land.

And if the *Hollanders* make so great a profit as they do, by their Salt, imagine what we shall make of it, when we have obtain'd the use of making it, considering our Water by proof is Salter, nearer hand, and our Coals at a far cheaper rate, if our Works be set up at *Tarmouth*, *Lynn*, *Boston*, *Hull*, *Tinmouth*, the *Holy Island*, and all the parts of *Scotland*; in which Harbours our Fishermen either dwell, or will resort thither daily for Sale.

Therefore I conclude, if the Perfection of the Work may be brought to pass, either in making Salt of sufficient strength, out of Invention; or if not, in Imitation of the *Hollanders* to make Salt upon Salt; the Towns aforesaid are the meetest to set up that Trade of Salt; and the rather because they have now in practise the making of White Salt, and the other will be the sooner effected by it.

And for such Salt as shall be us'd in the *Lewes*, there is no place lies more convenient for the making of Salt of any kind, than in that Island, the Sea having an extraordinary Saltness, and the Country affording so great plenty of Fuel.

The *English* and *Scottish* Fishermen that shall use that Fishing, shall find as great, and as extraordinary Profit and Gain, by receiving their Salt at the Island when they shall there arrive, as the freight of their Ships will come to: For whereas they use now to bring in their Ship the best part of their Lading in Salt, finding there Salt made ready to their hands, instead of Salt, they shall lade themselves with Cask, and other things wanting for their use.

Salt upon Salt is made out of the strength of Salt that cometh out of other Countries.

France

France sends out the greatest part of Salt, and according to its Strength, the Salt it makes is of less Vertue and Operation, and the more of it is spent in the Salting of Fish.

The Portuguese and Spanish Salt is the stronger in Substance, by reason of the Sun's Power; for according to the Heat and Force of the Sun, Salt encreaseth in strength.

To the Southward of Spain, and as far as Cape Verde and the Island of May, as also Westward from thence to Cape de Rey, and other places in the West-Indies, the Salt is far stronger than in Spain, by reason of the force of the Sun; and it will make double Salt to the other.

But whereas it is alleg'd by some, that know not what belongs to the business, that the going so far, as to the places aforesaid for Salt, will not quit the Charge: To answer that Objection they must know, That if Profit arise by this Trade, it must be in the built and bigness of Ships they employ; for I would not advise a Ship of less than 300 Tuns, but as much bigger as they please to be sent upon that Voyage; and such Ships to be provided out of Holland, till we get use in Building them, for they will Sail with Two Thirds less Men than ours.

And moreover it is to be consider'd, that the Salt they there fetch costs nothing; for it is there naturally made of the Seawater and the Sun, and nothing is required but their Labour and Pains in bringing it aboard.

If we hit of our Salt making in England, it will prove a great benefit to us; for the King of France and the King of Spain, lately finding a necessity for all Nations to take off their Salt, have laid a Gabel and Custom upon it, and thereby encreas'd the Price so much, that we and all Europe betides find it.

For such Parts of the West Country as border upon the South Sea, or upon the River of Severn, either on the English or Welsh Shore, I will refer to their Consideration, whether they will be serv'd out of France, Spain, and the Isle of May, or other places; or whether they will follow the example of the Northern parts in making Salt upon Salt, as I have shew'd. If they intend this latter, their Country lies very conveniently by the help of Coals they shall have from Swansea in Wales.

After this Work is settled and brought to Perfection, I advise there may be an equal Carriage of it, betwixt the Buyer and the Seller, that they may both live with an indifferent Profit and Gain;

and so to accommodate it, that the Buyer may be certain of the price; if not, this Inconveniency will follow, That the Salt Master will Transport the Salt beyond Sea, where it goes at the greatest rate: Like Corn-masters, if they were not prohibited by a Law, not respecting the Good that would redound to their Country; so much is their covetous desire of Profit: But being bound to serve the Kingdom at a certain Price, and that we shall find no want nor scarcity of it, let them after have liberty to dispose of it for the best Benefit; but according to the old Saying, Charity should begin at home.

There must be a Penalty also upon him that will buy or be furnish'd with Salt, under colour of Fishing, and shall notwithstanding transport the same into any Parts beyond the Seas, or otherwise, for his private Gain. As well this Abuse, as many others that can be imagined to creep in, must be foreseen and prevented.

According to the strength of our Salt, you may rate the Quantity that goes to the salting a Barrel of Herrings, and so estimate it from 1 Barrel to 100 Lasts, viz. a Weigh of Salt is 40 Bushels, and every Bushel will salt a Barrel of Herrings; so that 12 Bushels will salt a Last of Herrings, being 12 Barrels of 32 Gallons to a Barrel. A Last of Herrings is Two Tuns after the English Account.

And if you can bring the Salt to the Proportion of 3  $\frac{1}{4}$  10 s. the Weigh, it were a Price indifferent betwixt the Buyer and the Seller; yea, tho' you proportion the Spanish Salt at a greater Price, and our White Salt at a lesser, yet if betwixt both it may be Rated equal, as I have said, at 3  $\frac{1}{4}$  10 s. the Weigh, it were very well.

The same Proportion of Salt you must use to the Codd, viz. a Bushel of Salt to a Barrel of Codd. And as for Ling, it is not to be Barrell'd up, but to be Salted in Bulk, which will take up much the less Salt.

The next Consideration about our Fishing, is, How to make our provision of Cask, as well for Herring as for Cod; the greatest quantity which furnishes the Hollanders, is brought out of Norway, Sweden, and other parts of the Sound, which they return in their Ships, after they have made Sale of their Fish in those parts.

The same Course we may take, if we be so pleased, or that we cannot return a better Freight for our Ships: But we have an easier and a nearer way to be supplied with Cask; for no Country of Europe affords better Provision of Timber, or Ash to make them, or more conveniency

ency to transport them to what Coast soever we shall Fish on, in his Majesty's Dominions: This Benefit we enjoy above the *Hollanders*, who have not in their Country one whole Timber Tree for this purpose, but are serv'd from abroad, as I have formerly said.

All kind of Wood that belongs to the Building of Ships, or other Works that have relation to Timber, we do, and shall find, in a little time, a great want of; for Wood is now utterly decay'd in *England*, and begins to be no less in *Ireland*, if there be not a speedy Course taken to redress it, and a prohibition against the transporting of out of *Ireland* into *Holland*, which the *Hollanders* make a continual Trade of, not only of Timber, but also of all other Commodities *Ireland* affords, greatly to the prejudice of the *English*; and for the better proof thereof they have erected a Company in *Amsterdam*, by the name of the *Irish Company*.

And therefore I would to God his Majesty would take these things into Consideration; as also to restrain the felling of Timber in *England*, which is too common by the Liberty that is given to Widows, to Fell and Sell without Impeachment or Waste; and to young Heirs, after they come to possess their Father's Lands; for the readiest Monies they can think on towards their wastful Expences, is a Sale of Timber; and whilst this is suffered, and no provision for Preserving or Planting of Trees, as the Law provides for in that case, what can be imagin'd will fall to *England* hereafter in succeeding times? For if Money or Wealth decay in a Kingdom, there may be means by Trade to recover it again; If Seamen die, so long as there are Ships and Navigation they will soon encrease, and make their Deaths forgotten; but if our Timber be consumed, and spent, it will require the Age of 3 or 4 Generations before it can grow again for use; which we ought the more to respect, because the *English* Timber far exceeds the *Irish* in Lightness and Goodness.

Tho' the Carriage of Ship-Timber be prohibited, and as daily executed; yet there are divers Abuses that must be look'd to and prevented, as well in this kind of Timber, as in vent of our own Red Herrings; the Deceits whereof, betwixt the *English* and the *Hollanders*, Combiners, you shall understand by this that follows.

The *Hollanders* have gotten a late Practice, by their Inwardness and Friendship with some Men of *Yarmouth*, (for naturally that Town is more inclined to *Holland* than

*England*, as descended from thence;) these *English* Dwellers take upon them the Building of Ships, according to direction of the other, who underhand disburse the Money; and the Ship being Buile, the *English* in fiew make Sale of her to the *Hollanders*; when his Tide in the Ship, is perhaps 30 l. to colour the Deceit. There are many other things to be prov'd, that upon examination would discover many Abuses offered both to the King and Subjects.

These Combiners stop not here, but craftily avoid his Majesty's Proclamation; for whereas, as I have formerly deliver'd, the Red Herring is only made in *Yarmouth*, and the *Hollanders* have in a manne the absolute Carriage of them into the *Streights*; and although the State is many times willing to prevent the Carriage of them by Strangers; yet craftily they use this Policy, speedily to send away the Herrings in *English* Vessels to *Holland*, as soon as they are made, from whence they immediately ship them for the *Streights*, before our great Ships can take them in at *Yarmouth*: Other times they meet such Ships as come from *Yarmouth* laden with Herrings, off the Sands of *Yarmouth*, where they ride, take them in, and carry them directly to the *Streights* many days before ours can be ready at *Yarmouth* in our great Ships; by which advantage of time, they get their Port, and make Sale of their Herrings, long before our arrival there, and sell them at a double Price to us at our coming, to an inestimable Loss, both to his Majesty's Subjects and to his Customs, as I have said before; by the Precedent of a Ship sighted from *Yarmouth* to *Marseilles*.

And therefore to avoid this Cunning and Cotenage, it is fitting his Majesty prohibit the Transportation of Fish, except in his Subjects bottoms, and a Day to be limited for the Transportation, that we may be sure to be near our Port, before the Strangers can follow us out of *England*; so shall we be sure to make our Market before the Strangers can depart *England*, which will be a great Advantage to us.

As this Deceit appears in the Vent of our Red Herrings, so there is no less unconscionable Course held betwixt the *Hollanders* and *English* Fishermen, that takes the Pilchards and Poor John, the one in *England*, the other in *Newfoundland*; for such is the necessity of the poor Fishermen, that they receive Impress of part of their Money before hand, to perform strict Conditions they are bound to, much to their prejudice, and the *Hollanders* Advantage; whereas if the *English* had the absolute



absolute Carriage of Fish, they would attain to the Secrets of that Trade, and deal more reasonably with Poor Men than the others do.

I have before in this Book computed the Value of 60 Ships, of 250 Tuns each, what the *Hollanders* gain by the Trade of our Fish into the *Streights*, and not one Penny thereof return'd into *England*; and for a more Authentick Proof, I desire that Merchants may be examined upon the Truth thereof, and then you shall find my Computation to fall out right; and for your better Satisfaction, I will set down the several Ports within the *Streights*, and the Number of Ships that repair to them; by which it will appear what Loss this Kingdom has for so many Years sustain'd, and what Gain and Profit may be made by it, if it be reduc'd into our Hands; besides the Strength of Ships, the Encrease of Mariners, and Fame this Nation will reap by it.

*An Estimate of what went before.*

|                                                                                                                             |   |           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-----------|
| A Ship of 250 Tuns, will carry,                                                                                             | } | 1600 l.   |
| in Fish, to the value of                                                                                                    |   |           |
| Freight for the same, at 5 l. the                                                                                           | } | 1250 l.   |
| Tun                                                                                                                         |   |           |
| Assurance, 5 l. per Cent.                                                                                                   |   | 0080 l.   |
| Charges at <i>Venice</i> at the least                                                                                       |   | 0400 l.   |
| All this is lost by the Stranger's carrying of it, and calculating 60 Ships after this Proportion, there is lost the Sum of | } | 621750 l. |
|                                                                                                                             |   |           |

Twelve for *Venice*; 8 with Pilchards, 4 with Red-Herrings.

Four to *Ancona*; whereof 3 with Pilchards, one with Red-Herrings.

Six to *Civita Vecchia*.

Six to *Genova*.

Eight to *Naples*.

Twenty to *Legborne*.

Three to *Villa-Franca*.

Forty six to *Marseilles*, whereof 30 with Dry Fish.

In all 105 Ships, besides many more smaller for *Spain* and *France*; as I have shew'd.

Here shall follow some indirect Dealings of the *Hollanders*, which I forbore to insert in the former Discourse of Fishing, and shall be inserted at the End of this Book, calling it an Addition to my Sixth Book; but I will still prosecute the Subject of Fish and Fishing, and will not cease till I have laid open every Coast of the known World, whither Fish resorts,

and shew the Benefit that is or may be made of it, as well by the Inhabitants as Strangers.

*Concerning Fish and Fishing.*

There are two Natural Foods for Man to feed on; the one is Fleh, maintain'd and encreas'd by the Fruitfulness of the Land and Soil of the Earth; the other is Fish, swimming in the common, spacious, and open Sea, which no Man can challenge a Right to, as to the Land they may, and therefore it may be called Common.

This Fish requires no Head, as Beasts and Cattle do, to overlook them, or to keep them in their Limits or Bounds; no Man can set his Mark upon them, to challenge a Property in them: No Body that casts a Net into the Sea, can say what belongs to them, till it be drawn again: No Difficulty or Care can be requir'd to nourish it, seeing there is such abundance encreased over all the Seas and Coasts in the World, as Experience teaches us.

The Difficulty in making use of this Food is in the Taking it, which is done by Art, Engines and Pains; for unless the Prerogative of Princes in some Cases, and upon some Coasts, prohibit the Sufferance of taking Fish, it is as lawful for a Beggar as a King to challenge Right to it, alter it is taken.

The Use of Fishing, and the Benefit that arises by it, needs no other repetition, than in my former Declaration.

There now only remains my Labour and Observation to collect the Sorts of Fishes every Country affords, and which are used for present Food, and which are sent abroad by way of Trade; and then I will refer it to Consideration, what Penalty *Europe*, which is the most flourishing Part of the World, would be brought to, were it not for the Endeavours and Labours of the Poor Fishermen.

Besides the general Fishes of Herring and Codd, taken upon the Coast of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and vented, as in the Narration aforesaid, there are many excellent Fishes upon every Maritime Shire in *England*, which are of great Sustainance to the Inhabitants, and which I forbear to name, but will set down only such Fish as is vented abroad, and returns Gain and Commodity to the Kingdom by way of Traffick.

As the Northern Parts of *England* yield both Codd and Herring, as aforesaid, so do the Western Coasts Pilchards in such abundance that many times they are not able

able to have the third Part of them, for want of Salt, as appears in the last Wars with *France*.

*Ireland* affords these three kinds of Fishes in as great Numbers as *England*; and the Herrings and Pilchards exceed ours, which makes them valu'd above the *English* in other Countries. They have another Fish which frequents not our Shores, called the Hake, taken in the Deepes betwixt *England* and *Ireland*, much pris'd in *Biscay*; they have plenty of Kay, or Thornback, and Buckorm, which is Dry'd Whiting, much desir'd in *Britany*.

The several Parts of *England* have several Seasons of Fishing, some whereof I have shewed, but will add to it our Fishing at the *Sow*, a Rocky Ground a League and more in length, and six Leagues South off at *Sea to Rie*: This is the principal Place that yields that primest fresh Fish that serves *London*, and the Place *France* did lately inroach upon, under Colour of five Boats Licens'd by King *James*, at the Request of the *French* King. But his Subjects encreas'd almost to as many Scores as Boats, till by Order of the State, I reduc'd it to the allow'd Proportion, as is to be seen in my Second Book.

Upon the Coast of *Lincolnshire*, the Fishing for Codd begins at *Easter*, and continues till *Midsummer*; for Hake in the Deepes, as I have said, betwixt *Whitside* and *St. James*; about *Padflow* for Codd and Ling, from *Christmas* to the middle of *June*; on the North Part of *Ireland*, from *Christmas* to *March*.

*Englishmen* have not the use of Barrelling up of Codd, and if it be not Barrelld it is not vendible in *France*; neither can they make Haberdine, for if they could it would be well sold in *Spain* and *Portugal*.

Now to the Fishing upon the Coast of *Holland*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and other Countries where the Sea affords Fish, but no great use is made thereof, more than for present Food; for neither Herrings nor Codd are there to be found, which are the staple and vendible Fish for Profit.

The Coast of *Holland* yields the least Quantity and the worst Choice of Fish of all the rest; and yet Fish is there most eaten out of Necessity, having so many People that inhabit the Countrey, and so little quantity of Land for their sustenance. The greatest Store of Fish that maintains them is taken upon our Seas, and kept in Well-boats, and brought into *Holland*, where it is vented and sold.

Coming upon the Coast of *France*, the first Town you shall find to entertain you, will be *Calais*, which in truth exceeds all other Places of that Kingdom for the present Food of Fish; not that they are such Fishes as I have named before, either for Quality, for Quantity taken, or Provision to take them; for their Boats are only Shallops, not above a Tun burthen, unless it be in *October*, when their bigger Vessels resort thither to take the last Shole of Herrings that comes from the Northward: And it happen'd in the Year, 1610, that 50 Sail of those Vessels were sunk, and 800 People in them, as they were there Fishing.

If you keep along the Shore of *France* till you arrive at *St. John de Luz*, the furthestmost Part thereof, it affords no other Fish but for present spending, except at some time of the Year that they sale their spare Mackrels, which at the time of the Year they take.

*Biscay* is like *France* in the nature of Fish, and Fishing upon their own Coast: But what Profit either of them make by their Fishing upon the Shores of *America*, I will after shew; only I must say, that *Biscay* is often visited with monstrous Fishes, as Whales and Gramposses, which none of the rest I have spoken of are in abundance, which yields the Taker of them more Commodity by the Oil, than the value of other Fish.

The next in order is *Galicia*, and *Portugal*, as far as Cape *St. Vincent*, the Southernmost Promontory of all that Coast, or of *Europe*: I'll join them in one, because they are all one Continent, and subject to one King. They both afford Fish alike in a reasonable Quantity, but especially of Pilchards; and here they are so Excellent above others, and so necessary to the People of *Portugal*, that the Countrey had better want their *East-India* Trade, than their Fishing for Pilchards upon that Coast.

Doubling the Cape of *St. Vincent*, you tend East, as far as the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*; Besides the Fish these Seas afford to equal the rest of *Portugal*, it is haunted with a Fish called *Tunny*, a Victual of great use, in that it is Pickled up in Barrels, and serves for Sea-store, besides a great quantity that is transported into the *Streights*: The Custom of this Fish is worth in value to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, 40000*l.* Sterling a Year. The fattest *Tunny* is near *Gibraltar*.

After you enter the *Streights*, that Sea cannot be compar'd to the others, neither in quantity nor in goodness of Fish.

tho' one kind of Fish they have which the others have not, which is Anchovies, esteem'd for a great Dainty amongst us, because of the Rarenels of it, and coming so far; and yet I think our Sprats and young Herrings in England might be made to equal them in Taste.

In returning out of the *Streights*, we will keep the Coast of *Barbary* Westward, as high as *Cape Canteene*, in which Circuit there is very little Fish taken, tho' no doubt but the Sea affords as good Fish as upon the Christian Shore, opposite to it, but that the *Moors* are no Fishermen, nor have Provision or Harbours for it.

The Christians enjoy all these Sports, except *Sally*, so that if the *Moors* had conveniency of Fishing, yet the Christians would have kinder'd them, that they should have reap'd no Benefit by it.

From *Canteene* to the Southward there are two Roads upon the Coast of *Barbary*, *Safin* and *Sancta Cruz*; and in the middle betwixt them there is a small Island call'd *Mogutbore*, but no manner of Fish in any of those Places, nor Vessels for that purpose.

To the Southward of *Sancta Cruz* there is plenty of Hake taken by the *Spaniards*, who go purposely out of *Spain* thither to fish: Somewhat I can say hereof, by Proof of a Bark of mine that was freighted from *Sevil*, and fitted with Salt, Hooks, and Lines, and made a good Return of her Fish into *Spain* back again.

To the Southward of this Place, and as far as *Cape Blanco*, the hichermost part of *Guinea*, there is an excellent Fishing for Porgus, somewhat like to an over-grown Sea-Bream, but much bigger: There are Yearly employ'd out of *Spain* 50 or 60 Vessels call'd *Canterers*, upon that Fishing only; and if they escape taking at their return, they make commonly a good Voyage: The only Inconveniency is, That upon that Coast the Winds hang continually betwixt the North and the East, so that many times they are forc'd to run a Westerly Course as far as the Islands of *Tercera*, which makes the Voyage the longer and more dangerous for meeting with the Enemies.

From this part of *Guinea* to the Southernmost Place thereof, which is the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Coast is inhabited by Negroes, except it be in some few Places, where the *Portugueses* have their Abode; but the Negroes are so ignorant in fishing in Boats, that they know not what belongs to it, tho' there is plenty of Fish for Food, if Fishing were exercis'd.

It is an old Saying, that *there is Water*

*enough in the Sea*, but of no Use, because of the Saltness; and Fish sufficient in the Ocean, but not possible to take it. The greatest store of Fish for Food is upon Coasts, especially Islands, where they have space to swim about it; or in Shole Water, where a Line may reach the bottom: For in the main and large Ocean it's impossible to find Ground with all the Lines you can lengthen. Yet in the Hot and Southern Seas, there are these kinds of Fishes for Food, which swim high, and sometimes appear above the Water, (viz.) the Dolphin, the Bonito, the Dorado, and Shark, the last whereof does not Spawn, but Whelp like Birches; the is Ravenous, unwholsome to eat, and so eager upon a Bait, or a Thing she shall snatch at, as I have known them bite a Man's Leg and Thigh away at a Bit, as he has been swimming. These Fishes are taken with Harping Irons, Fishgigs, and Hooks made purposely.

Besides these Fishes, which are good Sustenance to long Voyages, there are also Flying Fishes, but never taken but accidentally, when they are chas'd by the Dolphin, and forc'd to put themselves to flight; but as soon as their Wings or Fins grow dry, they may by chance light into a Ship, for longer they cannot fly.

There are no Islands to the Southward, great or small, beginning with the *Tercera's*, the *Canaries*, *Cape Verde*, all the Islands of the *West Indies*, the *Bermuda's*, *St. Hellena*, &c. but have great store of Fish flocking about them; but the least Number in all the Seas is betwixt the two Tropicks, where there is no use made of them, for want of Harbours, fear of Enemies, and other Inconveniencies. Such Fish as are taken about the Island of *St. Hellena*, or the Coast of *Brazil*, the next Westerly Land to it, have a Virtue above all Fishes for delicious Taste and Wholesomeness, in both equal to the best Flesh with us.

Having follow'd and chas'd the Fish as far to the Southward as any known Land has given Light, let me once more return to know what the Northern Seas and the Islands yield in that cold Climate and Habitation, and we shall find it a great Proportion for the Food of Man. The Fish more naturally desire the Cold and Northern Seas, than the Hot and Southern Shores, where the Sun has so predominant a Power and Heat.

And to begin with the Northern Parts of *Europe*, I will arrive at *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Liefland*, whose Coasts abound in Fish, as well for their own Food, as for

for Sale abroad: I will call it Food to them, for in many places of *Norway* and *Finland* it serves for Bread to the Inhabitants. after it is dry'd in the Frost, and made Stockfish.

Now let us leave these Shores, and stand over to the Islands plac'd in those Northern Seas, a great many whereof belong to the Crown of *Denmark*; as namely *North-fare*, containing 30 in Number, *Friseland*, *Iceland*, and others. And it is a marvelous thing to see with what abundance of Fish they are frequented, and what a number of Ships resort thither to take them, and after to vend them: For to speak of *England* alone, there go Yearly from the Northern and Eastern Coast 150 Ships, which employ 2500 Seafaring Men, that upon all occasions are ready to serve their Prince and Country.

All these Trades aforesaid are not to be told like new Stories, to breed Wonders; for Time has approv'd it ever since those Lands have been known to us: But as God gave a new Light of a new World by the Discovery of *America*, now daily known and frequented by us of *Europe*, and whose Soil yields Benefit to the Christian World; so did that God, that was the Maker of the Land, shew himself the same God, in pouring forth his Blessing upon the Sea, by the Riches and Encrease thereof, wherein *England* had some Honour thereby in the Discovery of *Newfoundland*, that since prov'd most Commodious to the Commonwealth, and most especially to the Western Parts thereof, by their Yearly Employment of 200 Sail of Ships thither.

The *French*, the *Biscayners*, and the *Portugueses*, were so much encourag'd at our Discovery of *Newfoundland*, as from that time, till this very day, they have upheld the Trade thereof, by the Fish they call *Baccalao*, and we *Poor John*; but by our continual haunting that Coast, we have found an Inconvenience alike, that the Fish grows less, the old Store being consumed by our continual Fishing.

The *Biscayners* not being contented with this Trade, where they found so many Neighbours to join with them, went farther to the Northward, and possess'd themselves of a Harbour which they named the *Grand Bay*, where they find, besides their *Baccalao*, abundance of Whales, where they make more Advantage by their Oyl than of the other.

The *French* being desirous to try Experiments, as well as the *Biscayners*, found a Fishing-Land 50 Leagues off to Sea from *Newfoundland*, and call'd it the *Bank*, where

commonly they make two Voyages Yearly, without resorting ashore to dry their Fish, and therefore it is call'd Wet fish: And this I hold one of the best Means to maintain their Mariners in all *France*, which if in time of War we seek to beat them from this Fishing, we shall find them but indifferent Enemies at Sea.

The *French* alone, and no other Nation, have continu'd a Footing in these Countries, tho' we have often attempted to do the like, and fail'd. But in the late Years of our Wars with *France*, in 1628, we took their Fort, and possess'd it some time.

The *English* have had more absolute Trade to *Newfoundland* since the Year 1585 than ever before; for in that Year the War broke out betwixt *Spain* and us: Whereupon the Queen sent certain Ships to take such *Biscayners* and *Portugueses* as fished there; a Service of great Consequence, to take away the Ships and Victuals from our Enemies Subjects; and since that they have almost abandon'd their Fishing thereabouts. Out from these Men thus taken, and brought for *England*, came the great Sickness that the Judges and Justices died of at *Exeter*.

Going Southward from *Newfoundland*, the *English* have had a new Plantation, by the Favour of the Sea, that yields them great store of better and a larger sort of Fish than the other Coast does; only it is too thick to dry, and therefore not to be vend'd in the *Streights*, or the Southernmost part of *Spain*.

As you sail from thence farther to the Southward, tho' it be as far as the *Streights* of *Magellan*, you shall find all that Coast in the Nature of the Shores of *Africa*, as low as the Cape of *Good Hope*, both in the Condition of the Fish, and in Taking it: But something I will say of strange Fish found in the *West Indies* and the Coast of *Brazil*, not known to us in these Parts.

There is a Fish in the *West Indies* call'd the *Malatia*, that has a Stone in its Head the most Sovereign Remedy for the Cholic in the World.

The Tortoise, now familiar to us, by our usual Navigations into the *Indies*. They lay very large Eggs, and a great quantity together, which are hatch'd in the Sand by the Heat and Operation of the Sun: The young ones as soon as hatch'd creep into the Sea.

I will not speak of the *Remora*, that stays and stops a Ship in her Course under Sail, because I have spoken sufficiently of it, treating of the *East Indies*.

Upon the Coast of *Brazil*, these several Fishes are of Account, and Name;

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the *Varania*, good Meat to eat, and as big as any Ox.

The Ox-Fish, a Fish-Royal, esteem'd above all Fishes, and healthful to eat; of a good Taste, either fresh or Salt; it eats rather like Beef than Fish.

The *Bonaporia*, like a Sturgeon, of a good taste and wholsome; abundance of them are taken in the Sea with Hooks and Lines.

The Ox-Eye, is like the Tunney, an excellent Fish, and looks like the Eye of an Ox.

The *Canwy*, a Royal Fish, and much esteem'd; it is Fat, Wholsome, and of a good Taste; it yields good Store of Butter.

The Wild Fish, which the *Indians* call *Peckanube*, and know where it lies by its Snoring: It is of a good Bigness, Taste, and much esteem'd: All Fishes found upon the Coast of *Portugal*, are there also in abundance.

There are many Sword Fishes and Whales, betwixt whom there are frequent Battles, as I have shew'd before.

The Whales upon these Southern Coasts are more furious and dangerous than in the Northern, tho' the Northern be the bigger, but not so nimble with the Tail, which is the peril of the Whale; for if a Boat come a head of her, she cannot do much hurt, but in rising from the bottom, as I have shew'd before.

There are many venomous Fishes upon that Coast, as namely the Toad-fish, of a small bigness; taking it out of the Water it snorts, and Poison lies in its Skin, and whosoever eats it with the Skin, dies.

There are other Fishes of the same nature like Toad-fishes.

The *Perachie* is like a Scate, and whosoever toucheth it, has the Pallie, or is benumm'd; The *Camaruma*, the *Amoriatie*; the *Anicurub*, the *Irepourungo*, besides many others that are venomous.

There are many Mermaids and strange Shell fishes, as well those that are known to our Coast, as others unknown.

I have seen a Fish very monstrous in the Island of *Flores*, that appears with its Finns about the Gills, above the Water 4 or 5 Yards, and its Jaws gaping above a Yard broad, which puts the Beholders in fear. This kind of Fish I never knew nor heard of but in that place.

*Something concerning Whales, and several sorts of Monstrous Fishes.*

And now another while I will speak of Monstrous Fishes, that are useful and profitable, but not to be valu'd or eaten for Food, and these they are; The Whale, the Grampus, the Porpus, the Sea Horse, or Morda, the Seal, &c. All these afford

the Commodity of Oil which is made of them, when dead; and the manner to kill them is so commonly known, that I need not repeat it: The Whale yields, besides Oil, Bones, which are for divers uses employ'd in several Trades; the yields *Sperma Ceti*, the Virtue whereof is known to us, and is sold by Apothecaries. Some are of Opinion that the Amber-greece comes from the Whale, and is cast ashore where it is found.

Some there are likewise that believe the Teeth of the Sea-Horse are Medicinal; but for my part I believe the contrary, and that the only use to be made of them, is for Harts of Knives, and other Works that Ivory is put to.

The Whale, and most of the other Fishes, are as frequent and common in the hot and Southern Climates, as in the cold and Northern Countries, tho' we only use the Cold, as *Greenland*, where we kill, and make great benefit of them.

The *European* Shores have the least number of Whales, which I impute to Shore-Water, because the greatest quantity, known, are about the great Bay of *Biscay*, from which place we were instructed in our Whale-fishing, when we began it in *Greenland*.

The Whales that are found dead amongst us, of which I have had some proof by one or two cast upon Land, come dead ashore by some hurt receiv'd at Sea; for the nature of the Whale, after she is hurt, is to seek the Land, where she leaves her Body to enrich him that has right to her, by her coming upon his Shore.

Besides the great Number of Whales that make their Habitation in the North Seas, and the farther Northward the greater store, there are abundance of them upon the Coast of *Brazill*, the *West-Indies* and *Guinea*, which may the better appear by the *Indians* conceit, who thought the first Ships they saw, when the *Spaniards* came thither upon the Discovery, had been Whales.

Upon the Coast of *Brazill*, there are such abundance, that if the *Portugueses*, who dwell there, would employ themselves in killing them, it would prove a commodious thing; but I conceive the reason they put it not in practice, is the mass of Gain they make by their Wood and Sugars, holding the other not worth their Labour, and having no vent for it but in *Portugal*.

By this you may perceive the Pains and Industry of Man, and the difference betwixt Men and Nations; for if the *Hol-*  
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landers were Planted in *Brazill*, and had that benefit of the Whale, the others have, they would, and might very well, with their cheapness of Freight, serve *Europe* with their Train Oil from thence; for I remember, that Two Ships of *Holland* went to *Saldina's Bay*, as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, to kill Whale (for upon that Coast there are abundance) but it happened that one of the Two Ships was there wracked, which perhaps might discourage farther proceedings upon that Voyage.

But if we consider the Industry of the *Hollanders*, and compare it with the Sloth of the *Portugueses*, that the *Hollanders* went 2000 Leagues to lade themselves with Train Oil, when the *Portugueses* might have done the like at their own home, and rejected it; we must consequently attribute as great Praise to the one, as we may Blame and Sloth to the other.

There are many Dangers that may happen, and have happen'd to Ships, by their accidental meeting with Whales at Sea; some whereof I will mention upon my own Knowledge. The nature of a Whale is, when he receives a Hurt, to seek the bottom of the Sea, and with fury to rise up again, and shew her self above Water; if in Rising she chance to come under the Keel of a Ship, she utterly destroys the Ship, and the Men in her.

I remember, that being upon the Coast of *Barbary*, and not far from a Whale, in 1587. I saw her mount above the Water, as high as the top of a Ship, occasion'd, as we conceiv'd, by the Sword-fish, who is an Enemy to the Whale, and upon their Encounter, cunningly gets under the Belly of the Whale, and with his Sword vexeth, and forceth her to mount above the Water, as I have said: This Whale, upon her falling down again into the Water, made a greater noise than the report of a Cannon.

A Whale in a Calm betokens foul weather, for there cannot be a truer sign of a Storm, than Whales and Porpoises playing upon the Water. It happen'd in the Ship in which I was taken Prisoner, off the *Burlings* in 91. the day sevennight before my taking, in the night time the Ship gave stem to a Whale that lay a sleep with her Back above the Water; the accident was so strange and rare, that it amazed the Company, who gave a sudden shriek, thinking the Ship had been foundered upon a Rock; but looking overboard they beheld the Sea all bloody, which comforted them, conceiving it to be as they found it, it was a Stem upon a Whale.

In the Year 1589. being at the Islands *Azores* with my Lord of *Cumberland*, after our overthrow at *St. Maries*, as I have shew'd in my First Book, and have had more particular occasion to speak of it in my Fifth Book; to bring this for an example of the greatest hazard I ever endur'd in my life, occasion'd by a Whale there, as you shall understand; to which place I refer you, because I will not be too tedious in this Discourse.

In the Reign of King *James*, there was a Ship of *Portsmouth*, the Owner thereof, my good friend Captain *Towersen* by name, who in her way in company of other Ships, to a Fishing in *Newfoundland*, gave Stem to a Whale as she lay asleep; the Ship had all her Sails drawing, and a large Wind, but for want of the Companies looking out, she gave such a blow to the Whale, that she presently foundred; but by the help of other Ships of her company the Men were preserved, who otherwise had perish'd.

Many other Accidents of this kind have hap'n'd to Ships, which I need make no repetition of, they are so common; and this shall suffice for the subject of Fishing, as well for Food, as others that yield the commodity of Oil.

I will speak little of the Mermaid, because there are diversities of Opinions; some think there are none, others that there are, tho' there be little doubt thereof, for we shall find in the year 1332. in our *English Chronicles*, one taken in *England*, another in *Holland*, and a Third in *Britany*; for the Relation whereof I refer you to the Authors aforesaid.

There is a Tradition to this day in *Galicia*, one of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, that a Mermaid coming out of the Sea, ingendred with a Woman ashore, and begot on her a Child: And to speak of later times, I see divers have seen them, who are now alive and can justify it.

There are other strange Fishes to be seen on the Coast of *Norway*, and especially in 68 Degrees of Latitude, which are very wonderful, besides the great dangers, and other particularities belonging to that Sea more than any other yet discover'd.

In the Country and Height aforesaid, there is a Well call'd by the Name of *Nael-Stream*, which Well draws the Water to it with an In-drought, and with so great a Fore-Noise and Dread to the Hearers during the time of the Flood, which is 6 Hours, that it is to be wonder'd at above all Wonders a Man can report.

The Force and Violence of this Flood is such, that its Power reaches two Miles about it every way; so that if a Ship or Vessel happen to be within that Compass, it draws her into its bottomless Gulph, where she is swallow'd up, and perishes.

The Ebb has the contrary Effect, which endures the said Space of 6 Hours, and sets off with the same Violence the Flood draws to it, inasmuch that it will not suffer the heaviest thing that can be thrown over board to sink. At this Ebb, the Fishermen use to take away many sorts of strange deform'd Fishes, not seen elsewhere upon any Coast whatsoever; one whereof I will take special notice of, which has been avow'd to me by a very sufficient Man, who saw it: It is like an Eel, and 100 Fathom long, which has sometimes entred a Boat on the side and pass'd through her on the other side; and if it be cut asunder, which a Knife may well do, it casts forth the greatest Stink in the World, and enough to poison a Man that smells it.

Some are of Opinion, that the Stream passes under the Ground through the Parts of *Norway*, and bursts out again at the Northernmost Part of *Finland*, where is another *Neal-Stream*, tho' not so violent or dangerous as this, and where the same kind of Fish are taken as in the other aforesaid.

This Place is call'd by some, the *Mael of the Sea*; and some think, the Ebbs and Floods upon all the Coasts on this side the *Equinoctial* are caus'd out of this miraculous *Neal-Stream*. I set this down but as a Conjecture, not to be rely'd on, for the Secret of Ebbing and Flowing is only known to God, and not to be apprehended by Man; and so the Philosophers acknowledge.

There are other Dangers appearing upon our Coast, but not so terrible and fearful as those of *Norway*; and for which, there may be Reasons given, (as namely) the Race of *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, the Race of *Conques* in *Brittany*, the Race of *Lyons* in *Italy*; and I have seen another, not much inferior to the least of these, at the Isle of *Palma* in the *Canaries*.

That of *Portland* has been the Destruction of many a Ship and Man, tho' it may be avoided, either by going within it towards the Land, or without it to Sea. The Ship of War wherein I went the first time to Sea, in her return from the Coast of *Spain* in her second Voyage after, where she had made a profitable Voyage, taking sundry *Spaniards*, as her Lading would have witness'd, out

of a Covetousness to gain a League or two, tho' she might have easily avoided it, put her self into the Race, little valuing the Danger, and was presently swallow'd up in view of her Comforts, and neither Man nor Boy escap'd.

The cause of these Races that makes the bubbling and turning of the Water and Streams, is the meeting of Tides, and the foulness and rockiness of the Ground, which makes that space of the Sea where this happens, to boil up like a Pot upon the Fire.

There are other Places where the Tide sets with wonderful force and swiftness, as well upon the Ebb as Flood; and namely *Pintley Frith*, which divides the whole Continent of *Britany* from the Islands of *Orkney*; I have pass'd it, and found such admirable Tides, that I was amaz'd. I have heard People thereabouts say, That the force of that Tide is such, that if a Ship chance to Anchor in it, and the Cable and Anchors hold, the strength of the Stream is so violent, that she will be swallow'd up at an Anchor.

In the Island of *Orkney* joining to it, as also upon the Coast of *Norway*, the Tide sets with that force, that he who knows not the nature of it will be afraid to approach near the Shore; and yet Experience tells us, that the Tide sets from the Land, and keeps a Ship from running on Shore.

The Sea produces many other strange Things of Nature, which I forbear to repeat; but the Thing I covet to know, is what Wonders the Sea produces under the North Pole, not yet attempted by any Nation, tho' the *English* have approach'd nearest it since the Discovery of the Island of *Greenland*, whither they resort to kill their Whale.

Philosophers mention four Indraughts in the Ocean Sea, in the four Quarters of the World; from whence many conjecture, that as well the Flowing of the Sea, as the Blasts of the Wind, have their Original: But these being Mysteries above my Capacity or Reading, and nothing tending to the Subject of Fishing, which at last I have brought to an End, I will draw to a Conclusion of my whole Six Books, making account, after a long and tedious Navigation, I am at last arriv'd in a safe and secure Port, where I have leisure to recollect my self, and think of my Errors past, in taking so great Pains to so little purpose, as to write so many Lines and Leaves of the Sea only, few Gentlemen delighting in it, or making Profession of it; but before I end, as in

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my former Navigation I have spoke of the Profit of Fishing, I will set down the Enemy to Fishermen and Fishing in this that followeth.

There is no Action at Sea, be it great or small, that brings not with it both Charge and Danger, nor no Business so easie that can be done without Pains and Difficulty : And this Subject we are now upon, that is Fishing, the only thing that is requir'd in it is Labour and Pains ; for Danger is little to be regarded, considering it is not far from home we are to seek our Profit, nor our Harbours so few, but they may be enter'd for our Safeties both Day and Night, by erecting Lights.

But indeed the greatest Danger that may be fear'd to our Fishermen, is Interruption of Pirates, who are the very Scum of a Common-wealth, and People to be abhorred by all Honest and Laborious Men. It is usual, when these Miscreants fail of relief of Victuals, and are made desperate by want of it, to place all their hopes of Food upon the poor painful Fishermen who we may truly say get their Living with more Hazard, with more Pains, with more Cold and Watching, than any other Trade or People whatsoever : Their Labour produces nothing that is ill, but the best help for Man, which is Food to live on.

Husbandmen and Fishermen are the Upholders of Common-Wealths ; all other People live by their Labours. They are Stewards to provide sustenance to feed on, and yet comparing them together there is great difference betwixt their Lives and Pains : The Husbandman's Work is without Danger or Hazard, and if he be wet, he has present help of Fire to dry him ; he is allow'd a Bed instead of the other's Board to lie on ; his Diet is certain and in a quiet manner, when the others are tost too and fro without a steadfast standing : If the one be cold, he may recover himself with Exercise and Work ; if the other be cold, he is made colder, his Labour being in cold Water ; the one keeps his certain Hours for sleep, the other has no certain time to rest, but must attend his danger, which he is never free from : Every hour he must be ready to look out for his Shole of Fish, and watch his opportunity of Weather and Tide to take them. The one has pleasure on Holidays, and is free from Labour ; all Days are alike to the other, and the Sunday can give no more Content or Comfort than the rest of the Week.

What Heart can be so hard'n'd, or Pities so pitiless, as to disturb those harm-

less and innocent Creatures, that make Pains their Pleasure, and their Labour their Country's Plenty, procuring good for it by their own Toils. And because such wickedness will never scape unpunish'd or unrevenged, as these Pirates commit upon such harmless People, I will a while digress from the Subject I have in hand, and relate a Strange and Tragical Accident that deservedly belet two Pirates that were disturbers of the Innocent Fishing.

### A Story of two Pirates.

After my Return from *Ireland* in 1614, where I had been employ'd to suppress the Arrogance and Insolence of Pirates, and where I punish'd the Conning that was betwixt those People and the Inhabitants of that Kingdom, I once again sent a Bark for that Coast, to be inform'd how things stood after I left them, and whether the severe Course I had taken against them, in doing Justice by Death upon one of them, wrought better effect than before.

The first Harbour my Bark arriv'd in, she met a Pirate named *Tucker*, a Seaman bred from his Youth, and continual Practice made him Excellent in his Art and Profession ; he was very glad upon this Occasion of meeting my Bark to insinuate into my Man's acquaintance, thinking thereby it would be a means for him to bewail himself to me, and to obtain the thing next to Life he desir'd, which was his Pardon, tho' he departed with the best part of his Spoils, which were things of good value.

His Persuasion prevailed so far with my Servant, that tho' his Directions were to view the Northern Parts of *Ireland*, where I had lately been, and there to enquire after the Behaviour of Pirates, and the Entertainment the Country gave them, yet, as I have said, by the Importunity of *Tucker*, my Man was diverted from his Employment, and persuaded to return with his Letter of Submission to me, on whom he wholly cast himself to dispose of, with promise there to stay a certain time to expect my Answer ; and to sweeten me the more, he presented me with a Token worth accepting, but that I was always cautious in such Cases how to connive at Pirates, as in my Letter I expressed. I mistrusted, before he could receive my Answer, the Winds then hanging contrary, he would depart from *Ireland* ; whereupon I directed divers Letters to one effect, and sent them by several ships if they should chance

chance to meet *Tucker* upon their way in their Voyages. But as I have shew'd the last refuge Pirates have for Victuals, is to feed upon the Fishermen, and *Tucker* finding that *Ireland* could not supply him, by the strict course I had formerly taken, was forced to go to the Northward to seek succour of the Poor Fishermen, a contrary Course to the Ships that carry'd my Letters: And coming to the North *Farro*, there he met with another Pirate of the same sort, but far less honest, as it prov'd. These two concerted together as Thieves use to do in Mischief.

The Islands of *Farro* are dangerous, by reason of the great Tides, and their setting; and it happen'd that *Tucker's* Ship was wreck'd upon one of them, in company of his Companion the other Pirate, who seeing it, did not degenerate from his kind, for all Spoils were alike to him, Friend or Foe; instead of help in that case of Distress, play'd the Part of a Hawk over his Prey, and had no more pity of him than of a *Spaniard*, who were most obnoxious to Pirates in those Days.

To be short, this Pirate, who falsely call'd himself *Monnocho*, suddenly possess'd himself of *Tucker's* Ship, Himself, his Wealth and Company, and us'd them with that rigorous Cruelty, as tho' his action had been lawful, and allow'd by Authority to punish Delinquents and Offenders, and rather out of Fear than Pity, he shew'd Mercy to their Lives; and mistrusting if he should detain them in his own Ship, they might make a Party and Faction, for the Condition of such People, is never to be constant, or honest, no longer than their Devilish Humours hold; therefore, to avoid any such Tumult, *Monnocho* seiz'd upon an *English* Fisherman, amongst many others he had taken, and put *Tucker* and his Company into her, to seek a new Fortune, which you must think was like to thrive, if you consider their Course of Life. And here they parted company like two Wolves that should separate themselves to seek their Prey, they care not where, nor of whom, purposing never to see one another, unless the Gallows gave them a Meeting. *Monnocho* was a Fellow of as base a Condition as his present Profession made him, being not long before a Surgeon's Mate, in a Pinace serving under me. And now hovering about those Islands, it was his hap to meet a Ship of the King of *Denmark's*, to whom the Islands belong: This Ship, after a little Encounter, apprehended, and knew well what to do with him, so just that Nation is to the detestable Course of Sea-Rovers.

Here *Monnocho* found worse Usage than he gave *Tucker*; for the time was not long before his Ship made a Return into *Denmark*, and in as short a while after he tasted deserved Death upon the Gallows, where he hung a Spectacle for all Men to behold.

Now *Monnocho* is brought to the Destiny by right due to him, I will go scour the Seas, and look if I can spy *Tucker*, being out of hope to find his Ship put to that use for which she was first designed, I mean Fishing.

After *Tucker* had spent some time at Sea, Dominiering over the poor Fishermen; they now tir'd with the Usurping Tyranny of the Pirates, and being desirous to live by honest Labour, rather than by evil Pains, privately practis'd, and watching their Opportunity, effected that they had determined to put in execution; which was suddenly to surprize and seize upon the Pirates Persons, when they should least suspect it.

The Attempt prov'd Fortunate; for some they slew, and others they hurt; and *Tucker* they took Prisoner, and insulted over him, as he had done before over them.

This lucky Accident made the Fishermen repair to Shore, to supply their wants, their Provisions being consum'd by the Pirates; as also to deliver the Men, as Delinquents, into the hands of Justice, who were after convey'd to the *Marshalsea* in *Soutbwarck*, where they daily expected the Doom of Death.

The poor Man, Captain *Tucker*, being Hopeless and Friendless, sent me word of his Misfortunes after his departure from *Ireland*, bewailing his hard Hap and heavy Chance, not to meet with any of my Letters, written to him as aforesaid: He shew'd the Comfort of Life was taken from him, and confess'd his Offences were above Satisfaction; and that I was the only Sheet-Anchor he was to rely on, otherwise he was to perish.

I confess I was much mov'd and griev'd with his Calamity, when I remember'd how his Penitency appear'd in his former Letter to me, repenting his Misdoings, and detesting his kind of Life, with a desire of Pardon and Forgiveness of his Offences past.

This Complaint came at an unlucky Hour, both for him and me, it being in the midst of the time that Malice set her self against me; for in few days after I was unjustly committed to the *Tower*, and yet I thank God by his Providence, not an Hour before I was imprison'd, I had finish'd  
and

and ended his Pardon, that I might say the Ending of his Trouble was the Beginning of my own, but not through his Cause or Occasion.

Tucker being set at Liberty, was to dispose of himself as he should be guided by Grace. And to give some sign of his Thankfulness for the Favour I did him, he resolv'd not to depart London, what shift soever he made to live, till he had acknowledg'd his Life from me; and tho' at that time there was a general restraint of all People's resorting to me in the Tower, yet that Prohibition was no sooner taken off, but Tucker was one of the First that repair'd to visit me, with that Protestation of Thankfulness, and Vows of Amendment of his Life, that he gave me Satisfaction it proceeded from a Penitent Heart. It joy'd me much to see his Reformation, and I held my self happy for the Deed I had done, in regaining a lost Sheep that had stray'd out of the Flock.

His Credit being lost, which made him unfit for Employment, mov'd Pity in me what Course to put him into; for no Beginner can set up a Trade without a Stock to enable him: And to Requie his remembrance of me, by the Token he sent me from Ireland, I return'd him the better Part of that Gift, wishing that good Fortune would attend his happy Beginning.

He was not long determining with himself, but immediately took a Voyage to Denmark, whither he had often before Traded. Arriving there, and having occasion to go about his Affairs, it happen'd that passing a River, the Ferryman of the Boat knew him by an infallible Token, for not long before, the Man was taken by Tucker at Sea. The Fellow had no sooner landed him and his Fare, but speedily he hasten'd to the Magistrate, requiring a Warrant for his Apprehension, alledging the Cause; which was no sooner demanded than granted, all People of that Country being naturally bent to revenge themselves upon Offenders in that kind.

Being thus arrested, he was carry'd to Prison, where he received the Rigour of Justice, and upon Trial, by the Witnes of the Ferryman, was Sentenc'd to die. The Gibbet was erected near joining to that where *Monuco*, his former Companion, was still hanging for him to behold, which was very odd: For it is not the Greatness of the Person, nor of the Accident, makes a wonder the Greater, for all Things, be they great or little, are at the Disposal of GOD alone, who many

times advances the Mean, and casts down the Mighty. And it is worthy of Observation, how in many Cases he gives Light to Men, to discern his just Punishment to some, for example of Amendment of Life to others.

And amongst the rest, this Accident of these mean and ungodly Pirates is no less strange, if we call to mind God's justice towards them, if you will consider the first Progress of their Beginning till Death cut them off, as it does all People that commit unnatural Crimes, for such Men never escape without cruel Revenge; for a Father of the Church saith, *He ceases to be a Man, and becomes a brute Beast, that leaves the Rules of Reason and Humanity, and gives his Mind to Mischief and Sensuality.*

These two Mens cursed Courses are not unlike a Novel; First, in their unexpected meeting in remote Islands, where they were both Strangers; Secondly, That upon their meeting they profess'd and vow'd Friendship, tho' I must say, that the Agreement of ill Men in Mischief cannot be call'd Friendship; but call it what you will it did not long continue, for there was a Bone cast betwixt them, as it were betwixt two ravenous Mastiffs to strive for, and the Stronger to carry it away.

After these two Pirates had parted Company, the one stood to the Northward, the other to the Southward, a quite opposite Course to one another, and where there was never likelihood of meeting more, but rather to avoid and elchew each other, their Quarrel was so mortal, and yet both of them tasted one Fortune alike, first in their Apprehension, and after in their manner of Execution: But above all, the Place never doubted or fear'd by them, and where perhaps in many Ages the like will not happen again, it being out of the Road way for such People to resort to.

This shall suffice for God's Justice by Example of these two Mifcreant Pirates, and his Deseatation to their wicked Courses against the silly and innocent Fishermen, who, we may truly affirm and say, of all other People, get their Living with the painful Sweat of their Brows.

I must not omit to give divers Precedents of God's miraculous working in the Example of Fishing. Some I have heard avow'd in the Places where these Accidents have happen'd, others I have by Report, which is not so much to be credited; as name'y



at *Tenbigl in Wales*, a Place not inferior to any that I know in his Majesty's three Kingdoms, for Situation, Air, Plenty and Pleasure, which in times past enjoyed a plentiful Fishing: The other is the Island of the *Lewes*, I have so often treated of.

These two Places abounding at several times with an extraordinary quantity of Fish, the Minister of the one, and the Bishop of the other, envying the Prosperity of the poor Fishermen, being led out of a covetous Desire, sought to impose a greater Tax by way of Tythe, than had ever been before paid to their Predecessors, which was no sooner questioned but the Fish vanished, and for a time became Strangers to those Shores where this happened; and as I will not conclude of the Cause thereof, yet I will say with a Father of the Church, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*.

This shall suffice for so much as is contain'd in my Sixth Book, touching Fish and Fishing, and the Merchantable Commodity arising out of it; in which I will compare my lot to a Merchant, that freights his Ship with sundry and several Commodities, and sends them to several Ports, thinking by the variety of Wars to countervail the Charge of the rest; for what Commodity is desir'd in one Country, is commonly little esteem'd in another; as by Example of Gold, which above all other things is covet'd in these Parts of the World where we live, and nothing accounted of by the *Indians* where it is produc'd; Hatchets, Knives and Glasses, are held Gross, Base, and of little Value by us, and yet esteem'd in the highest degree of Treasure amongst them; and so fares it with these six Books, which are freighted and stuff'd with superfluity of needless Collections: Some perhaps may be delighted, and take advantage of them, how unworthy soever they may seem of themselves, for I remember the saying of that matchless and generous Gentleman Sir *Philip Sidney*, That there was no Book so bad but had some good in it.

Whosoever is desirous to be inform'd in Sea Affairs and Actions in the late Wars betwixt *Spain* and *England*, will find it in one of my six Books. Whoever will seek to avoid Errors and Oversight by example of that War, may learn it. Whoever shall desire to know how a General ought to carry himself in the Government of his Fleet, will be instructed in it. Whosoever covets to understand how to Defend his Country, and Offend others by Sea, shall be taught it. Whosoever is desirous to sail into any of the four Quarters of the World, as *America*, *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, shall find the Sea open, and discover'd to his hands. Whosoever will delight himself with the Passages, Troubles and Conquests of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*, and their Enterprizes upon new Worlds, shall understand it. Whosoever will hear how the *Indians* were reduc'd to Civility and Christianity, he shall not be ignorant in it. Whosoever will put his hand to further such Projects as are contained in the Six Books, shall not only see Reasons to induce him, but shall deserve everlasting praise of his Country for his forwardness in them. Whosoever of an *Englishman* will live no longer in Ignorance of what our Seas produce to enrich them, shall have it discover'd to their hands. Things to be admir'd at, when they shall remember their former Errors.

I will say, with Sir *Philip Sidney*, if any of these prove Profitable, Commendable, or Delightful, the Author is not to be condemn'd or blam'd, for indeed he is like the Merchant spoken of before, that must seek to put off his Ware not by words, but worth; and as he reserves himself to the Buyer, so do I this Discourse to the Reader, to judge at his Pleasure; for Things give better Counsel to Men, than Men to Things; and in recompence for my Labour and Pains I only crave a favourable Construction, howsoever they shall appear in your Concept.

*An Addition to the Sixth and Last Book of Fishing, and the Reasons why it was divided from the other former Discourse.*

**I** Forbear to annex this Addition to the former Relation of Fishing, to avoid giving publick Offence to the *Hollanders*; for it is an old Saying, *That Truth many times turns a Man to Rub*; and I see that the present Policy of our State is rather to dissemble an Injury, than to revenge it, tho' the *Hollanders* secret Envy is more to be feared than when they declare themselves openly against us: But yet it shall appear that I have not been altogether ignorant of their Beginnings and Rise, but have carefully beheld their Proceedings and Actions, and can judge of their malicious Detractions to us, and others; which is the Nature of Faction, at first to shew it self humble, till it mount to the top of Ambition.

Our Eyes and Senses make it clearly appear, that they and their cunning Courses are the mediate Causes of the Poverty that daily afflicts our Glorious Kingdom, as I shall Instance some Particulars within the Land, before I ingulf my self into the open Sea, which are as follow:

What Trades and Artificers of all kinds do they set up, to the ruine of many a poor *Englishman*, that has liv'd an Apprentice and Bondman 7 years to attain his Art and Occupation?

What Trades are there in which they have not Stocks going, or Scriveners with Money to lend?

What Land is to be sold, or Mortgage to be had, that they have not the first Refusal of?

What Marriages of Man or Woman falls amongst them, that they will enrich the *English* with, so long as any of their Country or Tribe is found amongst them?

What Maritime Town, or other of Account, within 20 Miles of the Sea, opposite to *Holland*, that is not stuffed and fill'd with their People, to the impoverishing of the Inhabitants and Dwellers?

What Masses of Money and Gold have they, against the Laws of the Realm, transported out of it, as Truth has made it plain?

What Loss did they to the King and Kingdom when they and their Faction oppos'd the brave Work of Dying and Dressing of Cloths, after it was in a good way of going forward?

What hurt or hindrance do they to our Navigation, when they freight strange Vessels, and refuse the *English* Ships?

What an innumerable Wealth have these People attain'd to, whose Beginning was nothing when they made their first Entrance into this Kingdom? If it be consider'd, it will appear to be admirable.

And for all these Domestick Damages the Subjects receive, his Majesty has no more Benefit by them than if they were natural *English*.

These are the least to what shall appear when I launch into the Ocean, and there encounter them; but in the mean time I will unmask their Craft and Cunning, and discover the Subtlety of their *English* Friends to entrap us in the Snarcs of their Policy, under the false Colours and Pretence of Security to the State.

As well the one as the other desires it may be held a Maxim of State, That the Security of *England* must depend upon the Fortunes of *Holland*; a foul Imputation they cast upon us, when we remember the Noble and Victorious Actions of our Forefathers, who made other Nations fear them, and they to fear none: But this Position is devis'd to serve private Men's Purposes, contrary to Truth or Reason, as I will make it appear to the Judgment of wise Men. But under this conceiv'd Colour the *Hollander* plays the part of a *Panther*, which has a Sweet Scen<sup>e</sup> but a loathsome Face, which makes other Beasts follow till he has got them into his Clutches. And the *Hollanders* have so entrapp'd us, that we are caught in their Nets, and by Nets we must be freed: We are made silly Fishes to be enstar'd by the subtilty of those Fishermen; but I hope we shall be releas'd and reliev'd by Fish, with our Endeavour and Pains.

Now to hoist Sail and put to Sea, to encounter, at least to discover, the *Hollanders* Insolencies, their Practices, their Deceits and Designs, wherein I will make the indifferent Reader wonder, and after judge how dangerous a thing it was to put Arms into their Hands, and how necessary it is to bring them into the same State of Shipping they were before the Wars.

I will begin with the Days of Queen Elizabeth, speaking to the Watchmen of our Commonwealth of that time, and use an old Phrase without Application, *That Profit and Bribery makes a Judge blind.*

Was it Discretion and Safety in those Men, after the *Hollanders* had engaged us in the War with *Spain*, that our Ships were arrested, our Goods forfeited, and from thenceforward prohibited Traffick, yet to suffer the *Hollanders* to continue as absolute a Trade into *Spain* as in time of Peace, and supply them with Ammunition, Shipping, Mariners, and Intelligence against us? And rather than their manner of War should cease, by which they engrossed the entire Trade into their hands, if ever the King of *Spain's* Army in *Flanders*, or his Armado in *Spain*, should have wanted Powder, or other Abillments for the War, they would have supply'd him: For all their Drift was no more than to keep us fevered from *Spain*, and to prolong the War for their Benefit of Commerce and Traffick. This was the beginning of their Rising, to our Ruine; and from this very day we must reckon, as from the Birth of a Child, their first Life and Prosperity.

Was it Security for us when our Watchmen gave way to Monsieur, Brother and next Heir Apparent to the Crown of *France*, and who had succeeded his Brother if he had outliv'd him, to be invested Duke of *Brabant*, who had then enjoy'd the Low Countries with *France*, and who was no sooner plac'd in it, but he began treacherously to practise, by Example of *Amwerp* and other Places?

Was it the part of Friends, and with whom they had lately leagu'd, that when the King of *Spain* employ'd a Fleet against *England*, or upon Defence of his own Coast, he had Ships, Men, and his principal Pilots, *Hollanders*, who were either prest in *Spain*, or willingly serv'd against us?

Was it not Cunning in the *Hollanders*, and Fraud to us, when the greatest Trade of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* into the *West-Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*, was in *Holland* Ships, which defended the *Spaniards* Goods from the *English*, with more Slaughter to the *English* when they encounter'd, than ever we receiv'd from *Spain*? Here they supported an Enemy by Nature, to hurt and injure a Friend by Fact and Proof.

Was it Safety to us, or Honesty in the *Hollanders*, in the Year 99, that Her Majesty rigg'd and furnish'd a Royal Navy

upon a sudden Service, and expected Assistance of Ships from them by Contract, that in Conclusion they sent but 7 Ships, and such, that the worst of ours was better than the best of theirs? Here they let us unprovided to encounter a Danger; for a Foe is as good that hurts not, as a Friend that helps not.

Was it Security, Honour or Profit to us, that with an Expence of more Men and Money than we have Conquer'd Kingdoms hitherto, we have maintain'd their Principality, making Mechanick Persons equal with Princes, rais'd a Rabble Commonwealth against the Monarchy, train'd up their People in Discipline of War; that of a mean and timorous Generation we have put Valour and Knowledge of Arms into their Hands? And for all these unspeakable good Turns done them, we have no more Assurance from them, than Discourtesies we receive in all Parts where we meet: And no marvel; for Popular States write Favours in Dull, Injuries in Marble.

Was it Security, in all the time of War, to suffer our prime Soldiers, and of all Degrees, to be under their Subjection, the most part of our Wealth exhausted thither; and by Consequence to be in their Power to dispose of this Kingdom as pleas'd most Voices of their Select Council, which in their Government is opposite to Monarchy? For whereas Monarchy propounds Honour as the first thing, the second the Publick Good, and the third Interest; a Popular State prefers private Profit, makes the common Good the second, and Honour the last.

Was it Security to let go the Cautionary Towns, *Flushing* and *Brill*, being Bridges to their Insolencies; for by them we could at any time either curb or give them their Reins, as since we find by enjoying that Liberty all their Injuries towards us began, which before they durst not offer outwardly?

Was it, or is it, Security to us to suffer yearly 3000 Vessels of theirs to Fish upon his Majesty's Seas, and infringe his Majesty's Laws of *England* and *Scotland*, in which Seas they are bound to acknowledge a Sovereignty to the Kings of both Kingdoms; and under that Pretence of Fishing, they may use this Stratagem cunningly and secretly, to put 10 or 12 Soldiers in every Buik, and under colour of Fishing, to land in some of his Majesty's Dominions, where it is to be feared they will not want a Party?

Is it Safety, when we enter into Consideration, (by the multitude of their Vessels encreas'd out of Fishing) how they insult upon us at our own home and abroad; as namely, in the *East-Indies*, a thing able to move Pity for the Fact, and Revenge for the doing it: And besides many other Scorns and Disgraces they put upon us, which need no Repetition, because they are fresh in our Memory? They resemble *Hecuba*, that has a Humane Voice, speaking like a Friend, but is a Wolf, ravening like a Feind.

Is it good and beneficial to us to see the *Hollanders* enjoy our absolute Trade of the World, and first discover'd by us; and not contented with the moderate Gain to themselves, labour by all indirect Means to impoverish us, in uttering their Commodities at an under Rate, whereby to weary us of all such Trades? For such is their Covetousness, and such their Unthankfulness, that they regard neither Favours done, nor to be done them; and when there is no fear of Revenge, there is little Conscience of Offence in a Covetous Man. *Lycurgus* says, *That Riches and Trade produce a Scarcity of Vertue: And it is a Rule, That prove a Man unthankful, and disprove him in all his other Actions.*

By this false Position, That *England's* Safety must depend upon *Holland's* Prosperity, we were driven to a War with *Spain*, and by that War to defend their Commerce; for they never undertook hostile Act by Sea against *Spain* till oblig'd by Necessity that they were prohibited that Trade: But the greatest Mischief of all others, was tolerating their Fishing, which we only might have enjoy'd; by means whereof we have resign'd our Weapons, which are the Ships encreas'd out of it, into their Hands out of our own, to dispose of to their Advantage and our Hurt, if at any time they comply with their King, and make him thereby mighty by Sea, or if they cast themselves upon the Protection of *France*, as they will do if *France* can besteed them more than we. This is a way out of our Cynders to kindle a Fire to burn and consume us.

It may be compar'd to a subtle Woman, who, to abuse the Simplicity of her weak Husband with her Hypocrisy and indirect Practices, draws him to rely on her for the managing of his Estate, being made believe he cannot otherwise subsist, according to the former Proposition; but he dying, her voluptuous Desires discover her foul Intentions, and she despises his

Friends and Children. In this Simile *Holland* is the unnatural Mother, this Kingdom the silly Husband, and the Subject; the outcast and unrespected Children.

Our Warchmen in their Wildoms might have foreseen this and prevented it, by enjoying the Fishing; for then had *England* kept the same Strength by Sea which *Holland* has since attained to; then had *England* undertaken the same Courses in Fishing, as the *Hollanders* did; then would not *England* only have outtripp'd them, but all the World, in Strength of Ships and Wealth of Subjects; and by Consequence have caus'd, not only an Admiration, but a Terror, to all the World that should but hear of us, as now we are brought to Reproach and Scorn, by that mean Nation of *Holland*, in remote Countries, as far as the *Indies*, where they cast the Imputation of a petty Nation and poor People upon us, and make themselves Sovereigns and Kings over this part of the World; and as Vermine gnaw upon Meat, so do they detract from the worthiest Persons.

In this Trade, as in all others, they either deprave us or deceive; us by Example of a Merchant of Note, who above five years since freighted a Ship of Red-Herrings from *Yarmouth* to *Marseilles*, and departed in Company of some *Hollanders*: It happen'd that by Advantage of Wind and Weather the *Hollanders* arriv'd at their Port, and made Sale of their Herrings to an exceeding Gain before the other's coming. The *English* finding the *Hollanders* unburthen'd of their Lading, some 200 Barrels excepted, desired to buy them at the Rate the others had been sold, thinking thereby to keep up the Price; but the *Hollanders* sold them at a low Price to hinder and prejudice the others Sale. This Envy of the *Hollanders* was the greater, in that it was grounded upon Malice, and not founded upon Injury: For *Macrobius* says, *That Anger is encreas'd upon Occasion, but Malice upon ill Condition.*

But if we enter into Consideration of our other Trades, which they seek to deprive us of, let their Carriages in *Greenland*, in *Newfoundland*, and *Russia*, appear, three Places first known to us: In *Greenland* they contested with us in our Whale Fishing, and were like to bring it to a Naval Battel, tho' the Law of Nations casts it upon us as the first Discoverers. Here their Envy appear'd, and they shov'd there is no such dangerous Foe, as the seeming Friend.

*Newfoundland* being our antient Discovery, and that no Nation could challenge Interest therein but our selves; not many years since the *Hollanders* practis'd to convey Threescore or Fourscore Mariners, out of the West Country, to instruct them in that manner of Fishing, but it was discover'd and prevented; beware therefore of them, for they are like a Serpent, that never stings so deadly, as when it Bites without Hissing.

Notwithstanding, as I have shew'd before, that they have brought the Trade of *Russia*, from Two Ships of their to Sixty, and the decrease of ours from Fifteen to Two, yet this would not satisfy them, but they practis'd with the *Muscovia* Ambassador at the Emperor's Court at *Prague*, to forbid us the absolute Trade of *Russia*; like envious Persons that desire no good to any but themselves.

It is no less admirable how they take advantage of us, upon all occasions offer'd, as namely in the year 1628, when our Wars with *France* prohibited our Trading thither, whereby we were compell'd to be serv'd by the Ships of *Holland* with the greatest part of Wine that furnish'd this Kingdom.

This Prohibition much encreas'd the *Holland* Shipping; and they thereby rais'd their Freight to their own Price, and brought it from 24 s. to 4 l. a Tun; a Sum never heard of, but upon that occasion.

One Instance I will make apparent by a Merchant of great Account, himself being Witness, and to whom it hap'n'd; a *Holland* Ship being in the River of *Thames* to be sold, this Merchant offer'd 250 l. for her, but could not have her under 300 l. whereupon they parted for this difference of Price, and the *Hollander* repaired to *Bordeaux* with his Ship, and there procur'd a Freight for *England*, which clear'd three times the Value of what he would have sold her for; for to this Merchant's knowledge, he gain'd 900 l. by that Voyage.

One great Advantage the *Hollanders* have of us, is the Built of their Ships; there being little difference betwixt the *Hamburgers*, or *Easterlings* and them. This gives them a Freedom of Trade into all parts, as well Friends as Foes: As Friends they pass for *Hollanders*, as Enemies they take upon them the name of *Easterlings*, so that betwixt the one and the other, they circumvent us in our Freights of Ships, and have just occasion to laugh at us; as

indeed I confess we deserve it, when I consider what they do is under pretence of Safety to this Kingdom: For good Words, and ill Deeds, deceive the Wilest.

They have many Enticements to draw People and Trade to them; they debar no Man, be he *Turk*, *Jew*, or *Christian*, the Freedom of Religion, which made one truly say, That the true Religion was profest in *Amsterdam*; for all Sects, be they never so Diabolical, are there allow'd and maintain'd by some or other.

As for their Customs and Excises, tho' they be high, and indeed intolerable within the Land, (for those Mechanick People being in love with the word Liberty, tho' they find it not in effect, live in excessive Slavery, and pay Impositions for every thing they eat or wear) yet any thing brought in by Sea, goes at a low rate; as for example of Wine from *Bordeaux*, that which pays 900 l. Custom in *England*, will not come to above 50 l. in *Holland*; and all other Merchandice after that proportion. And this is the only cause of their great Trade in their Provinces above all other parts.

As these are their Policies at home, so have they no less Deceits abroad, but far less justifiable by the Rules of Honesty; for to make a Man Honest, is to take away the occasion of being Dishonest; but contrary to the Law of Honesty, they injure, and will give no Redress; they will suffer no Wrong, nor yet give satisfaction in things of Right: The thing they call Good in themselves, how ill soever it is to others. But to come to them more particularly,

You shall not be ignorant of a Policy of theirs, wherein they shew'd Craft and Cruelty to the *Dunkirkers* they took at Sea, only to abuse us; for when they had the Chance to take one of them, which was not often, and that with the advantage of three Ships to one, most inhumanely they would slay them, purposely to make us believe, their Malice was implacable, and irreconcilable; and yet notwithstanding these barbarous Acts, they made their daily Resort and Trade into the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Flanders*, where they supplied them with Victuals, Powder, Shot, or any other things they stood in need of.

And since then, as in the days of King *James*, in the view of all People, and tho' our Articles of Peace with the Arch-Duke, did warrant our Traffick thither, yet they would forbid it, and seize upon

Ships



Ships of ours, as they entred the Ports of *Flanders*, seeking to force us to *Calais*, from whence they knew our Merchandise would be carried to *Flunkers*; their drift being only to enrich *France* by our loss, with the Customs we there paid: to thankful People the remembrance of Benefits should never wax old; for no Man is more bound to be grateful than they, who have receiv'd such deep Obligations, as I have prov'd the *Hollanders* have done from us.

Many Grievances our Merchants have receiv'd from *Spain*, came by their foul Practices, as namely, by their carrying counterfeit Brass Money into that Kingdom, and laying it upon us; for which we have found a dispendure and punishment due for such an Offence.

In time of Peace, in the Reign of King *James*, the *Hollanders* spar'd not to disperse Rumours throughout this Kingdom, of Fleets, and preparations in *Spain* against us, to our no small scandal, as tho' we were Born to fear; or that our Intelligence seem'd so weak as to receive it from them; when indeed they did it to nourish Jealousies betwixt the Two States, to eat us out of that Trade, as they have done in all others.

He that shall read what is gone before, shall find, that their Ingratitude does as much appear, as a Crow that picks out the Eyes of him that first nourish'd him. And now I will apply my self to the Watchmen of our time, to consider of these Collections following.

1. Whether the ground and foundation of their Positions to make *Holland* equal in Power with *England*, was laid with mature Judgment, yea, or no; or out of some private ends to advance themselves, Fortunes and Credit?

2. In the Second I would have them consider, in what Estate *Holland*, and the People in it, was in, before they contested with their lawful Prince for Sovereignty, to that they are now brought to?

3. The Third, is to consider what a height they are now in, by our conniving with them; and we lessen'd and diminish'd by it.

4. The Fourth, is the damage and hazard we have run in labouring to continue their Greatness, and not seeking to abate it.

5. The Fifth is the Discourtesies done us, out of a covetous desire of Gain, and we still to bear and permit them.

6. The Sixth is the Condition of their *English* Friends that still uphold their Faction, and what the end of their Deligates are like to prove, if they belet alone?

7. The Seventh is their Strength by Sea, and to think of a means to equal them in number of Shipping, and how to bring their Fishing and other Trades into our hands, which may easily be effected, if my former Proposition of Fishing be prosecuted.

8. And Lastly, it is to be consider'd, what Tie or Security we can have of them, longer than we yield to their insufferable Injuries and Insolencies? For they may well presume, that we bearing so many blows at their hands, without Revenge, demand the more.

And this shall suffice for a Discovery of the *Hollanders* first beginning in Greatness; their Sixty and odd yeas of continuance, and their present state now in being; wherein their Ingratitude to *England* is laid open, which the *Possians* define to be a Spring of Vice, the Enemy of Nature, the Poison of Amity, the Ruine of Gentleness and Benignity. All Men must confels they have found the true affection of Friendship in us, describ'd by *Plato*, *That he is a good Friend who does his Friend good; but a mighty Friend that defends him from harm.*

*Some other things I forbore to insert in this Sixth Book of Fishing, concerning the Islands Hebrides, and especially the Lewes, worthy of Consideration.*

I forbore to handle the Conditions of those Islands, and the use the *Hollanders* may make of them, for the same Reasons express'd before, as too tart a Sauce for *Hollanders* Tasts, and unfit to be published to the view of the vulgar sort.

But before I look so far to the Northward as those Islands, I will take a Survey of my own Country of *England*, and gather such Collections, as to make me understand the other the better.

I will not speak, as I am an *Englishman*; for all Men naturally are partial to the Country and Soil that first gave them Life and Food; but I will speak according to Sense and Truth, to make my Argument and Reason the stronger in what I shall say of the State of the Islands *Hebrides*.

As God hath given a Blessing to *England* above all other Lands he hath plac'd and seated in this World; so as it were with his own Finger he hath settled it in a

Sea

Sea for its own Security ; an annoyance to all other Countries, in permitting and impeaching universal Trades and Navigations, as that we may truly say to that point, That we are only Happy above all others.

For whereas the Southern and richest part of *Europe* cannot subsist, nor the Traffick of the *Indies* be maintain'd and upheld without such Materials as are sent out of the Northern Regions : As also, that there is a necessity in the same case for the North to receive benefit of the South ; all these Navigations, as well the one as the other must necessarily have their Passage through our Seas and Chanel, and by consequence fall into our Mercies, as I have handled in my First Book.

And as it has been an antient Polition of State, for the Kingdom of *England* to have an Eye to its back Door, which was then *Scotland*, till both the Kingdoms were Bless'd and United in one, whereby the occasion of Jealousie, and the opportunity and practice of *France* ceas'd, that was wont to stir up Coals, and set one Nation against the other.

So I may say of these Islands *Hebrides*, that they may be made as dangerous a back door to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as *Scotland* has been in former Ages to *England*, being plac'd and seated with most advantage to annoy the Two Kingdoms aforesaid, if the *Hollanders* hold their footing they now have in them : The Condition of the People of *Holland* being consider'd, with their popular Government, which other Nations begin naturally to affect, by the Example and Encouragement of their late Successes and Fortunes, by their Wealth increas'd out of their Trade, and by the excessive number of Shipping, which are the dangers of Islands ; for without Shipping they cannot be invaded.

By the *Hollanders* possessing those Islands, they may make their Rendezvous and Staple of all their Southern Navigations, as well in Peace as War ; they shall find sufficient Succour in those Islands of Victuals, both Flesh and Fish, to give them Relief ; they shall find that in those Islands they shall be secur'd with several Harbours of more Importance and Goodness, than their own Coast can afford them : those Islands will furnish them more natural helps against an Enemy to defend themselves, if any attempt should be made against them ; but above all, when they have thus Settled and Seated themselves, we shall lose our antient and accusom'd Ad-

vantage, of their Passage through our *Narrow Seas*, which is the only awing Power we have over them and all other Nations ; for they enjoying those Islands, will be enabled to resort to them Nine Months in the Year, and so to pass to *Holland* by the Northern parts of *Ireland* and *Scotland* ; and avoid our Chanel and us, and our means to intercept them.

Moreover, in those Islands, which are seated as a Back Door to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as I have said, and in so remote a Place and Distance from *England* ; the danger is, that the People who are untam'd, uncivil, will easily Rebel by the insinuating Practices, and Intigation of the *Hollanders*, who are ready to allure, entice, and undertake any unlawful Action, which shall tend to the overthrow of Monarchy, and to settle their own Form of Usurp'd Government.

And therefore it behoves us to have a circumspect Eye over the *Hollanders* ; for of Errors and Dangers not remedy'd in the beginning, after follows great and unavoidable Mischiefs, like what is past ; which is sooner to be repented than recall'd.

This shall suffice to those Points I have treated of in this Sixth Book, wherein I have unmasqu'd and discover'd, out of my own Experience and Observations, the *Hollanders* long and subtle Deceits to abuse us ; for all true-minded *Englishmen* to behold with an Eye of Indifference, how with Cunning and Craft they have still labour'd to nourish divisions betwixt the Two mighty Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain*, merely for their own Profit and Gain, till the death of Queen *Elizabeth* ; when they could no longer support their politick Practice, King *James* succeeding, who brought the Blessed effect of his Motto, *Beati Pacifici*.

I could follow this Subject of the *Hollanders*, but for making the bulk of this Book too big ; and that I would not do Injury to another Book that is written by the same Author, Entitled, *Certain Observations that are not worthy the name of History, that happen'd to England since the year of our Lord 1558. and a little before*. Which Book contains these particulars.

The Favour *England* hath done *Holland*.

The State of *Holland* from the beginning of their Insurrections. The continuance, and what the end is like to prove.

Collections gathered out of a Book, written by Sir *Roger Williams*, and Printed 1618.

Whether

Whether *Holland* do injury to their Prince, yea or no :

The deſperate condition *Holland* has been often reduc'd to.

The difference of times betwixt the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and the later end.

*A Relation of ſome things that happen'd in the Reign of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.*

Tho' I have made a Deſcription at large of the *Hollanders* Inconſtancy, Faichleſneſs, and manifeſt Injuries they have offer'd us, yet I muſt ſay there is no Man ſo wicked or vicious, but ſome kind of Virtue will appear in him, for which he deſerves Cheriſhment, as well as Chaiſtment for the other ; but naturally they are People that deſire rather to live without Virtue, than die without Money ; and this that followeth ſhall ſet forth their Praiſes in the Worldly Carriages.

They are frugal in Expence, the Benefit whereof themſelves and Country find ; they are Induſtrious, as their Actions at home and abroad do witneſs ; they are Juſt in Contracts, holding a Conſcience in the little Religion they have, not to defraud any Man ; they labour to ſeek out the Secrets of Lands not inhabited, and Countries undiscover'd ; they are Inventors of Arts, which to their Praiſe they have enrich'd the World with ; they are willing without excuſe to contribute for the good of the State, not ſtanding ſo much upon Privileges or Petition of Right, as to neglect any Occaſion of Advantage to benefit their Common-wealth ; they are laborious and painful of Body, not admitting a Beggar in their Provinces, and willing to relieve and comfort one another in ſtrange Countries ; they are Enemies to the Expence of Law, and the griping of Lawyers, and end moſt of their Controverſies by Arbitration of Friends : Their Expences in Drinking are ſav'd and mitigated by their Miſery in Eating ; for out of their exceſſive Covetouſneſs they almoſt ſtarve their Bellies ; and by their unmeaſurable Frugality they ſcarce cloath their Bodies ; for it is verily believ'd the People in one of their chief Cities ſpend not ſo much in Apparel, as is ſpent in a Prince's Court.

But all theſe Virtues are drown'd in a covetous Ingratitude, that holds Friendſhip with no body, but for Intereſt, which ends in the ſelf ſame Intereſt : And no mar-

vel ; for popular States are no longer Thankful, than they receive Benefits ; nor nothing is of ſhorter Life amongſt them, than the memory of Pleaſures or Favours paſt : They are ſo careleſs to give Satisfaction for the Ill they do, that if it be demanded, it is as much as to ſpeak of Valour to a Faint Heart, or Charity to an Unmerciful Man ; or of Courteſie to a Churliſh Diſpoſition ; for it will prove but the telling a Tale to him that is a ſleep. The Definition by a Philoſopher in matters of Friendſhip is as followeth.

A Friend is long fought for, ſcarce to find, and hard to keep ; a Friend is always ready to Comfort in Adverſity, to Help in Neceſſity, to bear with ones Infirmary, and reprove his Errors gently. But the *Hollanders* are contrary in their Friendſhip, for they are like an ill Bird that lays an ill Egg, an ill Tree that brings forth ill Fruit, or a young Cubb that grows Crafty like his Dam ; they praſtiſe and follow the ſteps of their Predeceſſors ; they make Riches the Heaven of their Thoughts ; and as it is held no hurt to know Ill but to do it, theſe People are perfect Artiſts, as well in doing as knowing Miſchief.

Yet to ſpeak Truth, their natural Ill has been nourish'd and made worſe by us ; for if we had not conniv'd at them and their Actions, to our own prejudice, they had wanted Power to have executed their Ingratitude : Therefore it had behov'd us to conſider what we gave, before we gave, as alſo to whom we gave, and how we gave it ; for States ought to be govern'd by Wiſdom, and not by popular Affection or Paſſion. Wiſe Men ſhould not meaſure things by outward Appearance, but by Diſcretion and Reaſon, or elſe they behold their Actions in a falſe Glaſs.

But now let us at laſt ſeek to avoid that evil we have done in making the *Hollanders* too great for us to tolerate, leſt we feel the effect of Repentance. It is not the meanest point of Wiſdom to doubt and miſtruſt the worſt ; for Doubts beget Underſtanding, and thereby Prevention : And as in natural Bodies, the longer one lives in Health, Sickneſs is the more dangerous when it comes, ſo it is with us and the *Hollanders* ; the longer we have liv'd in a mutual and unſeparable Peace, now that they have overwrought us with Cunning, and made us feeble by the ſtrength they have ſuck'd from us, it will behove us to recover our antient Vigour and Valour,

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*Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.*

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four, and be no longer deluded with false pretences of Safety to us and the Commonwealth. Let us follow the old Rule in seeking to put out the Fire of our Neighbour's House, tho' he be our Enemy, lest it should flame into our own; for it is

an easier thing to oppose Danger abroad, than repulse it at home.

I have had occasion to insert some part of this last Leaf in my former Fourth Book, which is there to be seen.

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*The End of the Sixth Book.*

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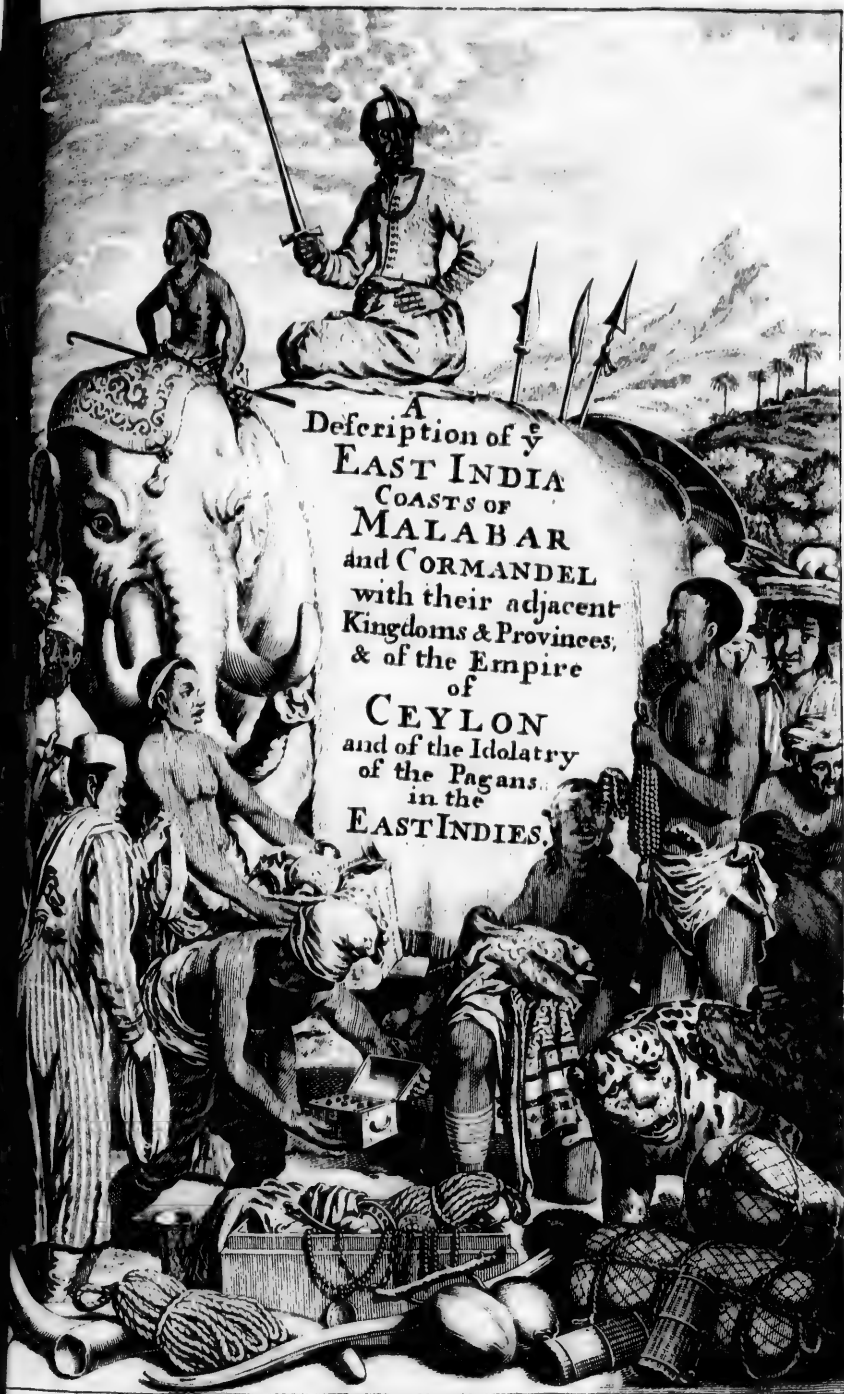
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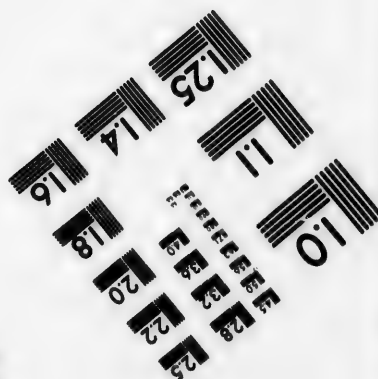
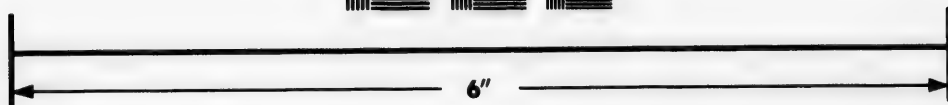
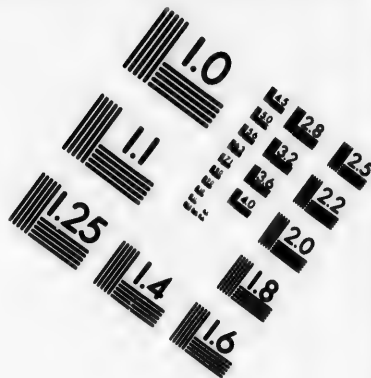


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A  
Description of  
**EAST INDIA**  
COASTS OF  
**MALABAR**  
and CORMANDEL  
with their adjacent  
Kingdoms & Provinces,  
& of the Empire  
of  
**CEYLON**  
and of the Idolatry  
of the Pagans  
in the  
**EAST INDIES.**

LONDON  
Printed for Awnsham and John Churchill,  
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A True and Exact  
**DESCRIPTION**  
OF THE  
Most Celebrated *East-India* Coasts  
OF  
**MALABAR**  
AND  
**COROMANDEL,**  
As also of the Isle of *Ceylon*.

With all the adjacent Kingdoms, Principalities, Provinces, Cities, Chief Harbors, Structures, Pagan Temples, Products, and living Creatures. The Manners, Habits, Oeconomies and Ceremonies of the Inhabitants; as likewise the most remarkable Warlike Exploits, Sieges, Sea and Field-Engagements betwixt the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*; with their Traffick and Commerce.

The Whole adorn'd with new Maps and Draughts of the chief Cities, Forts, Habits, Living Creatures, Fruits, &c. of the Product of the *Indies*, drawn to the Life, and cut in Copper Plates.

Also a most Circumstantial and Compleat Account of the Idolatry of the Pagans in the *East-Indies*, the *Malabars*, *Benjans*, *Gentives*, *Brahmans*, &c. Taken partly from their own *Vedam* or Law-Book, and Authentick Manuscripts; partly from frequent Conversation with their Priests and Divines: With the Draughts of their Idols, done after their Originals.

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By PHILIP BALDÆUS, *Minister of the Word of  
God in Ceylon.*

Translated from the *High-Dutch* printed at *Amsterdam*, 1672.

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**M**OST of the Modern East-India Voyages that have been published of late years, being very defective either in respect of the many fabulous Relations that are inserted frequently, rather to please the Reader, than to pursue the strict Rules of Truth (not to mention the Errors in the Computation of the distances of Places, and frequent unnecessary Digressions) it is no wonder if the most curious in History have conceiv'd a very indifferent opinion, if not an entire aversion to them. It was upon this Consideration, that the ensuing Treatise coming to our hands, we thought it absolutely worthy the publick view, it being agreed by all who have had the opportunity of travelling in those Countries, that the same may in respect of its sincerity and exactness challenge the Prerogative before any other hitherto publish'd upon the same Subject. For, considering that the Author thereof liv'd not only in the Station of a Minister in divers places of Malabar and Coromandel, and especially for several years in the Kingdom of Jafnapatnam in the Isle of Ceylon, but also assisted in Person in divers Sieges and Expeditions, and thereby had more than ordinary opportunity to be inform'd concerning the Nature and Constitution of those Countries, their Products, Inhabitants, Manners, Customs, Religion, Ceremonies, Oeconomy, Traffick, Manufacturies, Civil and Military Exploits, and what else may be requisite for the accomplishment of a good History, founded upon the Faith of one who had been an Eye-witness of those Transactions; consequently he might challenge the Preference before many, who relate matters chiefly upon hearsay. As to those things which are not ground'd upon his Ocular Testimony, the same were taken from Authentick Records and Manuscripts, and illustrated with Maps and Draughts of those several Countries, Cities, Nations, &c. done to the Life. What relates to the Idolatry of these Pagans, we are convinc'd by his own Testimony, that besides the opportunity he had of visiting their Pagodes, or Temples (a thing rare-

ly allow'd there) one of their most learned **Brahmans** liv'd with him in the same House for a considerable time, from whom he by constant Conversation, as well as out of their own Records, learn'd the most secret Re-cesses of their Religion, and had the exact Draughts of their Idols, much beyond what **Abraham Royerius** (who writ upon the same Subject) can pretend to upon that account. As for our part, we have made it our chiefest care to give you an exact Delineation of the before-mention'd Draughts in the best Copper Plates that could be procur'd, and that with all imaginable exactness according to the true Originals, contrary to what is practis'd by many, who study to represent matters of this kind, rather according to their own Fancy, than to Truth. We have only this to add, that to avoid all unnecessary Prolixity, it was judg'd requisite to omit many Digressions, tending not so much towards the Elucidation of the History, as (we suppose) to shew the Author's Criticism in the Holy Scripture.

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# An Exact Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel in the East-Indies.

## CHAP. I.

*The Division and Limits of the Indies. The Author's purpose in the ensuing Treatise. A Description of Cambaja and Suratte. The Treaty with the Great Mogul, by Mr. Van Teylingen.*

**T**HE main Design of the ensuing Treatise being to give an exact Account of the Indies, as far as is come to our knowledge, either by our own Experience, or the constant Conversation with People of unquestionable Credit, viz. the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, together with the Isle of Ceylon, and places thereunto belonging; we thought it not beyond our scope to insert the true Limits and Division of the whole Indies, whereby the Reader (together with the annexed Map) may form to himself the more clear Idea of the Situation of these Places.

*Limits of the Indies.* India therefore borders to the West upon the River Indus, towards the Arabian Sea; to the North it is inclosed by the Mount Taurus, on the East-side by the vast Eastern Ocean, and to the South by the Indian Sea. India was antiently divided into two Parts by the River Ganges; thence the more Eastern Part was call'd India beyond the Ganges, and the Western Part India, on this side of the Ganges, now known by the Name of Indostan; and according to the opinion of some Authors, is the same mention'd in the Scripture by the Name of Havila.

India is besides this divided into several Kingdoms and Provinces, to wit, The Empire of the Great Mogul, Decan, Malabar, Coromandel, Crika, Bengale, Pagu, Siam and Cambodia, besides the Mal-dive Isles (of which there is a vast number) the Islands of Ceylon (of which in the second Book) of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Amboina, Banda, and the Molucque Isles, viz. Termate, Machian, Bacbian, Tidor, Motir, Potbacker, and divers others.

As it is not my Intention to treat of

the whole Indies, but to confine my self to those parts I have for the most part seen my self, and to give you a relation of such remarkable Transactions both of Peace and War as have happen'd there; so I will begin with the Kingdom of Cambaja, and its Capital City having the same Name, and end with *Sumatrasam* upon the Coast of Oriza, bordering upon Bengale.

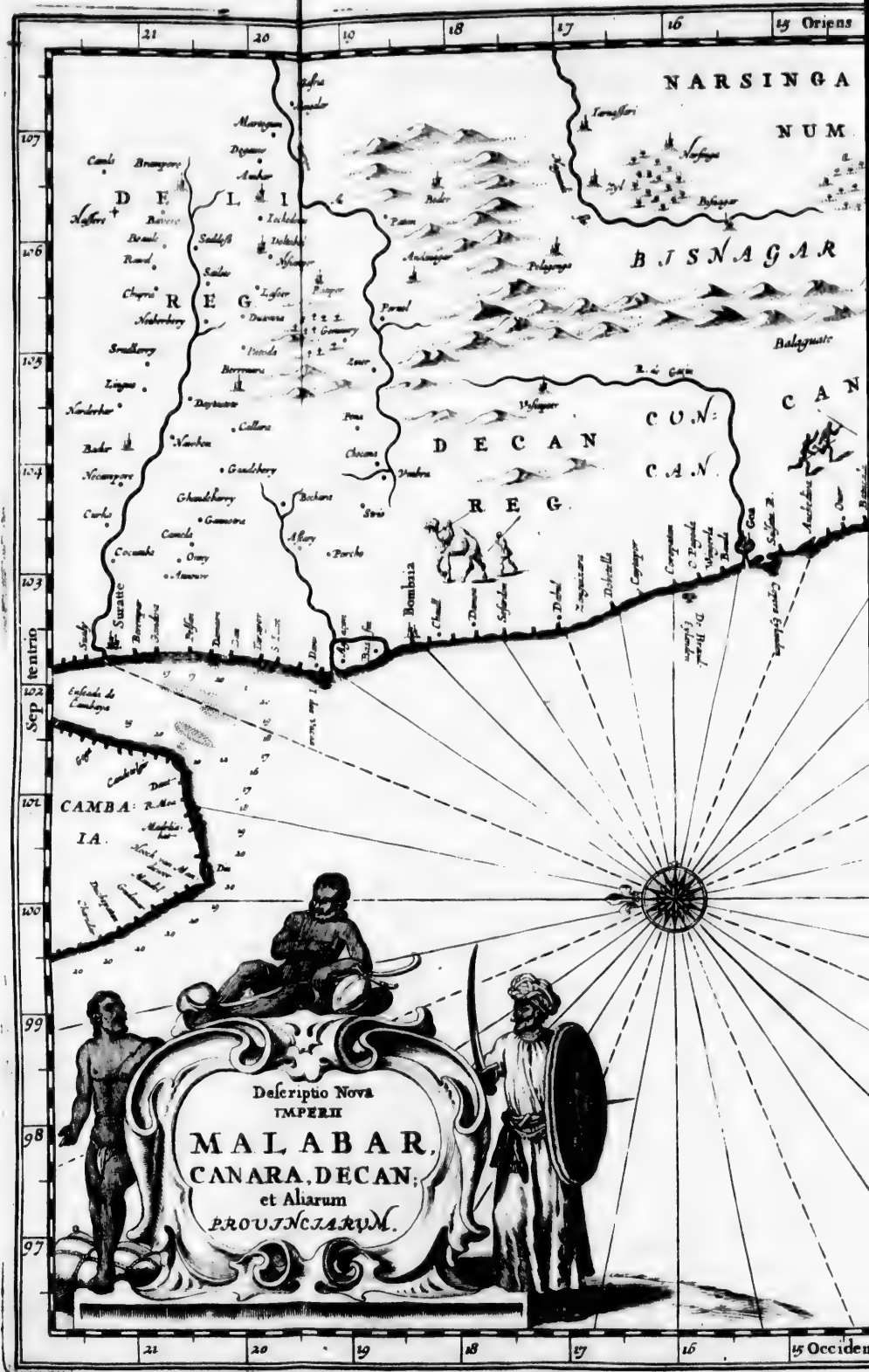
Cambaja is a different Province from *Gujuratte*, situate at 22 deg. of Northern Latitude; it has got its Name from its Capital City nam'd Cambaja, (formerly the Indian Cayrus) seated at the mouth of the River Indus (or Sandus) known by different Names among divers Nations: it rises among the Mountains of *Paramisus*, and being augmented by at least nineteen other Rivers (among which are the *Hydaspes* and *Hypasis*, whither *Alexander the Great* carried his Arms) it falls by seven different Channels, or as some will have it by five, into the Sea; two of which pass through and exonerate themselves into the Sea in this Kingdom of Cambaja. It borders to the East upon the Country of *Mandoa*, to the West upon the Country of the *Nautakers* or *Gedrossers*, to the North it has the Kingdoms of *Sanga* and *Dulcinga*, and to the South that of *Decan*. It is one of the most fruitful Provinces of the Indies, which furnishes the circumjacent places with Corn, Wheat, Rice, Pease, Butter, Oil, and divers other Provisions. The Inhabitants are generally either *Gujurattians* or *Benjans*, being much addicted to Traffick, and very quick in their dealings. They make here the best Calico's of all sorts; and the Country abounds in Indigo, Granates, Hyacinths, Ame-

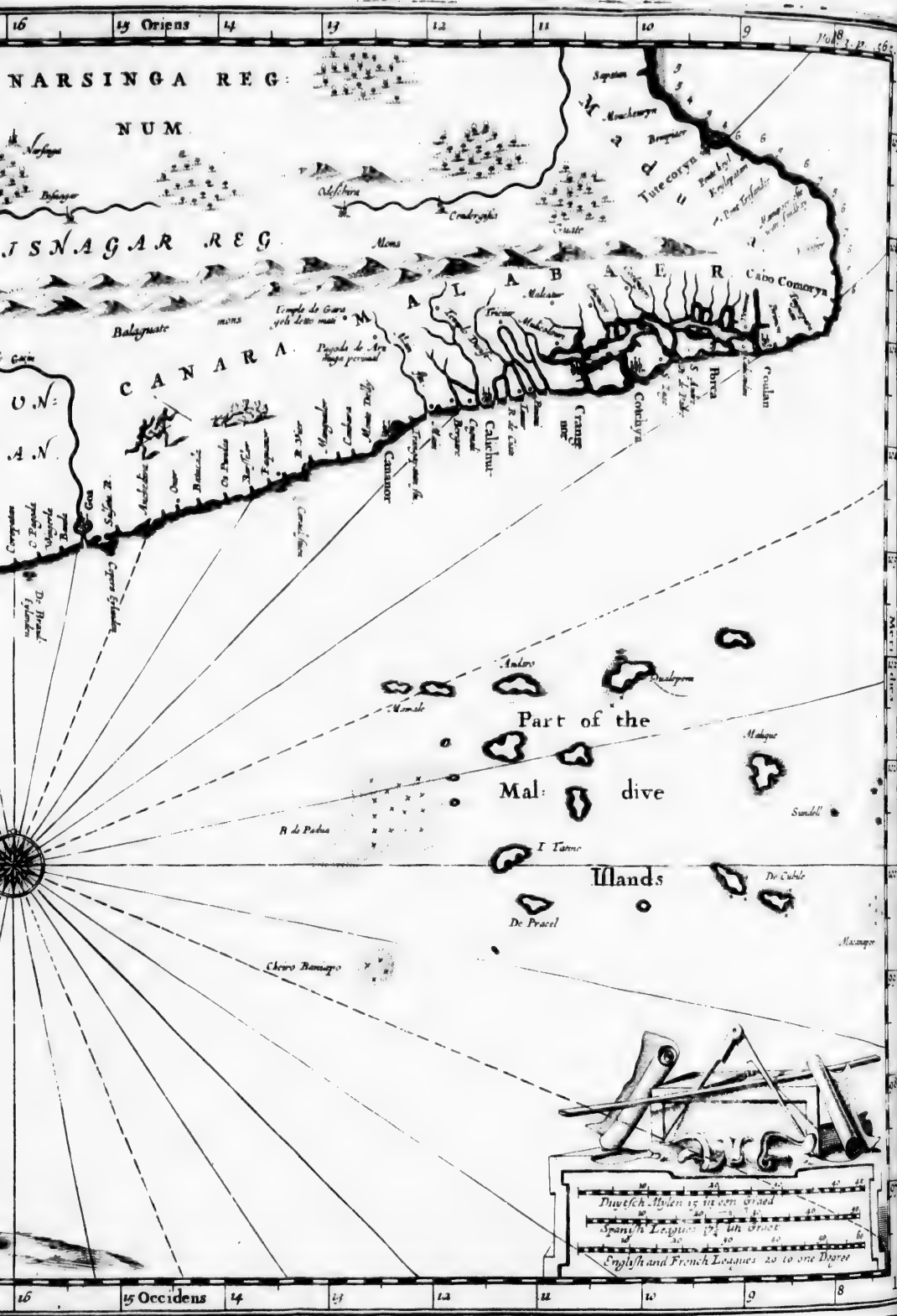
*The Author's Intention.*


*The Province of Cambaja.*


*The River Indus was formerly call'd Sandus and Pan-gab, from its five Branches.*


*The Limits and Fertility of Cambaja.*





 Amethists, and divers others precious Commodities. According to Cluver's Computation Cambaja is 150 German Leagues long, and as many broad.

 The City of Cambaja (call'd the *Ben-jan Paradise*) lies according to the common Computation 16 Leagues to the West of *Brochia*, seated at the Entrance of one of the largest Channels of the River *Indus*. About three Leagues thence on the opposite Shore is a great Village, inhabited by the *Rebellious Rasputes*, a perverse Generation, living for the most part upon Rapine. This River is almost dry all the Winter, tho at high Tide it rises several Fathoms deep, so that then Ships may come up to the very Walls of the City, where at low Tide it is fordable. This City is reckoned as big again as *Suratte*, being well built, and fortify'd with a triple Wall. It has three *Bazars*, or great Market-places, for the sale of all sorts of Merchandises, and twelve Gates, besides that almost every Street has a peculiar Gate, which is shut up every night to prevent Disorders: Its whole Circuit is about six or seven English Miles; and without the Gates are four very delicious large Cisterns or Ponds, and fifteen Gardens, for the Diversion of such of the Inhabitants as are pleas'd to divert themselves there with walking in the cool of the Evening. They are for the most part Pagans, and addicted to Traffick, especially in all sorts of Stuffs for clothing, which they transport to *Diu*, *Goa*, *Atchin*, *Mecha* and *Persia*.

 *Amadabath* the Capital City of the Province of *Gusuratte*, lies 18 Leagues from *Cambaja*, about  $23\frac{1}{2}$  deg. Northern Latit. and consequently directly under the Tropick of *Cancer*: It is seated in a great and most delightful Plain, just on the Bank of a very fine River: It is both strong and populous, being fortified with a goodly Wall with round Turrets and twelve Gates.

The Streets are very broad, the Houses very handsom, and the Pagan Temples stately built. In the Center of the City is the Castle, the Residence of the Governor, surrounded with a very high Wall, the Gates whereof are guarded by a certain Body of Troops, who let nobody pass or repass without leave: This being formerly the ordinary Seat of their Kings. The Commodities found at *Amadabath* are Girdles, Turbants, Gold Tissues, Silk Stuffs, Satins, Damasks, Tapestries, Suchar, *Amspien* or *Opium*, *Gummi Lacca*, *Borax*, preserv'd Ginger, *Mirabolans*, *Sal-Armoniack* and Indigo. Un-

der the Jurisdiction of *Amadabath* are 25 considerable Towns, and 2998 Villages.

The City of *Suratte* is a place of great Traffick, both the *English* and *Dutch* having Factories here: It lies open to the Water-side, except that the Castle is well provided with Cannon brought from the Ship *Middleburgh*, which was lost there 1617. But on the Land-side it is fortified by a Wall of Stone, the old Fortifications being only of Earth: It has no more than three Gates, but two Governors independent on one another, one of the Castle, the other of the City. Next adjacent to the Palace of the last stands the Custom-house, where all Goods imported or exported pay  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. Custom, except Gold and Silver, which pay only 2 per Cent.

These Custom-house Officers are very troublesome and injurious to Strangers, and have often given great cause of Complaint to our Company, as will appear from the following Petition, and the *Mogul's Patent* (or *Edman*) granted to the said Company, and dated the 15th day of the Month *Rammasay*, in the 16th year of the King's Reign, and since that of *Mahomet* 1052.

"The *Dutch* are approach'd to the Gates of your Majesty's Court, expecting at the feet of your Majesty's Throne (whose Brightness is like that of the Sun, and reaches to the Skies) the happiness of seeing the Eyes of the greatest Monarch, to offer their just Complaints against the Officers of your Majesty at *Suratte*, who have been extremely troublesome to them, in exacting from them illegal Duties of their Goods bought at *Agra* and *Amadabath*, and thence brought to *Suratte*: They humbly request your Majesty to send your Orders by your *Dewan* or Commissioner to the Custom-house Officers at *Suratte*, with strict Command to regulate themselves accordingly, as they expect to be accountable for it to your Majesty.

The King did immediately dispatch his Orders, that the Custom-house Officers should not take from the Commodities bought at *Agra* and belonging to the *Dutch*, from 10 to 12 per Cent. and those bought at *Amadabath* 10 or  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. that they should be oblig'd to rest satisfied with the Bills of Loading given them by the *Dutch* Merchants, and exact no more Custom under any other pretence: That furthermore all Commodities bought at *Brodera* and *Suratte* should pay according

The City of *Suratte*.

Difference about the Customs.

The *Dutch* Great *Mogul*.



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# SURATTH



SURATTE.

Vol. 3. p. 566.



Baklaus.

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to the Price they were bought for, and that they should avoid giving any just reason of complaint to the Dutch. But these Promises had not the desired Effect, as will appear out of the next following Letter of Mr. John van Teylingen President and Governor of the Dutch Factories in *Gufuratte*, *Indostan*, and *Mocha*.

W. van  
Teylingen's  
Letter.

Whereas by the manifold Exactions and Injuries, the robbing of the Factory of our Company, the Detention of *Daniel Massow* Barber's Mate, and divers other enormous Proceedings; the Persons in the Service of the Company, in the Empire of the Great *Mogul*, have received considerable Detriment from divers of the Great *Mogul's* Officers (contrary to the intent of his *Firman*, or Letters Patents) which must needs tend to the great damage of the Company in general: It has, after mature deliberation, been thought expedient, by Mr. *Cornel. van der Lijn* Governor-General, and the rest of the Members of the Council of the *Indies*, to redress the said Affronts and Injuries by Force of Arms. The Yachts, the *Larch*, the *Sluice*, the *Lillo*, and the *Eight-Churches*, being equipped lately for that purpose, and to be join'd by divers other Ships from *Batavia*, we give the Command thereof, during my absence from the Fleet, to the Head Factor *Gerard Pelgrim*, which however shall cease that Minute, when I come aboard any one of these Ships in Person. To prevent all Disorders, Rapine, and other Enormities, I do by these Presents give a strict Charge to all the Officers, of what degree soever, and to all the Soldiers and Seamen aboard these Vessels, not to hurt the *Moors* either in their Lives or Estates (this being contrary to the Intention of the Council) but only to seize upon their Ships, Money, and Goods, and to secure them, till Satisfaction be obtain'd by the Company upon their just Pretensions. We therefore once more command all the Officers, Soldiers and Seamen, without exception, not to injure or rob (after the seizing of any of these Ships) the *Moors* in their Persons or Goods, under the penalty of corporal punishment, and (according to the nature of the Crime) of the loss of their Lives, as they will answer the same to the contrary at their peril.

Given at the Dutch Factory at *Suratte*, Feb. 10. 1649.

John van Teylingen.

The following Order was likewise directed to the Head Factor *Gerard Pelgrim*, and the Factor *Peter Rutens*.

Baldau.

"It being firmly resolv'd in Council, the 25th of *Octob.* to prosecute with the utmost vigour the Design laid formerly by the Governour General and the Council of the *Indies* (which was delay'd by our long stay) with the first opportunity, the Yachts the *Sluice*, *Larch*, *Lillo*, and *Eight-Churches*, are chosen for that purpose: But two of them being now at *Mocha*, and the other two ordered to stay there the Winter at *Dabul*, we constitute the Head Factor Mr. *Gerard Pelgrim* Commodore over the said Ships, as soon as they are rejoin'd aboard the *Larch*, or any other of these Ships he shall be pleased to chuse, where he shall carry the Flag, with Authority to call on board the Council of War, when Occasion requires. In his absence, or separation of the Ships, the Factor, *Peter Rutens*, shall exercise the same Authority as *Gerard Pelgrim*, both which however shall cease, with the arrival of the President Mr. *John van Teylingen*. Whether the two beforementioned Yachts shall leave *Mocha* together or not, is not yet determined; but in the mean while we strictly charge you, that so soon as you have notice that the *Chasirovan* (a Ship of a vast bulk) or any of the other Ships belonging to *Suratte*, are preparing to depart, you set sail some days before them, under pretence of being bound (according as we used to do) for *Gamron*. All which is to be understood, provided Matters be not brought to a happy conclusion before that time; for if that were, you have nothing to do but to prosecute your Voyage in good earnest thither, unless you had a sure prospect of gaining considerably by your stay, and increasing the price of your Cargo. For the rest, it is to be your main concern, to take effectual care that none of the Great *Mogul's* Ships, nay even such as trade thither from *Diu*, escape your hands; and especially to keep a watchful Eye over the *Chasirovan*, which commonly sails sooner than the rest, and has more ready Money aboard. In case it should happen (which we hope it will not) that the Yacht the *Eight Churches*, which is to return from *Gamron*, should, by some Accident or other, be detain'd in her Voyage,

Secret Order to Mr. G. Pelgrim, and P. Rutens.

Baldicus.

“Voyage, we have provided against it, by dispatching to the Commanders thereof a Copy of these Orders for their direction upon occasion; which after the return from their Voyage they are to deliver sealed up into your custody, where the same is to remain till you set sail again, which is to be redelivered to them to serve for a sure direction, in case you should be separated at Sea. Silence ought to be your most peculiar care in this case, for fear the Secret coming to the Ears of the *Moors*, they should stop the departure of their Ships. The *Larch* and the *Lillo*, and in default of those the *Post*, after their first appearance here, shall be sent to *Gamron*, whence they shall sail pretty late, as if bound for *Batavia*, but, under pretence of being unable to prosecute their Voyage, come to an anchor in the Road before *Dabul*, from whence they shall sail Aug. 15. steering their Course directly for the River of *Suratte*; where they are to stay till the arrival of the President Mr. *John van Teylingen* aboard them; and in the mean while seize upon all the *Moors* Vessels coming from *Mocha*; yet so, as not to commit any further Outrages against them, except only to keep them in safe custody till the Company shall have received Satisfaction from the King *Chastiaan*. So soon as they have retaken a Vessel, they shall take the *Nachodas* Merchants and Seamen over in their Ships, and keep them under a good Guard, yet without any molestation, rather shewing them all the marks of Respect and Civility that can be; and shall put as many Soldiers and Seamen of ours aboard such a Ship as shall be thought sufficient to keep her: and Proclamation is to be made, enjoining every body to abstain from doing the least injury to the seized *Moors*, either in their Persons or Goods; and Officers are to be appointed to see the same put in execution. After we have got all, or most of the *Moorish* Vessels into our hands, you shall take care to embark all the *Facquiers* and other loose People in one Ship, and to

let them sail their ways where they please, they being not worth our keeping. This done, you shall take the first opportunity of fair Weather to transport, first the ready Money, and afterwards the Merchandizes aboard our Vessels; but so, as that they be well pack'd and seal'd up first, and exact Inventory made, with the Names or Marks of the respective Owners: Each Parcel is to be mark'd with a peculiar Letter; a Copy of which is to be given to the Owners, and a written Acknowledgment to be taken from the *Nachodas* of what is thus taken, and to be redelivered, in case Matters be adjusted hereafter, that so every one may know where to look for his own; the Factor being to be careful in this Point in the Transportation, as well as the Master of the Ship in receiving, as they will answer for the loss at their peril. The *English* Yacht coming from *Mocha* you are to let pass unmolested, for weighty Reasons, pursuant to the Resolution taken in Council the 14th. The same is to be done in respect of all *French*, *Danish*, and all other Ships in amity with the States, provided they don't attempt any thing upon the *Moors* in your custody; in which case you shall defend your selves to the last Extremity. Lastly, If the Matter could be so contriv'd, that our Vessels coming from *Mocha* might intercept and seize the Ships of *Cambaja*, and carry them to the River of *Suratte*, it would be a singular piece of Service, and much hasten the Accommodation. I conclude, wishing you Health and Happiness in your Voyage and Undertaking, for your own Glory, and the Interest of the Company.

Signed,

*Arent Barentsz.*  
*John van Teylingen.*  
*Joost Dirik.*  
*Adrian van der Burgh.*  
*Daniel van der Hagen.*  
*Gerardo Pelgrim,* and  
*Elias Boudaan.*

From the Dutch  
 Factory at *Suratte*, Febr. 20.  
 1649.



## C H A P. II.

Baldew.

*The Treaty carried on. What Articles were proposed by the Dutch, and agreed to by the King. His Patent or Firman; and Ratification of the Treaty.*

FOR fear of exasperating the Great Mogul beyond redress, it was thought fit to dispatch the following Letter to his Majesty.

"Most Renown'd, most Potent, and most Illustrious King, and Lord, fill'd with Majesty and Wealth, the brightest Princes among the most Powerful: As an unjust War is deservedly detested by all Nations, and seldom comes to a happy Conclusion; so our being oblig'd to act against your Majesty (pursuant to the Command of our General, and the Council of the Indies) is founded upon very just and legal Pretensions. Had your Officers thought fit to treat us according to the Tenour of your Majesty's Patent, or *Firman*, granted to us, we should never have attempted to raise any Differences betwixt your Majesty and us, much less have had recourse to open Hostilities. But when we were forced to see our Traffick, not only in this Place, but also at *Bengale*, interrupted and spoil'd by most injurious Monopolies (to the great Detriment of the Company) by intolerable Affronts, and refusing our just Request, and humble Petitions, to have the two Fugitives, and since circumcised Servants of the Company, delivered into our hands; and to have due reparation made for the Damage sustained by the Company in the Robbery committed upon their Factory: All these injurious Proceedings have obliged our Governor-General, and the Council of the Indies, to have Recourse to the Law of Arms, to procure us reasonable Satisfaction; and having for this purpose sent us four Ships from *Batavia*, we did the 12th and 16th of this Month, seize your Majesty's Ships the *Genjamer* and *Sababbi* (coming from *Mocha*) and after having taken out of them all the ready Money they had aboard, and understanding that the said *Genjamer* and *Sababbi* belonged properly to your Majesty, we thought fit (out of respect to your Person) to have them carried by our Seamen into the River, and under the Castle of *Suratte*, not questioning but what we have

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been forced to undertake upon this account for the maintaining of our Just Rights, will meet with a favourable construction from your Majesty. The Money seized by our Vessels, shall not suffer the least diminution, but be kept with all security, till such time that your Majesty shall grant us a new Patent in due Form, pursuant to such Articles as we have Orders from our Superiors to represent to your Majesty, and are as follows.

"I. It is desired that leave be given to build a Warehouse for our own Use, either in or near the Square of the Castle, where we may lay up safely our Merchandizes at the first hand, free from those Diminutions and Losses we sustained yearly in the *Alphandigo*, paying exactly the usual Customs; that done, we shall be at liberty to carry on our Traffick, as formerly, undisturbed and unmolested.

The Governour's Answer was, 'That either a Place or House should be granted us just without the Castle, not far from the *Alphandigo*, for our proper use only.

"II. We desire that our Traffick may be carried on without disturbance at *Bengale*, and in the circumjacent Places, free from paying any Dutys, except what is paid usually at *Pipeli* (the place where Goods are embark'd, pursuant to the Patent formerly granted by his Majesty, but contravened by the avaritious Governours.

Hereunto it was answered, 'That the Governour *Miermosa* should endeavour to obtain this Point from the King.

"III. Restitution was required of such Sums of Money as of late Years had been unjustly detained, both at *Suratte* and *Amadabath*, and full Satisfaction desired for what Customs had been extorted from our Ships betwixt *Agra* and *Amadabath*, contrary to the express Words of his Majesty's Patent; the whole Sum amounting to 41479 *Ropias*.

"IV. His Majesty was requested to issue his Orders for the full restitution of what Money was taken out of our Factory at *Suratte*, and that a certain Sum (as his Majesty should direct) might be allotted in lieu of Satisfaction

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for the Robbery committed upon the said Factory, the murdering of the Company's Servants, and the Injuries and Affronts put upon us: The Sum of the Money taken away from thence amounting to 66000 *Ropias*.

Unto these two Points the answer was made; 'That the restitution of what was taken from us, was a reasonable Request, but to give satisfaction, for that other Enormities were committed by Robbers (since fled from Justice) was not in their power; but if any of these Criminals could be taken, they should be delivered into our hands.

V. That for the future none of his Majesty's Ships, or any others belonging to those of *Suratte*, *Bengale*, or other places, should traffick to *Achin*, *Pera*, *Queda*, *Oedjang-Salang*, *Malacca*, &c. and in case they should, they might be seized and declared as good Prizes by our Vessels, by reason that the Company being then engaged in a War against these places, were resolved to block up their Rivers, and to keep all Foreigners from trafficking with them by Sea, till they have received entire Satisfaction at their hands.

VI. It was desired that his Majesty's Majesty would deliver to us the (beforementioned) two circumcised Servants of the Company; and if they were at present out of reach, to deposit into our hands in lieu of them 400000 *Ropias*; which Sum shall be restored immediately after the delivery of these two Persons.

The Answer was; 'That one of these circumcised Fellows was retreated many Years before into *Persia*, and the last died in his flight about eight Months before: But if they would have his Bones, they would endeavour to procure them.

VII. That if ever any of the Company's Servants shall run away hereafter, they shall not be protected, much less be circumcised; and in case any of the inferior Officers should notwithstanding this detain any of them (contrary to your Majesty's knowledg) they shall be obliged to deliver the same to us.

This Article was granted, provided they did not take refuge among the *Raspoutes* then in rebellion against the *Mogul*.

VIII. That Satisfaction should be given for what Expences the Company had been forced to be at both by Sea and Land, since the Robbery committed upon their Factory.

This Article was rejected, a general Satisfaction being promised already.

IX. That for the future a sufficient Guard should be kept to protect the Servants and Goods of the Company from the like danger; and that in case any such thing should ever happen again, the Governor shall be obliged to make satisfaction.

It was promised that for the future a Guard should be kept to secure the Company against all danger.

X. If our *Cassila*, or Caravan (which God forbid) should be plundered by the way, that the Governour shall be obliged to find out the Goods; and if found, restore them to us, and in case of neglect, to make satisfaction for them.

It was answered; 'That we must sue for a *Firman*, or Patent, on that account, which would without question be granted.

XI. That in all the Citys, Towns and Territories under his Majesty's Jurisdiction, we shall be exempted from paying any Dutys, Customs, or Impositions, except the Customs at *Suratte* and *Bombay*; and in case any Money should be exacted from the Servants upon that account, the Money shall be made good by his Majesty's *Dewan*, or Commisioner, at *Suratte*.

XII. That the Custom payable from such Goods as are to be exported, shall continue on the same foot as settled by the King's last *Firman*, or Patent.

This Article was granted without the least limitation.

XIII. That the Customs of the Merchandizes imported, shall (as formerly) be satisfied with Merchandizes each in its kind.

This was also granted.

XIV. That we shall be at liberty to dispose and sell our Cargo's and Goods where and when we please, without being controuled therein by the Governor, or any other Merchant.

This was likewise agreed to.

XV. That no Governor, of what quality or degree soever, shall obstruct us in the buying up what Commodities we have occasion for, or employing of Brokers and other Servants for that purpose, such as we judge may be most serviceable to us; neither shall they be taxed or otherwise molested on that score.

It was answered; 'That doubtless his Majesty would grant that Article, and that in the mean time no body should

intermeddle with the Traffick belonging to the Company.

XVI. That no body of what degree or quality whatever shall pretend to obstruct us in the sending away of our Goods, or stop our *Cassilas* (Caravans) or Carts, and Camels thereunto belonging, much less to endeavour to detain the same after they have been hired.

Unto this it was answer'd, that the King would doubtless grant this Request.

XVII. In case of any Contests arising betwixt both the Nations, whereby Murder or Manlaughter may ensue (which God forbid) the Governors shall have power only to punish the Criminal, if he be one of his Subjects; but if he belong to the Company, he is to be put into the hands of our Directory, in order to be punish'd according to the Laws of our Country; and if any of our People engage with any of the *Indian* Women, the same shall be deliver'd up to us to suffer condign Punishment.

Unto this it was answer'd, that this Article must be refer'd to the King's Determination; but that further Satisfaction should be given upon this Head to the *Dutch Company at Suratte*.

XVIII. If by Tempests or other Accident some of our Ships should be stranded, or otherwise be lost on these Coasts, the Goods sav'd by your Majesty's Subjects shall be restor'd to the Owners.

This was granted.

XIX. That we shall be maintain'd and protected in the quiet enjoyment of the propagating and refining of the Saltpeter; and that we shall meet with no opposition from the Governors in transporting the same, or be burdened with new Exactions, as it happen'd two years before, when the Prince of *Zaatschan* squeeze'd 600 Ropias out of the Company.

This Article was refer'd to the King.

XX. That such as shall be injurious in words to any of our Nation, shall be punish'd by the Governor, in the presence of the affronted Party, to prevent further Inconveniences, which otherwise might arise from thence.

This Article being very just, was agreed to.

XXI. That we shall have full liberty to keep and maintain the Yatch we always have had upon the River of *Suratte*, and (in case this becomes useless) to build another, and use it as formerly, for our Diverfion, or other occasions.

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We don't in the least doubt, but that your Majesty, according to your wonted Bounty, will take into serious Consideration this our humble, but nevertheless just and equitable Request; it being our constant wish, that matters may be brought to a speedy Accommodation: and we promise that immediately on the receipt of your Majesty's *Firman*, or Letters Patent, we will discharge what Money and Persons are in our Custody, and carry on our Traffick in your Majesty's Dominions, as before: But in case your Majesty (which we hope not) should refuse our Petition, we desire notice may be given us thereof, that we may in time (with your Majesty's Consent) remove our Effects, and quit your Territories; it being our firm Resolution not to stay here, unless your Majesty will be pleas'd to grant our just Request; notwithstanding which we live in hopes of a favourable Answer from your Majesty's Goodness.

Unto this was affix'd another Paper, as follows.

#### Most Potent King!

JUST upon the Conclusion of our humble Petition, the Deputies empower'd by *Miermosa* the Governor, to treat with us concerning the Differences on foot betwixt us, viz. *Mierfia Mammeth*, *Hagie Siastbecq*, *Zabandaar*, and several other Persons of Note, have promised us to give satisfaction for the Money (pursuant to your Majesty's Orders) taken from us, to stop all Traffick from *Bengale*, and this place, &c. to *Aetchin*, *Pera*, *Queda*, and *Oetjang-Salang*, &c. till the Differences betwixt us and those Places be brought to a Conclusion; concerning which we expect further Orders from our Governor-General of the *Indies*. It was further promised us, that a Place should be assign'd us for the building of a Warehouse near the *Alphandigo*; which as well as the other Articles being confirm'd to us by Oath of the before-mention'd Deputies, we were on our side willing to release the Goods seiz'd by our Ships, which we have done accordingly, and resettled our Traffick at *Suratte*, as before: All which we hope will not be unacceptable to your Majesty; humbly begging your Majesty to be pleas'd to take our further Proposals into Consideration, and to favour us with your Royal *Firman*, to avoid all further Differences,

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*Baldan.* and to establish a mutual, firm and everlasting Correspondence betwixt us, which we shall very religiously observe (as long as your Majesty's Governors don't act contrary to the said *Firman*) without the least interruption on our side. We wish your Majesty a prosperous and long Life, and Victory over your Enemies.

Dated in your Majesty's City of *Suratte*, 28 Sept. in the year 1649 after the Birth of Christ.

The King's Letter was thus.

The King *Chasjan* sends the following Directions to *Mierfia Arep* his Governor of *Suratte*.

*King's Letter, or Firman.*

Just as the *Sajetes* are esteem'd among the Saints, so is *Mierfia Arep* respected in his Family. I would have you rest secure of my Royal Favour: Besides what Dignities you were possess'd of before, we have thought fit to bestow upon you the Reward of *Paans Zeddi*, and 300 Horses for your Services, in the Government of the open Country; and since the departure of *Miermosa* have put you into his place; and for the better maintaining of your Grandeur, have allotted you the Royal Revenues of both your Governments, in the Administration of which you shall be very vigilant and courteous; towards the chief Merchants you shall comport your self very obligingly, and give a helping hand to all the foreign Nations trafficking there, as tending to the no small increase of our Treasury. Your Authority shall not extend to ex-

act more than the usual Customs, even of the meanest Persons, but you shall act in every thing as a Man of Honour and Conscience: What Rarities you happen to meet with coming from foreign places, you shall (like your Predecessor *Miermosa*) send to my Daughter *Sahelbejon*, who twice a month pays her Respect before my Throne; whatever is extraordinary fine and rare, let it be valued, and purchase it of the Owner accordingly; but if you can't agree, send him hither, that he may be satisfied in his just Demands. So soon as my Royal *Firman* comes to your hands, you shall endeavour to list 10 Christian Constables, well versed in their Art, into our Service, and you shall spare no Cost to have some great Cannon cast for our use. We have been inform'd, that about two years ago the *Dutch* Factory was robb'd of 50000 *Ropias*, for which they have seiz'd divers Sums of Money belonging to our Merchants, and coming in their Ships from *Mocha*, and have thereupon declar'd their Sentiments to the Governour *Miermosa*; it is therefore that I command you to oblige the *Hollanders* to restore the said Money to the Owners, who have neither the least share or knowledge in what relates to their loss: And in case you should not be able to bring things to an agreement with the *Hollanders*, we command you to demand the said Sums of Money of *Miermosa* and *Ommernan*, and pay the same to the said Merchants (whose Effects are seiz'd) in recompence of their Loss.

These are the Contents of the King's Letter, as it was translated from the *Persian*.

### CHAP. III.

The *Chom* of *Suhali*, or the Road before *Suratte*. Traffick of the *Dutch*, *English*, *Moors* and *Portugueses* to *Suratte*, *Gufuratte*, *Brochia*, *Goga*, *Pattapane*, *Mangerol*, *Brodera*, and other places.

*Description of Suratte.*

THE City *Suratte* did (pursuant to the ancient Records) pay a yearly Tribut of 2000000 *Mamoids*, or 1000000 *Ropies*, or 400000 Crowns, to their King *Shahab*, one *Ganna Ganna* being then the Governour, who had 1800 Villages under his Jurisdiction. All about *Suratte* are abundance of very pleasant and stately Summer-Seats, and magnificent Burying-places (a thing much in

request among the *Moors*) besides several large Cisterns, or rather Ponds, fac'd with Freestone. Among the rest one deserves particularly to be taken notice of, as having no less than a hundred Angles of 28 yards each, with Stone Steps to lead you down into the Cistern; in the midst of which stands the Tomb of the Founder.

About

About an hour and a half to the North from the Mouth of the River of *Suratte* (named *Tapp-gyly*) is a Road, where Ships may ride at anchor near a ridg of Sand-banks, which, together with part of the Continent, breaks the force of the Winds. This Road, commonly call'd *Cbon Suhali*, or *Sualicom*, lies at 21 deg. 50 min. North Latitude, extending from North-East to North, and again South-West to South: The entrance of it is but narrow, and at high Water not above 7, but at low Water scarce 5 Fathoms deep, with a hard sandy bottom: The North-North-East, and South-South-West Winds make here the highest Tides. The Harbour of *Suhali* is not bove a Musket-shot broad: The South-South-West Winds make this Road unsafe, the Land-Shelves lying then almost dry. The *English* settled their Factory there 1609. and the *Dutch* 1616. who carry their Merchandizes upon Waggon drawn by Oxen from the said Road 4 Leagues to the City.

It is to the Settlements of those two Nations, *Suratte* owes its chief increase in Trade, many rich Merchants and Artisans having been drawn thither since that time, who send their Commodities thence by the *Red-Sea* to *Arabia*, *Aden*, *Mocha*, *Hideda*, *Juda*, *Mecca*, *Chibiry*, *Casiny*, *Doffey*, and *Souakin* (in *Ethiopia*) consisting in fine and coarse *Indian*, *Gujuratte*, *Decan*, and *Bengale* Stuffs and Cloths, Callicoets, Indigo, Sugar, Gums, Ginger, Tobacco, Wheat, Rice, Butter, and other Provisions, in which this Country abounds. Besides that, two or three of the King's Ships trade into these Parts, and transport certain precious Commodities belonging to some peculiar Merchants and Persons of the first Rank; these are generally obliged to the Company, for furnishing them with some able Seamen and Constables (the *Moors* being but ill versed in these things) especially while they were at enmity with the *Danes*.

One of the Kings Ships, named *Saby*, arrived here 1618. in its return from the *Red-Sea*; the Cargo whereof consisted in Coral, Camlets, Sattins, Velvets, Woollen and Linen Cloths, Tin, Quick-silver, Cinaber, Leather, Saffron, Slaves, (both Black and White) Gum Arabic, Aloes of *Socotora*, Amber, Clivet, *Sanguis Draconis*, Myrrh, Raisins, Almonds, Dates, Coffee-Berries, and about six of seven hundred Passengers returning from *Mabomet's* Tomb at *Mecca* and *Medina*; the whole valued at 2500000 *Ropias*, each *Ropia* being about half a Rix-Dollar.

These Ships set sail in *March* and *April* for the *Red-Sea*, and return in *September* or *October*; they seldom spend above 25 days in their passage. The Inhabitants of *Goa*, *Dabul*, *Bassain*, *Daman* and *Diu*, do also send their Ships to *Mocha* and some other places in the *Red-Sea*; and the *Benjans* and *Armenians* used to come thence to *Suratte* in their light Ships laden with all sorts of Trifles, which they exchange for Wheat, Linen, Rice, and Coffee-Berries.

Towards the latter end of the *Mousson*, viz. in *March* and *April*, abundance of *Malabars* resort hither: these being mortal Enemies of the *Portugueses*, are commonly well arm'd with Fire-locks and Scimeters, and formerly used to be very mischievous to them. The Commodities they bring to sale here, are coarse Sugar, Cardamon, Pepper, and *Cayr* (of which they make Cables and Ropes) and *Coco-Nuts*.

Formerly the Inhabitants of *Suratte* used to send yearly one or two Ships in *May* or *June* (when the *Portuguese* Ships were in harbour) to *Achin*, *Tanasserri*, *Queda*, and the *Maldiva* Islands, laden with Stuffs, and Cloths, and Callicoets; and return'd with Pepper, Camphire, Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, Sandel-wood, Porcelain, *Chinese* Silks (brought thither by those of *Malacca*) Tin, Benzorn, Elephants Teeth, and Coconuts, the last being almost the only product of the *Maldiva* Isles.

The Men in Power here are generally very haughty and fierce; and tho sufficiently curb'd by the King's absolute Sway, yet by reason of the distance of the Provinces from his Residence, commit many Enormities; his Territories bordering upon *Persia*, *Auwa*, the River *Ganges*, and *Bengale*, thence to *Decan*, and to the West by the Sea.

The Province of *Gujuratte* (in which all the beforementioned Citys lie) extends in length from South to North; it begins at *Damana*, and reaches 40 *Cos* beyond *Amadabath*, bordering upon the Country of *Patbane* inhabited by Pagans, so that its whole length is 180 *Cos*, or 90 *Dutch* Leagues: to the East it borders upon the Country of *Parta Bassa*, or at least within 40 *Cos* or 20 Leagues of it, extending further Eastward for three days journey towards *Amadabath*, and to the West to the Sea, and the Kingdom of *Suadi*, which is divided from *Persia* by a great Desert. It was a most fruitful and populous Country, before it was reduced by the *Great Mogul*.

Traffic of the Red Sea.

The Malabars Enemies of the Portugueses.


Extent of Gujuratte.

One Indian Cos two Dutch Leagues.

The Value of a Ropia.

About



 About 12 Leagues to the North of *Su-Baldaus*, lies the City of *Brochia* about 9 or 10 Leagues from the Sea, and 21 deg. 56 min. upon the River *Nardabath*, which coming down by *Decan* and *Mandow*, affords a good Passage for Ships, about half way from the Sea towards *Brochia*, the passage being stop'd up there by a Sand-bank, which has not above 9 or 10 foot Water. The situation of this City is both very convenient and pleasant, upon a Hill, being surrounded by a strong Stone Wall: This place is famous for its Manufactories of Linen and Cloths, of which they make more here than in any other place of the *Indies*; and they have the best way of whitening the flax. The *Malabars* used formerly to come hither every Year with 9 or 10 Ships. The *Dutch* and *English* have had their Factories here a considerable time ago. Its Inhabitants are for the most part *Benjians*, who are very expert in managing the Linen Manufactory: The two Suburbs of the City are chiefly inhabited by *Callicoweavers* and Merchants; *Brochia* is reckoned to contain 87 Villages in its Territories, the Country round about being all low Grounds, except that about five or six Leagues to the South-East the Mountains of *Vindat* have their beginning, which are very rich in *Achatfens*. All Merchandizes passing through *Brochia* pay 2 per Cent. Custom.

Goga 3<sup>d</sup>  
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*Goga* is a small City seated in the Bay of *Cambaja*, where it grows so freight, that it rather resembles a River than an Arm of the Sea: It has neither Walls nor Gates to the Land-side, but is defended by a stone Wall towards the Sea. Here all the Ships designed for *Arabia*, and the Southern parts (by the Merchants of *Cambaja* and *Amadabath*) are careen'd and victuall'd, there being a safe Road here, tho somewhat shallow: Here also the *Portuguese* Convoys used to keep their station, to expect the coming of their Merchantmen.

Pattapa-  
tane and  
Mangerol,  
Brodera.

There are besides these several other Places of less note belonging to this Province, as *Pattapatane*, *Mangerol* (mentioned by some under other Names) the Inhabitants whereof live upon Husbandry, and managing of Cotton; *Brodera* an inland Town, inhabited by Husbandmen and Clothiers; the Company used to keep some Factors there, to buy up coarse Cloth for the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians*. Not to mention here its Fortifications, Gardens, Tombs, &c.

Mamadabath.

*Mamadabath* was for its pleasant situation sometimes honoured with the Residence of

its Kings, but is since come to decay to that degree, that it is no more than a poor Village now. We will also make mention only of *Nariau*, *Wasser* (a very ancient Castle) *Iffempour*, *Batona*, and their Products, such as Indigo, Saltpeter, *Borax*, *Alfa Fetida*, *Amfion* or Opium, *Gummi Laca*, and divers other Commodities.

But before we leave the Province of *Gufuratte*, and take our way thence over *Diu*, *Daman*, &c. to *Goa*, and so to the *Malabars*; we must say something of its Traffick. It is beyond all dispute that the Traffick of *Suratte*, and adjacent Places, is of great consequence, provided there be no want of ready Money, and the management thereof be committed to Persons of understanding. I remember that the College of XVII give these following By-rules to their Factors: To inform themselves of the Constitution and Manners of the Inhabitants, what Commodities are vented, and best to be vented there; who, and how potent our Enemies are; what Religion and Coin is most regarded, and the true situation of the Place where they settle, in respect to its Northern or Southern Latitude. Certain it is, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *Gufuratte* are a cunning and settled Generation, who must therefore be managed with dexterity, and much reservedness, mix'd with a becoming gravity and outward splendor, wherewith these People are much taken, yet without ever attempting to lord it over them, a thing which after has proved detrimental, if not destructive to the Undertakers. It is to the wife Conduct of our Forefathers that we are obliged for the Establishment and Improvement of our Traffick at *Suratte*; where our Factory was no sooner settled, but we sent from thence 1624. Jan. 20. our first Ship call'd the *Heusden*, along the Coast of *Melinde* and *Soffala*, and thence to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and so to *Holland*.

This was follow'd the same Year, 12 March, by another call'd the *Peuca*, but was forced to winter on the Coast of *Coromandel*. These were follow'd 1625. April 23. by the Ship the *City of Dort*, and the *Wesop* Yacht, but were obliged to winter in the Isle of *St. Mawrice*. In the Year 1626. the following Ships were sent to *Holland*, taking their way through the South Sea, viz. The *Golden Lion*, *Walcheren*, and *Orange*. 1628. The *City of Dort* was sent thence to *Holland* through the Straits of *Madagascar*, along the Coast of *Fussalia*.

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Our Dutch Vessels generally arrive here from *Batavia* about the end of *August*, in *October*, or beginning of *November*, and sometimes towards the middle of *December*: The Dutch Factors at *Sur-*

*ratte* taking always care to send their Ships into *Persia* in *January*, or about the middle of *February* at farthest, that they may be at *Batavia* before the end of *March*.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Of what consequence the Traffick of Suratte is. A particular Description of the City of Mocha, and of its peculiar Customs. The City of Agra, and its Strength. The Descent of the Great Mogul, his Pomp and Riches.*

OF what Consequence the Traffick of *Suratte* is to the Dutch, they have been sufficiently made sensible by their Factors ever since 1616. The chief Commodities to be vented here, are, Lead, Quick-silver, Cinabar, Ivory, Tin, Copper, Cumeta's, Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, Pepper, Porcelain, &c. And this Traffick is the more considerable in respect of the Communication it maintains with our other Factories in those parts, with *Agra*, *Mocha*, and divers other places upon the Coast of the happy *Arabia*, where our Traffick seems to be well established, provided we take care to live in good Correspondence with those Nations, which must be maintain'd by all possible means, by avoiding such things as tend to the Dissolution thereof. Amongst these the seizing of the *Moorish* Ships has several times brought our Traffick into no small jeopardy, as it happen'd 1621. when our Ships the *Samson* and *Wesfos* having made Reprisals upon some *Moorish* Vessels, our Trade into *Arabia* was quite interrupted, and likely to have been quite lost. And we run the same danger 1628. after the Yacht the *Grottenbroeck* had taken a Ship of *Gusuratte* upon the Coast of *Coromandel*; and tho our late Seizure happen'd not to prove much to our disadvantage, yet can't we at all times promise our selves the same success, it being certain, that tho the *Moors* court our Friendship, yet are they on the other hand very stubborn, and not easily reconcil'd.

Another thing absolutely requisite for the carrying on of the Trade here, is, the King's *Firman*, or Patent, to keep the avaritious Governours of *Cambaja*, *Suratte*, *Brochia*, and other places, in awe; besides, that the *Portuguese* Priests are always busy to create an ill Opinion of us in the *Moors*: They must be carefully watch'd in their Measures and Weights, without which they will play you the

same Game as *Godjanifan* and *Godjaassan* did many years ago to Sir *Henry Middleton*, an *English* Knight, who put them in Irons aboard his Ship till they had given him full satisfaction.

Our Traffick to *Mocha* is likewise of great Consequence to us: *Mocha* is seated in the *Happy Arabia*, at the entrance of the *Red Sea* at 13 deg. 28 min. Northern Latitude: It is of a considerable extent, without any Walls, in a barren ground, but well built with red and blue Stones, the Houses flat on the top like those of *Constantinople*; it has three very fine Pagodes, or *Pagan* Temples, two whereof have no Steeples, the third, in the midst of the City, being adorn'd with a very high Steeple. At the North end stands a small Castle like a Redoubt built, of blue Stone, for the Defence of the Harbour, 1612.

*Mocha* was about 90 or 100 years ago no more than a Village inhabited by Fishermen; but since its Reduction by the *Turks*, is so encreased by degrees, that it is one of the chief Places on that Coast now; the Traffick of the *Indian* Ships that used to come to an Anchor at *Aden* (formerly a great Trading City) being transferr'd to *Mocha*, by reason of the Caravans which come thither with more conveniency at certain times of the year. Its Inhabitants are *Turks*, *Arabians*, *Benjans* and *Jews*: Here is constantly a great concourse of People from the beginning of *March* to the middle of *September*; about which time the great Ship call'd *Mansouri* (which is kept by the *Turkish* Sultan for the Transportation of the richest Commodities from the farthest parts of the *Red Sea* hither) arrives here, its Cargo being generally esteem'd at 2500000 or 3000000 Reals, and consisting in Pieces of Eight, Golden Ducats, Italian Golden Tissues, Camlets, Saffron, Quick-silver, and divers other Commodities, besides Slaves of

Some Remarks upon the Traffick in these parts.

A Description of Mocha.

Its Encrease.

The Traffick of Mocha.

of both Sexes taken in the *Levant*, or *Esidians*, thereabouts, being generally *Grecians*, *Hungarians*, or of the Isle of *Cyprus*; of all which they pay 10 per Cent. Custom. The same Ship sails back again the first of *January*, laden with *Spices*, *Indigo*, fine *Callico's*, *Turbants*, and such like *Indian* Commodities.

Besides this, there comes every year in *March* a *Caravla* or *Caravan*, consisting commonly of 1600 Camels, the Merchants being for the most part *Turks*, *Arabians* and *Armenians*; these come by the way of *Aleppo* and *Alexandria* hither, and spend commonly two Months in their whole Journey, because they travel not above three or four *Dutch* Leagues in a day. They bring along with them twisted *Silk*, *Gold Wire*, red *Coral*, *Cinabar*, *Saffron*, *Myrrhe*, divers sorts of small Wares, *Needles*, *Spectacles*, *Knives*, *Sciffars*, *Looking-glasses*, &c. This *Caravan* leaves the place again in *December*, laden with all sorts of *Indian* Commodities, and thus spends near a twelve month in their whole Journey.

At *Cairo* you see a vast multitude of *Pilgrims* towards the beginning of the year, who take the conveniency of this *Caravan* to travel to *Mocha*, eight Leagues from whence lies *Medina*, where is the Tomb of *Mahomet*, which is thus yearly visited by betwixt 30000 and 40000 *Pilgrims*.

*Mocha* has been so rich for many years past, that in Customs and Taxes it pays no less than 200000 Reals, or Pieces of Eight every year to the *Grand Signior*, being one of the largest and most considerable places under the Jurisdiction of the *Bassa* of *Yemak*. The Governour of the City sits sometimes in Person at the Custom-house visiting the Packs and Chests, he having a certain allowance out of every Chest or Pack. All *Indian* Ships coming to an Anchor here are oblig'd to pay, besides the ordinary Customs, Anchorage-money, according to their Bulk, from 10 to 50 Reals, which with some other Exactions makes the whole amount to 15 per Cent. The *Turks* here have also another Invention of squeezing some Money out of the *Moorish* *Nachodes*, or Officers of the Ships; for the Governour having summon'd them immediately after their arrival to appear in his Presence, they are conducted thither in great State, attended by his Drums, Pipes, &c. and being reconducted to their Lodgings, the Clothes are taken away again. The same is repeated afterwards just before their departure, when they are reconducted to

their Boats; and their Clothes being taken off again, each Officer is oblig'd to pay for this mock Dress 20 or 25 Reals each time.

No sooner are the *Moorish* Ships come into the Roads after they have dropt their Anchor, but they must carry their Rudder and Sails ashore, and unload the whole Cargo of the Ship (whether they sell it or not) of which they are oblig'd to pay the full Customs. After they are quite unloaden, they give a Signal with a Cannon for the Governour or his Deputies to come aboard, to see whether any thing be left behind; and then they have liberty to fell.

In the Spring the *Portugueses* come hither with their Ships from *Goa*, *Goga*, and other places; their Cargo is commonly *Indigo*, *Sarcas*, *Callico's*, *Sail-cloth*, all sorts of *Gufuratte* Stuffs and Clothing, *Tobacco*, *Rice*, and *Medicines*; most of which Commodities are sold to the *Turky* Caravans, except the *Rice* and *Tobacco*, which is consum'd in the Country. They carry back Reals or Pieces of Eight, *Golden Ducats*, a certain Root used by the *Indians* in dying red. A little before, or about the same time, used also to come to *Mocha* the Ships of *Daman*, *Cambaja* and the *Malabar* Coast, laden with *Pepper*, Clothings of *Cambaja* and *Coromandel*, *Allegias*, *Taffacelas*, red and white *Cassien*, red *Jetas*, *Canekyns*, *Baslas*, fine *Turbants*, white and blue *Girdles*, painted *Callico's*, *Rice*, *Tobacco*, coarse and fine *Porcelain*, in lieu of which they carry back *Horses*, *Raisins*, *Almonds*, *Camlets*, *Elephants Teeth* of *Soffala*, red Roots for dying, which grow only in *Arabia*, *Chauru* or *Coffee-berries*. Besides these, the Inhabitants of *Achin*, of *Paty*, and other places on the Coast of *Melinda*, trade hither; they commonly set sail from home in *February*, or beginning of *March*, and return from *Mocha* about *August*, to take the conveniency of the *Mousson*.

The want of good Water and Fuel, which the Ships much purchase here at a dear rate, is a great defect in *Mocha*: However, not far from the City lies a small Isle, where the *English* used to lay up and careen their Ships; here you may have Provisions for old Clothes in abundance, as likewise Fuel and Water enough; whence it is evident that the Trade of *Suratte*, *Agra*, *Mocha* and *Libry* (a City seated on the Red Sea at 14 deg. 50 min. fortified with four round Bastions, and adorn'd with three Temples) is one of the most considerable in those parts;

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parts; as the *English* have found by Experience.

But before we take quite our leave of *Suratte*, and the adjacent Territories, we must say something also concerning the City and Castle of *Agra*. This Castle, the ordinary Residence of the *Great Mogul*, is one of the most noble Structures of the East, seated upon the Banks of the River *Jemini*, fortified with a strong Wall of red Stone, with large and deep Ditches, Draw-bridges, and four Gates. Here is also kept the King's Treasury, and the whole Court, or General Assembly of the Great Men of the Empire, who oftentimes are not refrain'd by the Absolute Authority of their Monarch, from committing most barbarous Enormities.

Thus it happen'd August 4. 1644. in the Evening after Sun-set, when all the Persons of Quality used to appear in the *Golichanna* to salute the King; among the rest, *Raja Ammerfing* (a Commander over 5000 Horse, who had been absent some days by reason of his Indisposition) making his appearance there, was ask'd by *Sillabatchan* the King's chief *Bakia*, why he had not appear'd there in several

days? He answer'd him; That he had been prevented by his Indisposition; wherewith the other being not satisfied, gave *Raja* some opprobrious words, which so exasperated him, that without more ado he run *Sillabatchan* with his Scymeter thro the Body, laying him dead upon the ground. Another Lord named *Galichan*, seeing the other murder'd in the King's sight, cut almost off the Arm of *Raja*, and another Gentleman, the Son of *Raja Rintelda*, dispatch'd him quite. The King seeing this Tragical Spectacle, gave immediately Orders that the Body of *Sillabatchan* should be carried to his House in order to his Burial; but that the Body of *Raja Ammerfing* should be thrown into the River: but scarce were they got with the Body without the Gate to execute the King's Command, when some of the *Rasboutes* (a rebellious Crew) who had serv'd under him, seeing their Commander's Body drag'd thus along, did fall upon the King's Servants, and kill'd above thirty of them, among whom was the King's Scepter-bearer; so that if the King would see his Orders put in Execution, he was oblig'd to send a confide-

*Baldew.*



The Murder Committed in the presence of the Great Mogul

able Force to protect them against the *Baldaw*, *Rasboutes*.

*Agra* has four Gates, one on the North-side, cover'd by strong Works; the second on the West-side, where is the Market-place, and the Royal Court of Judicature; the third on the South-side leads to the Royal Palace, being always chain'd up to prevent any body from passing through it on Horse-back, except the King and his Children: The fourth faces the River, where the King every day salutes the Sun, and about Noon sees the Engagements of Elephants, Lions, and other wild Beasts.

The City of *Agra* therefore is now the Capital City (as *Lahor* was formerly) of that part of the *Indies* on this side of the *Ganges*, which is under the Jurisdiction of the *Great Mogul*. The Castle is said to have been founded by King *Accbar* (descended from the *Great Tamerlan*) after the Conquest of *Gujarat*.

Wealth and Strength of the *Mogul*.

I will not pretend to give you an exact account of the Wealth of the *Mogul*, but leave you to guess at his Strength by the Forces he brought into the Field 1630, against *Ghasiam*, which consisted in 144500 Horse, and 5000 Elephants; these last the *Mogul* also uses for his Divisions, and he is often seen in great State on the back of an Elephant richly accoutred, attended by a great number of Horse. When these Elephants are to engage against one another before the King, they pay their Reverence by bending their Knees, and shaking their Trunks to the King; which done, they fall on with a great deal of fierceness; but as soon as they are hotly engag'd, certain Persons are appointed to part them; which done, all Enmity ceases betwixt them, they touch one another with their Trunks, and are fed with Sugar Reeds, and *Arack*, or Strong-waters.

Combat of the Elephants.

As to the Wealth of the *Great Mogul*, the same appears in its Lustre on certain Festival days: The New-year's Feast kept on the day of the first New-Moon in *March*, which lasts eighteen days. On the young Prince's Birth-day every body brings his Offerings to the King, who in his turn makes Presents to his Courtiers, bestows new Places and Dignities upon such as have deserv'd well, and augments their yearly Salaries. The People flock on that day to the Queen's Palace (if she be living) where having likewise made their Offerings under the sound of their Musical Instruments, the Prince is weigh'd in a Golden pair of Scales against Gold and Silver, which (after the weight

Festival days.

The Prince's Birth-day.

thereof is set down) is distributed the next day among the Poor.

The present King's Birth-day is celebrated the second of *September*, when the King is weigh'd in the same manner, against Precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Gold Tissues, Silk Stuffs, Butter, Rice, Fruits, &c. which is afterwards bestow'd upon the *Brabmans*; and Nuts made so curiously of Gold Wire (as likewise Almonds, and other Fruits) are thrown among the People, that 1000 of them weigh not above 20 *Ropias*, and cost about 60 *Ropias*. The whole Ceremony is concluded with drinking to a great excess all the night long, notwithstanding *Mahomet's Law*. Sir *Thomas Row* relates, that he had a Golden Cup beset with *Turquoises*, *Rubies* and *Smaragdes*, presented him by the *Great Mogul* on his Birth-day, but not till he had emptied it four or five times.

The *Moors* also celebrate a certain Feast to the Memory of two Brothers, Servants to *Mahomet Raly*, who being on their way to *Coromandel* on Pilgrimage, were forced by the *Pagans* of the Country to seek for shelter in a certain Castle; but being destitute of Water, they sallied out courageously upon the *Pagans*, and after having killed many of them, were at last slain themselves. Their Memory is celebrated in *June* ten days after the New-Moon, when they carry a Bear along the Streets laden with Turbants, Arrows, Bows and Scymeters, certain Priests singing doleful Tunes, and flashing themselves with Knives, till the Blood follows very plentifully. In the Market-place they set up the Figures of two Men of Straw, representing the Murderers of these two Saints, at which they let fly their Arrows, and at last burn them to Ashes. They keep also another Feast in *June*, when they kill abundance of He-Goats, and afterwards feast upon the Meat: This is said to be done in Commemoration of the Sacrifice of *Abraham*.

Another Feast.

The *Great Mogul* being absolute Lord over 37 large Provinces and Kingdoms, the Persons and Estates of all which are at his sole disposal, besides the immense Presents of his Subjects (none of whom dare approach his Person without them) must needs be Master of immense Treasures: The King of *Vissapour* sent at one time 30 Elephants, two whereof were girded by Golden Chains, weighing 400 Pound weight; two others with Silver Chains, the rest of Brass, besides 500 Horses, the Saddles and

Bridles

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Bridles whereof were beset all over with Diamonds, Pearls and Rubies. Mr. John Twiss has given the World an

exact account of the Treasury of King Accabaar.

Baldeus.

# CHAP. V.

*The Title of the Great Mogul, and of the Kings of Achem and Siam. The Origin of Mahomet; some of his pretended Miracles, Alcoran, &c.*

IT is most surprizing to understand what God-like Titles the Subjects of the Great Mogul bestow upon their Lord and Master! How all his Words are look'd upon as Oracles, and all his Actions receiv'd with a profound Amazement! Hence it is that the vulgar sort are really of opinion, that certain Rays dart from his Head and Turbant, which admit not of the near approach of indifferent Persons; and that they scarce ever mention his Name without the additional Titles of the Most Potent upon Earth, Lord of the World, Great Monarch, The most exalted Majesty, The brightest of Princes among the Great Ones, &c. 'Tis true, most of the Indian Kings affect most magnificent, or rather vainglorious Titles; but the Kings of Achem and Siam seem to outvie all the rest in this point: The first styles himself 'King of the World, created by God, whose Body shines like the Sun at Noon-day: A King unto whom God has given the Lustre of Full-Moon; a King chosen by God, a King perfect as the North-star, King of Kings, of the Posterity of Alexander the Great; a King before whom all other Kings must bow their Heads, and pay Homage; a King as wise as a round Globe, and happy like the Sea; a King who is God's Slave and Servant; who sees God, and lets the World know the Justice of God; a Protector of God's Justice, a King blessed by God, a King who covers the Iniquities of Men, and forgives their Offences; a King, under whose Shade Slaves seek for shelter; a King perfect and infallible in his Councils; a King and Benefactor to his People; a just King, who maintains God's Justice; the most beneficial King upon Earth, the Soles of whose Feet emit a most odoriferous Scent, beyond all other Kings; a King whom God has blessed with his Gold Mines, whose Eyes are as bright as the Morning Star: A King who is Master of many Elephants of all sorts: A King unto whom God has given Riches to a

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dorn his Elephants with Gold and precious Stones; besides a great number of Elephants of War, armed with Iron Teeth and Copper Shoes: A King upon whom God has bestowed Horses with golden Harnesses beset with precious Stones, and many thousand Horses for War; the choicest Stone-horses of Arabia, Turkey, Catti, and Balacki: A King whose Territories extend from the South to North: A King who bestows his Favours upon all that love him, and rejoices such as are disturbed in Mind: A King who has in his custody every thing that God has created; A King whom God has placed above all things, to rule, and to shew the Lustre of the Throne of Achem.

The King of Siam goes still beyond it, as may be seen by his Letter written 1636. to the late Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry.

"THIS is a Golden Letter of Friendship and Confederacy, replenish'd with the Brightness of God, the most Excellent, comprehending all that is to be known; the most fortunate above what is to be found by Men; the best and the most secure in Heaven, Earth, and in Hell; the most magnificent, delicious, and most agreeable Words; the Glory and irresistible Virtue whereof pass all over the Earth, with the same Vigor, as if thro God's Power the Dead were revived from their Graves, and purify'd from all their Iniquities, to the surprise, not only of the Priests, but also of Merchants, and all the servile sort of Mankind. For what King can compare with Me, who am the most Potent, most Illustrious and Invincible? The Master of 100 Crowns, adorn'd with nine sorts of precious Stones: Supreme Lord (we pass by some blasphemous Expressions) of the vast and most noble Kingdom of Siam; the Brightness of the most beautiful City of India, the

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"Capital City of the World, the Streets whereof are crowded daily with People; a City adorned with all the Beauties of the World, and irrigated with delicious Brooks; whose Lord has a Palace of Gold and precious Stones; a Master of gilded Thrones, of the white, red, and round-tail'd Elephants, which three sorts God has not bestowed upon any other Kings; a Divine Lord, in whose Territories is deposited the Victorious Sword, and who resembles the God of War with four Arms.

The Mogul's Court.

But to return to the Great Mogul and his Court: The Persian Language is the Court Language there, tho besides this there are at least three other Languages used throughout his Territories. The chief Lords of his Courts have their certain monthly Salaries allotted them, out of which they are obliged to maintain a certain number of Horses; among these are four who maintain 12000 Horses each (the King's Sons entertain 15000 Horses) others 1000, others 100, in proportion to their Salaries; the whole number of Horses maintained by his Courtiers, being computed at 100000 Horses.

The Mogul changes his Clothes every day for new ones, which he bestows upon his Courtiers. The Mogul entertains certain Officers of Quality, call'd *Nababes*, at *Suratte* and other places, whose business is, to enter upon Treaties with Foreigners, and to keep the Roads free from Robbers, by punishing them with the utmost Severity. The Mogul has also a laudable custom, to lay up vast Sums of Money and Provisions in certain places, to be reserved for necessitous Occasions. He appears three times a day, and sits in Council, from seven till nine in the Evening.

Religion.

The Moguls profess the Mahometan Religion, but are no great Zealots in it, as *Atbanasius Kircher* has well observed in *Geld Edim Mahomet*, the tenth of the Moguls descended from the Great *Tamerlan* the first, who call'd the Jesuits into his Empire; and their continual Debaucheries in strong Liquor (directly contrary to the Law of Mahomet) is an infallible sign of their indifferency in point of Religion: Besides, that throughout all the Empire they are not near so well versed in the *Alcoran*, and the Law of Mahomet, as the Africans, those of *Fez* and *Morocco*, &c. Notwithstanding all their Ignorance, this accursed Doctrine has spread it self within fifty or sixty Years, from hence all over the Isles of *Java*,

*Borneo*, and *Celebes*, besides divers other Countries in those parts.

The Mahometans are obliged to pray five times every day, viz. in the morning, at noon, in the afternoon, after Sun-set, and at midnight; certain People being appointed, who from the Steeples of the Mosques, exhort them to their Prayers, by crying *Lailla illa illa, Mahomed Reful Lalla*: when they are going to pray, they stand upright upon a Carpet spread upon the ground, holding both their Hands to their Ears; sometimes bowing towards the ground, sometimes standing upright again. The *Alcoran* is the Law Book of the Mahometans, containing 114 Chapters, being a mixture of the Jewish and Christian Doctrine. Mahomet flourished about the Year of Christ 600, and died 632. His Companion was one *Sergius* an *Arian*. The Father of Mahomet was one *Abdalla*, and his Mother *Emine*, descended of the illustrious Family of the *Koresbites*.

Mahomet first served in the Wars under the Emperor *Heracius*, and afterwards served a Merchant; after whose death he married *Chadiga* a rich Widow; and being addicted to Enthusiasm, he and his Companion *Sergius* compiled the *Alcoran*, pretending that he kept correspondence with the Arch-Angel *Gabriel*, who in his Trances (which were nothing but Epileptic Fits) had revealed to him these Secrets. He was born at *Mecca*, but being forced from thence fled to *Medina*, from which time the Mahometans take their Epoch, and call it *Medina Ahnabi*, or the City of the Great Prophet. His Doctrine was first received by his Wife *Chadiga*, and his Servant *Seydin*; afterwards by *Hali*, *Abubeker*, *Omar*, *Otman*, and others his Followers, who were called *Caliphs*. The Persians prefer *Hali* before Mahomet, and the Turks, *Omar*. *Abubeker* reign'd two Years, *Omar* ten Years; it is he who regulated the *Alcoran*, and instituted the Fast in the Month *Rammedan*. *Otman* reign'd 12 Years, and conquered *Mauritania* and *Cyprus*. *Hali* was by Mahomet appointed his Successor; but the other three having usurped the Kingdom, with the exclusion of *Hali*, this is the reason the Persians, who adhere to the last, abominate the three former.

The hatred between the Persians and Turks (tho both Mahometans) proceeds from the different Interpretations of the *Alcoran*, and certain Ceremonies relating to their Prayers, covering their Heads, &c.

## C H A P. VI.

Baldaw.

*The Feasts, Sabbath, and some other things belonging to the Mahometans; their Priests, Holy Orders, Manners and Customs.*

NOT to insist here upon the fabulous Trifles of *Mahomet's* Visions, contained in some parts of the *Alcoran*, we will proceed to give you a short Account of the most material Parts of the *Mahometan* Religion.

They commonly circumcise Boys and Girls at thirteen Years of Age, viz. so soon as they are able to say their Confessions; There is but one God, and Mahomet his Prophet. If a Jew turns Turk, he is not circumcised again, but only washed with Water. Their Washing, or Bathing, is performed upon a threefold occasion.

1. After they have eased Nature, or cohabited with their Wives.

2. When they are to go to the *Mosque*, or to read the *Alcoran*. And,

3. After they have committed some enormous Sins.

Their High Priest is call'd *Mufti*, in great esteem with the Grand Seignior, and a Member of his Privy Council. Next to him are the *Cadileghers*, or Provincial High Priests of *Europe*, *Natolia*, &c. These are followed by the *Cady*, *Scribes*, *Santoncs*, *Hoggy*, *Talijmans*, and *Deruises*.

The Sabbath of the *Mahometans* is on Friday, which they keep with the same strictness as the *Jews* do theirs on Saturday, at least with more devotion, as the Christians their Sunday. They have in each City, besides the other *Mosques*, one great *Mosque*, where they then assemble to perform their Devotion. Their Lent begins in February with the New Moon, and continues thirty days, with a great deal of severity, for they neither eat nor drink all the day long; but some make themselves amends at Night, tho the Zealots will not taste the least of Wine, or any other strong Liquor all that time, nor converse with their Wives. They are permitted to marry as many Wives as they please, tho the *Alcoran* allows no more than four Wives.

Their Churches are flat on the top, commonly built on a rising Ground, so as to be seen at a distance above the other Houses. They have within nothing but bare white Walls, without Pictures or Hangings; tho on some of their Tombs we see certain Passages engrav'd out of the

*Alcoran*. On the South-East of the *Mosque* stands the Pulpit made of Brick-work, about three steps from the Ground, from whence their Teachers say their publick Prayers, and explain the *Alcoran*. Their Great *Mosques* are generally adorn'd with two high Steeples, each having Stairs within from the bottom to the top. Their *Mosques* have scarce any Revenues belonging to them, except what the Priest makes by letting some few Chambers belonging to them: Many of them are built by charitable Persons, and some of these have a settled Income. It is further worth observation, that if a Jew will turn *Mahometan*, he must first own Christ, before they will receive him among the *Musselmens*.

They have many Ecclesiastical Orders among them, three whereof have no Possessions, or any other Propriety; and some pretend to such a degree of Purity, that they profess themselves born without manly Seed. Some make certain Vows, like the *Roman Catholick* Monks; some appear quite naked, others only cover their Privities. Some have vow'd perpetual Silence; some carry Water without Reward; some prick themselves with sharp-pointed Needles or Instruments; others carry a Ring of three pound weight in their Privy Members.

For the rest, they believe God a Corporeal Being, who is carried in a Throne by the Angels, and Christ to be only a Man, and Mahomet the Comforter mentioned by *John* 14. 16. They believe a third place besides Heaven and Hell, and therefore pray for the Dead; as also a General Judgment, but implicated in many fabulous Absurdities; for they tell you that two black Angels, one call'd *Munger*, the other *Quaregner*, will appear, the first with an Iron Club, the other with a large Fork in his hand; that every Man besides is to have two Angels to assist him; but if after all he cannot give a good account of himself, the Angel with the Club knocks him down, and so he is carried to Hell. And because they are of opinion that those Angels appear to them in their Graves, these are generally built hollow; whence also they often make the following Ejaculation: Good God, preserve us from the Interrogating Angel, from

from the Pain of the Grave, and from the *Baldew. Evil Way*. They add many fabulous things concerning the Angel *Adriel*, who at the approach of the day of Judgment, is to kill all living things, and to hang himself at last, till after forty Years the Angel *Seraphiel* shall waken the Souls; and such-like Fables too long to be inserted here.

*Paradise.* Concerning Beatitude, and the Paradise, they believe it consists in a continued enjoyment of Pleasures there. They divide it into seven different Apartments; one whereof is of Gold, the second of Silver, another of Pearls, precious Stones, and so forth. Here they are to pass their time in Pleasures, with certain most beautiful Women, created for that purpose by God, whilst their Wives shall look through a Grate, and be Spectators of the Enjoyments of their Husbands with these most beautiful Women, who shall not be subject to the monthly times, or Child-bearing, and the Men as vigorous as *Mahomet* himself, who gloried in his having outdone by double the number *Ovid* himself; *Et memini, numeros sustinuisse novem*. They say they shall drink in Paradise of the Spring of *Alcazar* mentioned by *Mahomet*; they shall be delighted with the scent of the most odoriferous Citrons, which shall produce most beautiful Virgins that shall embrace the *Musfulmans*, and delight them with their Charms for fifty Years together: and more such like Notions tending to elevate the Thoughts with imaginary corporeal Pleasures to be enjoy'd in the next World, by such as have observ'd the following Rules in their life-time, which they reckon absolutely requisite to attain to this Bliss.

*Rules to attain Eternal Bliss.* To believe one God, and *Mahomet* his Prophet, and a Day of Judgment; to pray at certain times; to wash, bow, and observe certain other Ceremonies in praying: To pay the Tithes, to fast in the Month *Rammedan*; to go on Pilgrimage to *Mecca*; to abstain from Extortions, Wine, and Hogs-flesh, because they believe the Hogs to have been progenerated out of the Elephants and Mens Dung in the Ark of *Noah*. They are also forbid not to use Tables nor Dice, not to swear by God, not to be rash in our Judgment, or deceive a Brother either in publick or private; not to part from a virtuous Wife; not to be too forward to object and discover the Faults of a Brother, or to despise him; not to set the Fear of God and his Punishment out of our Eyes, or to calumniate our Neigh-

bour, and spread what is heard upon slight Reports. On the other hand, they are enjoined to be thankful for God's Mercy; to be patient in Adversities, and not to despair of God's Mercy; and to believe that whatever happens to us does not come by chance (for the *Mahometans* maintain strongly God's Providence) not to deny a Brother's Request out of Avaritiously, not to raise God's Anger out of love to his Creatures, or to prefer a Temporal Interest before that which is to come: In all Ghostly Affairs to have a respect to him that is above us, and in Temporal Matters to those that are below us: Not to enter into any Association with the Devils; to refrain from Vanity, allow Orphans and Widows their own; to instruct their Children in such things as relate to the Divine Service; to do good to your Neighbour, not to curse any of God's Creatures, but to praise him in his Works; to read the *Alcoran* (except when you are unclean) to appear at the publick Congregations, and to do as you would be done by. It is further their opinion, that the Souls of the Brutes are likewise to be reviv'd and join'd with their Bodies.

In relation to their Manners and Customs, I will begin here with the Character given them by a Person of extraordinary Learning, viz. That in their whole Behaviour they are declar'd Enemies to Vanity, as well in their Words and Deeds as in their Clothing, which makes them look upon many of us Christians like Monks, who are apt to imitate every thing they see; whereas the Turks of both Sexes, young and old, rich or poor, are as regular and decent in their Habits, as if they belong'd to one certain Order; and are so careful in the Education of their Youth, that their School-Masters prescribe every day a certain part of the *Alcoran*, which they learn by heart, and so in two years time pass through the whole *Alcoran*.

In their Marriages, and the tokens of Marriageableness and Virginity, they observe the following Rules: As soon as the monthly Times begin to appear, they carry the Maiden for seven days together, adorn'd with Flowers, and as it were in Triumph, to the next Brook, during which time she is to eat nothing but what comes from the Coco-tree. The *Portugueses* (who perhaps have got it from the *Moors*) publish the Marriageableness of their Daughters by the sound of Trumpets, and invite their next Relations to a Feast. When a Marriage is

*Their Marriages.*

to be concluded for the Dowry, the Agreement, Guardians, the Day for is appointed: Horic-back a Flowers, und with his next Streets unde Hautboys, D Instruments, having stay'd and entertain and the thro other small into the Hou Chair rais'd f and cover'd w brought to h tions, in the Judg of the P no Marriage i read certain Bridegroom Divorce from to restore her Priest gives are married, at that time *Sirack* to the cels, tho affe ding for thr days togethe pleasure and

*Divorce.*

However among the (ians) which purliant to Dowry, whic thing else b A Man is at case of Adul so much as score. Whe her Husband Daughters a Sons to the next mornin lain with his gin, publick of thorough honour of her Mother haste Chamber, and Virginity in that purpose Bridegroom her at the C Maiden's Vir are not appa with less For

to be concluded, they bargain very hard for the Dowry; but this being past, and the Agreement made betwixt the Parents, Guardians, or other nearest Relations, the Day for the Consummation thereof is appointed: then the Bridegroom on Horse-back adorn'd with sweet-scented Flowers, under two Umbrello's, passes with his next Friends through the chiefest Streets under the sound of Trumpets, Hautboys, Drums, and other such like Instruments, to the Bride's House, where having stay'd half an hour at the door, and entertain'd his Bride with the Musick and the throwing of some Squibs, and other small Fireworks, he is admitted into the House; and being seated upon a Chair raised somewhat from the ground, and cover'd with Tapestry, the Bride is brought to him by her Parents and Relations, in the presence of a Priest and the Judge of the Place (without whose Consent no Marriage is valid): The Priest having read certain Passages out of a Book, the Bridegroom swears, that in case of a Divorce from his Wife, he will be ready to restore her Dowry; which done, the Priest gives the Benedictions, and they are married, the whole being concluded at that time with a Present of *Betel* and *Arack* to the Guests, yet not to any excess, tho afterwards they keep the Wedding for three, four, six, seven or eight days together, according to every ones pleasure and ability.

However Divorces are very frequent among the *Moors* (or *Indian Mahometans*) which is soon done, if the Husband pursuant to his Promise returns the Dowry, which consists commonly in nothing else but the Woman's Apparel. A Man is at liberty to kill his Wife in case of Adultery, but a Woman may not so much as sue a Divorce upon the same score. When a Woman is divorced from her Husband, she takes generally her Daughters along with her, leaving the Sons to the Husband's disposal. The next morning after the Bridegroom has lain with his Bride, and found her a Virgin, publick Proclamation is made throughout the whole Town (for the honour of her Parents) when the Bride's Mother hastening to her Daughter's Bed-Chamber, and finding the usual tokens of Virginity in the Sheets or Clothes laid for that purpose, she carries them to the Bridegroom's Parents, who rejoice with her at the Conquest of their Son over the Maiden's Virginity. But if these Tokens are not apparent, matters are carried off with less Pomp and more Silence.

The *Mahometans* in general are Enemies to Incest, so that even the Grand Signior's Son after the death of his Father never touches his Concubines, but shuts them up in a certain Castle; on the other hand, they are extremely addicted not only to Lust, but also to Sodomy it self, and Combination with Brutes. There are Instances, that two Prostitutes in *Persia* have been condemned, one to be occupied by a Horse, the other by an Ass; the first died, but the second escap'd with Life.

The *Moors* feed generally upon Rice instead of Bread, which is well tasted here, and grows in great plenty in *Bengale*, and divers other Provinces; the same is in much request throughout the *Indies*, in *China*, *Japan*, in the Isles of *Formosa*, *Javia*, *Celebes*, *Borneo*, *Ceylon*, in *Malabar*, and other places, tho *Japan* and *Bengale* produce likewise very good Wheat. The poorer sort, who can't get above 4 or 5 d. a day to maintain themselves, are forc'd to be contented with *Kizery* (a mixture of Beanflower and Rice) boil'd in Water. Their Habitations are also very low and mean, made of Clay, and their Household-stuff suitable to their Houses; for besides a few Vessels of Brass, and the two Bedsteads where the Man and Wife lie (who never sleep together) there is nothing to be seen there, they having neither Benches nor Chairs, but only Mats to sit upon. In some places they use Cording instead of Wood for Fuel: But the Houses of People of fashion are spacious, and divided into many Apartments, flat on the top, whereupon they take the cool Air in the Evening. They are very splendid in their Entertainments, Wives and Houses, but especially in Gold and Silver Plate.

Their Clothing is very grave, and they scarce ever change the fashion thereof; the Men wear Coats of Callico, or rich Tissues and Silks; they are strait above, close to the Body, fastened with a Girdle round the Waste, and reach down to the Knees: their Breeches are wide above, and narrow at the bottom, reaching down to the Legs, and trimm'd with Fringes; their Shoes are of gilt Leather, which they turn down at the heels, for the conveniency of throwing them off upon occasion. When they salute one another, they touch the Turbant with the Hand only, but never move them as we do our Hats. They are girt about their Loins with a Girdle of some fine Stuff, over which they wear another of fine Linen, and a broad Dagger on the left side.

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*Baldern.*  
The Mahometans are Enemies to Incest, but addicted to Sodomy.

Their Food.

Habitations.

Their Clothing.



*Baldæus.* The Ornament of the Women consists chiefly in Bracelets about their Arms and Feet, Ear-pendants, Nose-rings, and other Jewels; when they are going abroad, they cover their Heads with a Veil, with several hair Locks twisted together, hanging down their backs.

*Their Burials.*

They observe certain peculiar Customs in their Burials; for no sooner is the Breath out of the Body, but their Wives, Children and Neighbours make a most lamentable Outcry, asking ever and anon the Deceased, what made him die, whether he wanted any thing in his life-time? This they continue for three days successively; then they invite his Friends to a Feast in memory of the Deceased, whose Corps being in the mean while well washed, and sow'd up in some white Stuff, with all sorts of odoriferous Drugs, is laid upon a Bier, and accompanied by three Priests (who sing and read all the way) carried by ten or twelve Persons to the Grave: here they lay him upon his right side, with the Feet to the South, the Head to the North, and the Face to

the West. This done, they lay Boards over the whole Corps to keep the Earth from touching it; and whilst they are filling up the Grave, the Standers-by mutter out certain Prayers, and then return to the House of the Deceased, with the Priests, who for several days after pray for his Soul, shorter or longer, according as they are able to pay them. During this time no Fire must be seen in the House, what Victuals they use being dress'd without doors. Upon the Grave they lay two Stones, one at the Head, and another at the Feet, the Interstice being of the same length with the dead Corps underneath it: upon these the Priests read certain Chapters out of the *Alcoran*, and distribute some Bread among the Poor: Upon the same at the Head, they set sometimes a Turbant, and if a Female be buried there, a kind of a Bonnet. Thus much of the *Mahometan* Subjects of the *Great Mogul*; of the Idolatry of the *Gentives* we shall have occasion to treat at large in the third Book.

## CHAP. VII.

*A Description of Diu. A Sea-Engagement of the Portugueses with Jazy and Hocenus. The singular Bravery of Laurence d'Almeida, and Nonnius Vasques Pereria. The Harbour of Diu taken by the Portugueses. The Flight of Jazy and Hocenus. Moorish Colours sent to Portugal.*

AT the uttermost Southern Point of *Guswarie* lies the City of *Diu*, the Draught whereof you see here annexed, where the *Portugueses* have three strong Forts. It's commonly call'd *Diu*, tho its right Name is believ'd to be *Tivo*, i. e. an Isle, in the *Malabar* Language, as may be seen in the Names of *Naynativo*, *Anchativo*, *Maltivo*, or the *Maldive* Islands, which being in all sixty in number, extend from the Cape *Commoryn* from the 7 deg. of Northern Latitude, to the third deg. of Southern Latitude, a Tract of 140 or 150 *German* Leagues.

*Origin of Diu.*

As to the Origin of *Diu*, they relate, that one *Jazy*, a Native of *Sarmatia*, did settle in this Island; but being taken Prisoner and made a Slave by the *Mahometans* in these parts, he chang'd the Christian Religion for that of the *Turks*, and being sold into *Cambaja*, was at last for his singular dexterity in managing the Bow and Arrow, prefer'd to the Service of *K. Madrasakoon* the Father of *K. Mamudius*. *Jazy*, to give a Proof of his Skill,

shooting one day a certain Bird of Prey flying, he gain'd thereby so much Credit, that the King not long after gave him his liberty, and restor'd to him the Isle of *Diu*.

This Isle, which at that time had nothing to shew but the Ruins and miserable Remnants of a once flourishing City, began to recover part of its former Splendor under *Jazy*, by reason of its convenient Situation, betwixt the *Arabian* Shoar, and the Kingdom of *Decan*. Having provided for the security of the place, by erecting divers Forts and other Fortifications, and his Wealth increasing in a few years, he began to equip a Fleet, in order to attack his Enemies Ships at Sea. *Hocenus* (otherwise named *Amiraxem*) a *Persian* by Birth, and Commander in chief of the Ships that were to come from *Egypt* into the *Indies*, having lately had a smart Engagement with the *Portugueses*, *Lawrence* and *Francis d'Almeida*, and coming that way, *Jazy* thought fit to enter into a Contederacy with





El. enters  
from a Com-  
federacy  
with Ho-  
cenus.

The Portu-  
guese  
Fleet comes  
to Chaul.

with him, which was done accordingly: Whilst they were consulting by what means best to annoy their Enemies with their joint Fleets, News was brought, that *Lawrence d'Almeida* was with a few Ships come to an Anchor before *Chaul*, and had landed his Men (as being quite ignorant of the arrival of the *Egyptian* Fleet in those parts.) One *Nizamaluc* reign'd at that time at *Chaul*, for the great Persons of *Decan* having imprison'd their King, had divided his Kingdom among themselves, whereof this part was fallen to his share. *Nizamaluc*, tho no great Friend to the Christians, yet for Interest sake had order'd his Subjects to maintain a good Correspondence with the *Portuguese* trafficking in those parts; which *Almeida* being not ignorant of, he thought he might stay here with safety enough, till he had the opportunity of convoying the *Portuguese* Merchant Ships to *Cochin*. It was indeed rumour'd abroad, that the *Egyptian* Fleet had been seen on that Coast; but the *Portuguese* imagining that the same might be occasion'd by the arrival of certain Ships coming about that time of the year from *Mocha*, they made no great account of it: One of the

Ship's Crew at length espy'd a considerable Fleet from the top of the Main-mast, but could not discern their Strength, till at last they began to suspect the truth; for *Hocenus* was advancing that way, and *Jazy* preparing to follow him, in order to attack the *Portuguese*. Certain Intelligence being at last brought to *Almeida*, that the Enemy was at hand, he order'd his Men aboard, which was scarce done when they saw the *Egyptians* advancing against them. These *Barbarians* had flatter'd themselves with hopes to surprize the *Portuguese*, but these having just had time enough to put themselves in a good posture of Defence, receiv'd their Enemies so warmly, that they thought fit to stay for the arrival of *Jazy*; however, they charged one another (but at a distance) all that day, but towards night *Hocenus* retreated with his Vessels to the other Bank of the River among the Sands, for his greater Security's sake.

The Night being spent on the *Portu- The Por-  
guese* side in preparing for the Combat *tu* *guese*  
against next day, when *Almeida* being *engage* *Ho-  
ignorant of the Confederacy betwixt Ho-  
cenus* and *Jazy*, attack'd the first with

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great fury, in hopes of boarding the *Baldus*, Egyptian Ships; but not being able to come close enough up with them by reason of the Sands, he was forc'd to rest satisfied with plying them with his Cannon, which he did all the day long, notwithstanding the Enemy were much stronger in Ships and Men. The Engagement was very hot, *Laurence d'Almeyda* being himself wounded twice with an Arrow: The Combat continued thus with considerable loss on both sides, till towards night, *Jazy* came to the Relief of the Egyptians with 40 Ships, but not daring to engage with the Portuguese, came to an Anchor at the Entrance of the River, to be nearer to *Hocenus* in order to join with him the next day.

Advices of  
the Portu-  
gueses to  
their Ad-  
miral.

Is rejected.

The Portu-  
guese Ad-  
miral cast  
upon a  
Rock.

His Bra-  
very.

Is wound-  
ed.

The Portuguese being somewhat moved at this unexpected fight, represented to their Admiral *Almeyda*, that having gain'd sufficient Honour in the yesterday's Engagement, they ought now to consult Prudence, and to endeavour to bring their Ships out of the Harbour in the night time into the open Sea. *Almeyda* did not disapprove the Advice of his Sea-Commanders, but as he was of a haughty Temper, so he could not resolve to steal away by night, but determin'd to make the best of his way to-morrow by day-light; with this Resolution he order'd all his Ships, as well Merchants as others, to be ready to set sail with the first Tide by break of day. The Moors no sooner perceiv'd his Intention, but they made towards them in order to intercept their Passage; in this Engagement a Bullet happening to strike through the Portuguese Admiral next to the Rudder, she took much Water, and was cast upon the Rocks, whence she could not be got off: The Portuguese Commanders seeing the impossibility of saving the Ship, sent a Boat to the Admiral, desiring him to save his Person, and preserve himself for another occasion; but in vain, for he told them, that he would never be guilty of such a piece of Treachery, as to leave those who had hitherto been his Companions in the Danger, in the lurch. Accordingly he animated his Men both with his Words and Example to defend themselves to the utmost extremity; being thus animated by their Admiral, they fought like Lions, rejecting all Proposals offer'd them by the Enemy, resolving either to save the Ship, or die in the defence thereof.

In the mean while *Almeyda* having one of his Thighs shot off by a Bullet, lost however not his wonted Courage, but

ordering his Men to place him upon a Chair near the Main-mast, he there gave his Orders as occasion requir'd; but whilst he was busy in encouraging his Men, another unfortunate Ball took away part of his Breast and Ribs, so that his Entrails falling out he gave up the Ghost immediately, and his dead Carcase was carried below Deck immediately. This was the end of the Brave *Almeyda*, who had signalized himself so often by his Bravery in the Service of his King and Country.

And kill'd.

There were besides him two other brave Fellows, tho much inferior in Rank, whose Names do well deserve a place in this History; one was *Laurentius Frerius Catus*, a Servant to the deceased Admiral, who being wounded with an Arrow in one of his Eyes, threw himself notwithstanding this upon his Master's Body, and when he saw the Moors enter the Ship, fell in pell-mell among them, and kill'd several of them with his Sword before they could dispatch him. The other was a Sailor, named *Andrew Van Kertua*, who standing on the top of the Main-mast, and being wounded by a Musquet-Ball in his Shoulder, and having before lost the use of his Right-hand, defended himself from thence with his left hand for two whole days against those Barbarians, till at length they promised him his Life, upon which he surrender'd, and afterwards return'd safely into Portugal, where he was honourably rewarded for his Bravery.

The taking of the Admiral's Ship of the Portuguese, tho it cost the Barbarians 600 Men (140 being lost on the Christians side) yet occasion'd no small joy in their Fleet; as on the other hand, the loss thereof soon reach'd to *Cochin* by such Ships as were fled thither: However the Portuguese were so far from being dismay'd thereat, that resolving to be reveng'd upon those Barbarians, they left no stone unturn'd to gather a more formidable Strength at Sea; and *Albuquerque* after having settled matters at *Socotora* (an Isle at the entrance of the Red-Sea) did considerable mischief to the Moors near *Ormus*, as *Laurence d'Almeyda* (the Father of the Admiral lately kill'd) reveng'd himself for the Death of his Son, by the taking of *Dabul*, *Diu* and *Panane*, whereof we shall give you a more ample account anon.

For *Emanuel* King of Portugal, being inform'd concerning the convenient Situation of the Harbour of *Diu*, sent his Orders

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They at-  
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Moors  
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the Har-  
bour.

10 Men  
kill'd by  
one Bullet.

Nonius  
wounded.

Hocenus  
flies.

Orders to *Sequeria* to build a Fortrefs there, cost it what it would. Accordingly *Francis d'Almeyda*, after the taking of *Dabul*, steer'd his course for the Harbour of *Diu*. *Hocenus* was for engaging the *Portugueses* without the Harbour; but at the perswasion of *Jazy* laid aside that Design, it being thought much more expedient to expect the coming of the Christians with their joint Forces, and to annoy them at their approach both by Sea and Land; for which purpose they had besides the *Egyptian* Ships and those of *Diu* receiv'd 80 Brigantines of *Calecut*, and had planted their Cannon at convenient distances along the shore. The *Portuguese* Admiral was somewhat surpriz'd to see the Enemy keep so close beyond expectation; yet interpreting the same as a good Omen of his future Victory, he spent the remainder of the day in viewing the Posture of the Enemy, and Consultations what was best to be done.

He having declar'd his Resolution of attacking the Admiral's Ship of the *Egyptians*, aboard of which was *Hocenus*, the same was approved; but he desir'd not to expose his Person at this critical juncture, but to commit the management of the Design to *Nonnius Vasques Pereria*: Accordingly, every thing being got in readiness, they enter'd the Harbour the next morning with the first Tide, and a strong Sea-Wind, *Nonnius* leading the Van in his Ship with 200 chosen Men, being follow'd by the Admiral *d'Almeyda* to protect and cover his Rear. *Nonnius* advanced bravely under the thundering Noise of the Cannon (by which ten Seamen that were furling the Sails were kill'd at once) and making his way through the midst of the *Barbarians*, at last board'd *Hocenus* in his Ship, tho not without great slaughter on both sides, he himself having the misfortune to be wounded in the Throat by an Arrow, of which he died three days after.

The *Portugueses* not being dismay'd at the disaster of their Commander, but inflam'd with Revenge, redoubled their Fury, which the *Barbarians* being no longer able to withstand, they gave all over for lost, *Hocenus* himself narrowly escaping in a Boat to the shore, and (being some-

what diffident of *Jazy*) took Horse immediately, in order to fly to the King of *Baldem*. *Cambaja*, where he was well receiv'd. Those of *Calecut* seeing the best of their Brigantines ruin'd by the Enemy's Shot, thought it their best way to save themselves with the lightest over the Sands, and two of *Hocenus* his Gallies were carried off by *Roderic Soares*; many of the *Barbarians* leap'd into the Sea, where they lost their Lives, the rest got ashore, and dispersed, *Jazy* not being able to stop their flight.

There was as yet remaining the Ship of *Jazy*, a Vessel of a vast Bulk, appearing like a Castle well provided with Artillery and Men, being besides this cover'd with Oxes Hides to keep off the Arrows, and hinder the Enemy from boarding by its slipperiness: The *Portugueses* made several attempts to master it, but being as often repulsed, at last sunk her with their Cannon. The loss of the *Barbarians* was computed at 3000 Men, the *Portugueses* had only 30 kill'd, but 300 wounded. The *Portugueses* relate, that *Nonnius* his Ship being very old, yet held out very well during the Combat, but immediately after was found leaky in many places; most of the *Mamaluques* or *Egyptians* were slain in this Engagement. How slenderly the *Portugueses* were provided with all manner of Necessaries, may be guessed from hence, that when *Nonnius* his Wound was to be dress'd, there was no Linen in the Ship to do it with, but they were forc'd to tear a Shirt for that purpose. Certain it is that the *Portugueses* can make harder shift than most other Nations, a thing of great consequence in time of War, Plenty and Luxury being often the ruin of the best Armies. The Booty got by the *Portugueses* in this Engagement was considerable; for besides four War-ships, and as many Merchant-Men, with their Artillery, they got a considerable quantity of Gold, Silver and precious Stuffs and Cloths, all which was given a Prey to the Soldiers and Ships Crew: Three of the *Sultan's* Colours were sent to *Portugal* to be preserv'd there in memory of so remarkable a Victory; which made an ample amends to the *Portugueses* for the loss they had sustain'd some time before near *Chaul*.

Baldæus.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Peace made with Jazy. Ferdinand Coutinho made Viceroy. Differences arisen betwixt Almeyda and Albuquerque. The Portugueses take Diu, which is re fortified by Jazy. Nonnius goes to Diu. The Isle Betel taken. Saldania surprizes Goga.*

Jazy sues  
for Peace.

Jazy thought it now time to sue for Peace, to obtain which he was not sparing in his Promises, to endeavour to engage all the Neighbouring Princes into the Interest of Portugal; so the Peace was concluded under condition that he should surrender all the remaining Egyptian Ships to the Portugueses, release the Prisoners taken near Chaul, and provide their Fleet with all manner of Necessaries. Jazy being very willing, or rather necessitated, to comply with the Conditions, the Portugueses thought fit not to attempt anything further against Diu for that time, as being unwilling to embroil themselves with the King of Cambaja. Thus Almeyda retir'd victorious to Cochim, having paid to Nizamaluc, as he pass'd that way, the usual Presents that were in Arrears.

Almeyda  
is succeeded  
by Ferdinand  
Coutinho.

Differences  
betwixt  
Almeyda  
and Albuquerque.

But Almeyda did not long enjoy the fruits of his late Victory, for Ferdinand Coutinho a Person of Quality, was soon after sent with 15 Ships and 3000 Men to join with Albuquerque in order to attack the Moors, and especially the City of Calecut; for some Differences being arisen betwixt Almeyda and Albuquerque, which were fomented by some malicious Persons, the King of Portugal thought he could pitch upon no better Expedient to prevent the ill Consequences thereof, than by sending Coutinho to succeed Almeyda, who preferring the King's Interest before his private Interest, quietly surrendred his Charge, and at the same time was reconcil'd to Albuquerque, after he had managed the Government of the Indies with more than ordinary Conduct and Wisdom; a Person worthy of a much better Fortune than what happen'd to him afterwards. For in his return to Portugal having occasion to touch at the Cape of good Hope, to take in some fresh Provisions, some of his Men being got ashore, and falling into Differences with some of the Natives about the exchange of their Commodities, Almeyda running thither with Sword in hand, to see what was the matter, the Natives began to fall upon him and his Men; and being reinforced with fresh Numbers, set so hard upon the Portugueses, that they were

The Death  
of Almeyda.

not able to get to their Ships without fighting their way through them, which they did with a great deal of Bravery, but alas! not without the loss of their Commander Almeyda (who was run through the Body with a Stick pointed at the end) and twelve more of their best Soldiers; this was the unfortunate end of this great Man, so famous for his great Achievements both in Europe and Asia, being forc'd to end his days upon the shore of Africa, which robb'd him both of the Rewards due to his Services, and even of a Christian Sepulture.

We told you before, that the Portugueses thought fit not to attempt any thing further against Diu; it is now time to shew you what further measures were taken to bring about their design to erect a Fort in that Island. They had so far agreed the matter with the King of Cambaja, that he favour'd their Intentions, or at least was not against them; but Jazy not only us'd all his Endeavours at Court to obstruct the design of the Portugueses, but also prepar'd every thing for a vigorous Resistance in case of need. In the mean while he was not sparing in fair Words or Promises, nay even in Deeds, to the Portugueses; for no sooner arriv'd Sequeria at Diu from Ormu, but he regal'd the Fleet with fresh Provisions, and the Officers with Presents, with a great many Protestations of Friendship to the Crown of Portugal: but when Sequeria began to talk to Jazy concerning the intended Fort, he declin'd the matter, alledging that it lay not alone in his power, and therefore they must obtain the King of Cambaja's Consent, in which he would assist them with all his Interest.

Sequeria was not so stupid as not to smell the Rat, but thinking it best to repay him in his own coin, he dissembl'd the matter, and returning his Compliments with much Civility, he prepar'd underhand for War; but Jazy who had a watchful Eye upon all his Actions, knew so well how to improve his time, and provide for his Security, that Sequeria thought it most advisable to delay his Project

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Project till the next year, against which time he expected some considerable Reinforcement.

*Sequeria* was no sooner departed, but *Jazy* imbrac'd this opportunity of strengthening himself on all sides; he added several new Works to the place, and erected a Castle in the midst of the Entrance of the Harbour, and betwixt that and the City, defended it with a strong Chain: He kept several Ships loaden with Ballast ready to be sunk upon occasion, to stop up the Passage on the other side, and order'd vast pieces of Stones and Rocks to be sunk under the Walls, to prevent the *Portugueses* Gallies from approaching near to them: He also for the better Defence of the Harbour hir'd 180 Brigantines, and some Merchant-men, man'd with *Arabians*, *Perfians* and *Turks* (profess'd Enemies of the Christians) leaving in the mean while no stone unturn'd to thwart the design'd Project of the *Portugueses* at the Court of the King of *Cambaja*.

Neither were the *Portugueses* idle on their side, but having made what Preparations they thought fit for such an Undertaking, *Nonnius Acunia* the chief Commander of the *Portugueses* in the *Indies*, set forward in order to put it in Execution: But being resolv'd to make use both of Cunning and Force at the same time, he had by Presents engag'd several bold and cunning Fellows, who were to pass to *Diu* in the Quality and Habit of Merchants, but in effect to serve for Spies, and to give notice of what they thought worth his knowledg. Thus prepar'd, the time and place of the Rendezvous of the whole Fleet being appointed at *Chaul*, he set sail from thence with 300 Sail great and small, well provided with Artillery and Ammunition, having aboard 3000 *Portugueses*, as many *Malabars*, and 2000 *Canarines*, for *Dabul*, a small City in the Confines of *Cambaja*; where the *Portugueses*, being much animated by the Presence and Speech of a certain *Franciscan* Frier, named *Anthony Petron*, declar'd that they would not desist, till they had forced the *Barbarians* from their strong Holds in those parts. But finding the Place deserted by its Inhabitants, they steer'd their course towards *Betel* (a small rocky Isle not above a League in compass, separated from the Continent only by a narrow Strait) about 80 Leagues from *Diu*. The Situation of this Isle being such, by reason of the Rocks which inclose the Isle near the shore, that it might easily be made defensible by an indifferent Force, the King of *Cambaja* had not

long before sent thither a certain Commander, a *Turk* by Birth, with 2000 Soldiers, and 1000 Workmen, to erect certain Fortifications there; but having not had sufficient time to bring them into such a condition as to be able to resist such a Force as this, they thought it their safest way to capitulate.

The Commander in chief (having obtain'd a Passport for that purpose) had an Interview with the *Portuguese* General, offering to surrender the Isle, under condition that they might have liberty to depart with all their Baggage and Goods. *Nonnius* allow'd the first, but would not consent to their taking the least thing away with them, except what they had about them. This harsh Answer was no sooner known in the Isle, but they resolv'd to abide the utmost extremity, rather than comply with it. The King's Treasurer found means to have a Boat built, wherewith he transported all the King's Money and Goods to the Continent: Many of the Garison enraged with Revenge and Despair, brought all their Horses, best Moveables, Wives and Children together, and burnt them and themselves. There were about 700 left, most of them Votaries, resolv'd to die with Sword in hand: These like mad Men fell upon the *Portugueses* with more fury than effect; for the *Portuguese* General having repulsed them, attack'd the next night by the light of the Moon their Intrenchments with so much Vigor, that after a most obstinate Resistance (in which the *Turkish* Commander was kill'd) they left them to the *Portugueses*, some running to the Rocks, from whence they precipitated themselves into the Sea; others endeavouring to escape the Sword by hiding themselves in the hollowneses of the Rocks, but being discover'd, some of them were cut to pieces, the rest made Slaves. A certain *Moor* having nothing left but his Sword, and seeing his Comrade slain just by his side, and a *Portuguese* advancing with his Pike towards him, in order to kill him, ran desperately towards him, and thrusting himself upon the *Portuguese's* Lance, at the same time kill'd his Enemy with his Sword, so that they both died upon the spot.

The *Portugueses* lost in this Action about 17 Persons of Note, and had 150 wounded, many of whom died afterwards. *Nonnius* thought fit to tarry here eight days, in hopes of receiving some Intelligence from his Spies at *Diu*; this prov'd of great advantage to those of *Diu*, for in the mean while *Mustapha* and *Sophar*

*Baldau.*

*Betel begun to be fortified by the Car-bajans.*

*They offer to surrender upon Conditions.*

*A most desperate Resolution.*

*The Portugueses take the Isle.*

*Loss of the Portugueses.*



*Baldacus Aden* coming to an Anchor with 600 Turks and 1300 Arabians before *Diu*, the Inhabitants thereof (who before that time thought of nothing else than how to come to a good Composition) being encouraged by this Reinforcement, were resolv'd to venture all for their Defence. *Misfapha* was no sooner enter'd the City but he order'd the Women, Children, and other defenceless People to be sent out of the Town; the rest being muster'd were found 11,000 in number (without the Turks and Arabians) able to bear Arms; strict Watches were set in all places, to let nobody pass in or out of the Town without special licence; the Cannon were planted on the Walls, Mines dug and fill'd, Chains made across the Harbour, and the Entrance thereof defended by 73 well man'd Brigantines: To be short, nothing was omitted that was thought necessary to strengthen themselves either by Sea or Land.

Preparations at Diu.

*Nonnius Acunia* in the mean time tarried at *Betel*, in expectation of the Tidings he waited for from his Spies there; but these being too narrowly watch'd to send any Intelligence, he resolv'd to take his chance, and so set sail for *Diu*, where he cast his Anchor in hopes to come to a Parley with the Inhabitants: but he was not a little surpriz'd when he heard the Cannon from the Ramparts thunder among his Ships, and three Bullets that pass'd cross the Admiral's Ship, gave him sufficient warning, that it was not safe staying there long, which made him give immediate Orders for the whole Fleet to

weigh Anchor, and to secure themselves without the reach of the Cannon from the City. Being by this time sufficiently convinc'd (without consulting his Spies) that there were but little hopes of Peace or a Surrender, he took a full view of the Town, to see on what side it might be most conveniently attack'd; and finding more probability to succeed on the Harbour than on the Land-side (especially since he was better provided for a Sea than Land Enterprize) he order'd all his Ships and Artillery to be got in a readiness, in order to attack the Castle at the entrance of the Harbour, break the Chains, and to fall upon the Enemy's Fleet, from whence he might annoy the City with his Cannon on the North-side. The Attempt was made accordingly, but without success, the Portuguese being so fiercely gall'd on all sides by the Enemy's Cannon, that they were forced to desist, and *Nonnius* thought fit to retreat to *Betel*, from whence he return'd with his Fleet to *Goa*, leaving *Anthony Saldania* with some Ships on the Coast of *Cambaja*, to watch the Enemy's Motions. *Saldania*, after having done considerable Mischief to the Enemy, by the taking of the small City of *Goga*, and burning 25 Brigantines, left *James Sylveria* behind him, and return'd afterwards to *Goa*, where having spent the greatest part of the Winter in refitting their Ships, *Nonnius* in the Spring set sail for *Chaul* about two Leagues from *Calecut*, to intercept the Arabian Ships trading in those parts.

## CH A P. IX.

*Nonnius routs the Mahometans, takes Bazain; and Martin Souza, Daman. Badur King of Cambaja engages in a Treaty with the Portuguese. His Forces, and Expedition to Citor. The Destruction of that City. Badur twice defeated, flies to Diu. His End.*

*Sylveria* was in the mean while not idle, but took many Ships bound for *Diu*, burnt some Villages, and kept the place so block'd up on all sides, that in a little time they were within reduced to great scarcity of Provisions: The next following year *Sylveria* continued to play the same game, by destroying many Towns, Villages and Ships; he also took the Cities of *Pate* and *Patane*, as also *Mangalor* in *Cambaja*, with a vast Booty, and a great number of Prisoners; the new King

of *Cambaja* being not in a condition to assist those of *Diu*, by reason of some intestine Troubles.

*Nonnius* at the same time keeping still in remembrance the Disgrace he had receiv'd before *Diu*, and being resolv'd to let slip no opportunity of revenging himself, he laid his Design against *Bazain* in *Cambaja*; accordingly he set sail with a Fleet of 80 Ships great and small, with 4000 Land-men aboard them (half Portuguese, half *Malabars*) he sent *Emanuel Albu-*

*Nonnius his Design against Bazain.*

*Souza's lucky man.*

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*Albuquerque* with some Ships before, to secure the Entrance of the Harbour, sent for *James Sylveria*, who had his Station on the other side of *Diu*, and follow'd himself with the whole Fleet.

*Tocan* the Chief of *Diu*, had, upon notice that the *Portugueses* were arming against him, intrench'd himself with a considerable number of Horse and Foot at *Bazain*. *Nonnius* on the other hand, being well inform'd of the Condition of the place by certain Deferters, divided his Troops into three Bodies: The Vanguard was led by *James Sylveria*, the main Battel by *Ferdinand de Za*, the Rear being commanded by *Nonnius* in Person.

As they were advancing towards the Town, they receiv'd several smart Salutes from the Enemy's Cannon, and whole showers of Arrows, *Tocan* having intrench'd himself with 10000 Men in the Out-works; notwithstanding which the *Portugueses* lost not so much as one Man whilst they were advancing towards the Enemy, whom they charg'd so briskly, that they were forc'd to betake to their heels; and the Inhabitants seeing themselves deserted by their Protectors, follow'd their Footsteps. Thus this City with all its Works fell into the hands of the *Portugueses*, with the loss only of six Men on their side; whereas the loss of the *Moors* was computed at 550. They found in it a considerable Booty of Provisions and Ammunition, as Bullets, Gunpowder, and Brimstone. *Nonnius* highly extoll'd the Bravery of *Sylveria*, who commanding the Vanguard, had behav'd himself so gallantly, that the main Battel did not as much as come to the Charge, and as an acknowledgment of his Services presented him and all his Officers. After they had destroy'd all the Fruits of the Field round about it, they destroy'd the City, and demolish'd the Fortifications, as thinking it not for their interest to spare a sufficient number of Troops to garison it. Thus *Nonnius* having taken an ample Revenge upon the *Barbarians*, return'd with his Fleet to *Goa*; and the *Mahometans* being convinc'd by this as well as the loss of the Isle of *Betel* (and afterwards that of *Daman*) of the Strength and Bravery of the *Portugueses*, began to remit much of their Fierceneß, and were at last forced to submit to the building of a Fort upon the Isle of *Diu*, as will appear out of the sequel of the matter.

*Martinius Alphonsus Soza* being come lately from *Portugal* (in the quality of Admiral) to *Goa* with five stout Vessels,

and being join'd by 35 Ships and 600 Land-Souldiers of *Nonnius* his Squadron, he set sail for *Daman*, a City of *Cambaja*, about 14 Leagues from *Bazain*: This being a Place of no strength, the Inhabitants had deserted their Habitations; but the *Rasboutes*, a daring and unruly Generation, being join'd by some *Turks* to the number of 5000 in all, had intrench'd themselves near the Harbour, and defended the Entrance thereof with a good number of great Cannon.

*Alphonsus Soza* took peculiar care in taking a view of the posture of the Enemy; and as he was going in his Boat from the Harbour along the shoar, having taken notice of a place in the City which was but ill guarded, he order'd scaling Ladders to be hung to the Walls, so that whilst they were scaling the Town the Defenders fled, and thereby gave an opportunity to the *Portugueses* to make themselves Masters of a Gate; here it was the Slaughter begun, the Fight being carried on with equal Obstinacy for some time, till the *Rasboutes* being forc'd to give way, many of them were cut to pieces by the *Portugueses*, who lost no more than ten Men in this Action, but had many more wounded. Three days were spent in demolishing the Fortifications, and laying the whole City level with the ground: Which done, *Soza* turn'd his victorious Arms towards *Diu*, and all along the Coast of *Cambaja*.

*Badur* King of *Cambaja*, being extremely nettled at the success of the *Portugueses*, whom he was not in a condition to oppose, at a time when he saw himself intangled in another War, thought it his best way to sue for Peace with *Nonnius Acunia*, offering not only *Bazain*, but also the adjacent Isles (among which were likewise the *Salfetes*) and a considerable Tract of Land on the Continent, thereby to engage the *Portugueses* in his Interest against his Enemies, viz. *Cremantina* the Queen Dowager of *Sanga*, and the *Mogores*, a Warlike Nation descended from the *Scyæ*, who are frequently at War with the *Persians*: Their King *Miramadus*, who boasted himself to be descended from the Great *Tamerlan*, having not long before made a powerful Irruption into *Cambaja*.

The Intention of *Badur* was first to vanquish the Queen of *Sanga*, and afterwards the *Mogores*: His whole Force consisted in 150000 Horse, and 50000 Foot, besides 15000 hir'd Foreigners, 200 Elephants train'd for the War, and a very good Train of great Artillery; with

*Baldus.*

Takes and demolishes it.

Peace betwixt the Portugueses and Badur.

His Warlike Preparations.

with this Army he march'd to *Citor*, a very fine and populous City under the Queen of *Sanga*, who was not long before retreated thence with her Children. The Inhabitants of *Citor*, unable to resist so powerful an Army, resolv'd to follow the footsteps of those in the Isle of *Betel* (mention'd before) and having brought together all their Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, &c. burnt themselves with their Wives and Children, with the Treasure. It is said, that during the Conflagration, which lasted three days, more than 70000 Persons perish'd by the Flames. *Badur* enter'd victoriously into *Citor*, where having rewarded the Services of his Officers that behav'd themselves well with Presents, he march'd directly against the *Mogores*, but with very different success; for being twice put to the rout by them, and deserted by *Mustapha* his General, he was forc'd to fly to *Diu*, and being full of despair, would have taken a Resolution to leave his Kingdom, and to send his Treasure to *Mecca*; but being, at the earnest entreaty of his Friends, remov'd from that Resolution, he sent an Ambassador to *Soliman* the Grand Signior, to offer him 600000 Crowns, provided he would send a certain number of well-disciplin'd Troops to his Assistance; but fearing lest the desir'd Succours should come too late, he offer'd to *Soza*, who then lay before *Chaul*, as also to *Nonnius Acunia*, a proper place for the erecting of a Fort near *Diu*, provided they would assist him against his Enemies.

The *Portugueses* willing to take the opportunity by the forelock, *Soza* sail'd to *Diu* immediately, and being follow'd by *Nonnius*, the Treaty was sign'd, and a place assign'd, viz. the Hill which overlooks the Harbour of *Diu*. This happen'd in the year 1535. The *Portugueses* went to work immediately, and laid the Foundation of a Triangular Fort, the Wall from the Sea-side to the Hill being 17 Foot thick, and 20 high, at the end whereof just upon a Hill near the City was erected a Redoubt, and on the other end a Stone Tower (such a one as the *Portugueses* have at *Cranganor* and *Cananor*) from whence extended another Wall to the other Corner of the Island: The Wall was defended by a deep Ditch as far as the Rocks would permit. In the midst whereof was a Gate defended by two Towers, named *St. Thomas* and *St. James*. Thus King *Badur* saw a goodly Fortrefs perfected by the *Portugueses* within 49 days, that part to the Sea-

side being set aside till another opportunity.

One *James Bortelbo* a brave Commander, but fallen into Disgrace with *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, being willing to court any opportunity of being restor'd to the King's favour, got a Brigantine built on purpose of 18 foot in length, and six broad; and having provided himself with as many Seamen as were requir'd to manage her at Sea, he set sail from *Diu*, without letting them whither they were bound, and prov'd so prosperous in his Voyage, that without any remarkable Accident, he arriv'd safely at *Lisbon*, and brought the kind Advice of their good success at *Diu*.

The *Portugueses* left a Garison of 800 Men under *Emanuel Soza* in the Fort, and were no sooner retir'd from thence with their Fleet, but *Badur* began to repent of his having admitt'd the *Portugueses* into the Isle of *Diu* (especially since the promised Succours arriv'd but slowly) whereupon he order'd the Governor *Ninan* to surround the City with a new Wall, and to enclose the Royal Square without the place, whereby their Fortifications must approach very near to, and lie directly opposite to those of the *Portugueses*. These being resolv'd not to permit a thing of this nature, which must needs tend to their Prejudice, *Badur* was much incens'd thereat, exclaiming highly against their Proceedings, and endeavour'd to have surpriz'd them in their Fort, which not succeeding, he sought for Aid from the *Samoryn* of *Calecut*, and several *Malabar* Kings against them.

*Nonnius* being advertis'd of all these Treacheries, sets sail once more with 20 Ships, and 500 chosen *Portuguese* Soldiers for *Diu*, ordering *Martin Alphonso* to follow him from the *Malaba*: Coast. No sooner had he cast Anchor before *Diu*, but feigning himself sick aboard, he sent certain Persons to compliment King *Badur*, and beg his Excuse for his not coming in Person: Whereupon *Badur* went aboard together with *Soza* the Governor of the Fort to give a Visit to *Nonnius*, who met *Badur* at the Door of his great Cabin, and saluted him with a great deal of Civility. For tho the Death of *Badur* was resolv'd on before-hand, yet that they might not seem to violate the Laws of Hospitality, they had thought fit to defer the Execution thereof till his return towards the shore: It was not long before *Badur* went into his Boat again in order to return, but was no sooner got into

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into it, and making the best way to the shore, when *Nonnius* giving the Signal to his Men, and exhorting them to do their Duty, they leap'd into Boats kept for that purpose, and following that of *Badur* attack'd him on all sides. The King being grown desperate, exhorted his People to a brave Defence, encouraging both by his Words and Example, which made the Fight so obstinate, that the *Portugueses* were in danger of losing their Prey, *Soza* himself being slain in the first Attack. The Bravery of a certain Servant of *Badur* deserves our particular notice, he being observ'd to have wounded with 18 Arrows, as many *Portugueses*, till he was kill'd by a Mulquet-shot himself.

In the mean while three Yachts arm'd with *Turks* were sent from the shore to succour the King; but being most of them kill'd, and the King's Galley struck upon a Bank, he leapt into the Sea, and tho' forely wounded, did swim to the Galley of *Tristan Pavia*, and discovering himself to be the *Sultan*, beg'd his Life, which *Tristan Pavia* would willingly have granted, but just as the King was entering the Vessel, he was slain by a Seaman, who knock'd his Brains out with a Eadur Club. This was the unfortunate end of *Badur*, one of the most Potent Kings of *Asia*, who not long before had been a Terror to all the circumjacent Countries.

Baldern.

## C H A P. X.

*Sofar made a Prisoner. The Portugueses become Masters of the whole Isle. Mamud King of Cambaja. A considerable number of Ottomans sent to the Indies. Diu besieg'd by the Turks. A smart Engagement betwixt the Mahometans and Portugueses. Diu reliev'd. Garzias Noronia constituted Vice-Roy.*

**B**UT to return to *Diu*, and the Sea-Engagement, where *Sofar* being taken Prisoner, was kindly entertain'd by *Nonnius*. The Death of *Badur* (tho' not very honourable on the *Portugueses* side) prov'd however of very great consequence, the *Portugueses* becoming thereby Masters of the whole Island without much opposition, the said *Badur* being deservedly hated by his Subjects, by reason of his Tyranny and Cruelty; 600 Foot were left there in Garrison, and all necessary care was taken that the Customs both at *Diu* and *Rumenstadt* might be regularly paid. *Massæus* in his 4th Book of the *Indian History*, says, that *Rumenstadt* or *Rumopolis* (lying not far from *Diu*) was built by *Jazy* (mention'd before) and got its Name from the *Constantinopolitan Turks*, that scour sometimes in the *Indies*, call'd by them *Rumes*.

The *Portugueses* found no great Treasure of ready Money at *Diu*, but considerable Stores of Ammunition and Provision, and the better to strengthen themselves, fortified the City on the Sea-side.

*Badur* was succeeded in the Kingdom of *Cambaja* by *Mamud* his Sister's Son, who being an Infant, under the Tuition of *Driacan*, *Madremaluc* and *Alucan*, these were solicited by *Sofar* (out of a hatred

to the *Portugueses*) to engage in a War for the recovery of *Diu*. *Alucan* having got together a Body of 5000 Horse, and 10000 Foot, and *Sofar* 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, they pitch'd their Tents in *June* not far from *Rumenstadt*. *Sofa* attack'd the Town vigorously, but being in one of the Attacks wounded in both his hands, the *Portugueses* got a little breathing time, and in the mean while repair'd the Walls of *Rumendstadt*, which for some reasons they had demolished before: For *Anthonus Sylveria* having resolv'd to fortify and defend the whole Island against the *Indians*, was disappointed in his design by *Alucan*, who improving the loss of some *Portuguese* Ships by Tempest to his advantage, gall'd the *Portugueses* so sorely from his Ships in their Entrenchments, that they were forced to quit their Posts; so that *Alucan* landing his Men, soon became Master of the whole Isle and the Suburbs, where there happen'd frequent Skirmishes betwixt them, the *Indians* being not strong enough to attack the Fort, which was bravely defended by *Lupo Soza Coutinho*.

Whilst these things were transacting in *Cambaja*, the Grand Signior, to revenge the Murder of *Badur* (at the request of his Widow) had equip'd a Fleet of 64 stout Gallies, which being

The Por-  
tugueses  
forced into  
the Fort.



join'd by 7 Ships of *Cambuja* and three *Baldens*. Moors of *Malabar* with 3500 Land-men aboard them, under the Command of *Solyman* Bassa of *Egypt*, they set sail from *Aden*, not questioning but they would soon be masters of the *Portuguese* Fort, and consequently of the Island, from whence they might extend their Conquests into the Continent of the *Indies*. Matters being concerted beforehand betwixt *Solyman* and *Sofar*, the last went out to meet the *Turkish* Squadron about 15 Leagues at Sea; and *Antonio Sylveria* being advertis'd of their approach, took all imaginable Precaution for his Security, in disposing what Force he had to make a vigorous Defence, and at the same time gave notice thereof to *Goa*, to sollicite for prompt Succours from thence, encouraging his Men both by his Example and Exhortations. By this time *Solyman* having cast Anchor in the Road of *Diu*, he order'd 700 chosen Men to land, and attempt the Attack of the *Portuguese* Fortrefs, which they did accordingly, but were forced to retire to *Sofar's* Fort with the loss of 50 *Janizaries* kill'd, and a greater number wounded; the *Portuguese* had also six Men kill'd, and 20 wounded.

About the same time the *Turkish* Fleet being in great danger of being forc'd by a strong South Wind upon the Coast, and much expos'd to the Enemy's Shot, he retreated to the Harbour of *Madrasaba* five Leagues from *Diu*; where having concerted new measures with *Sofar*, he sent back his Land Forces to renew the Siege of *Diu*. But *Alucan* one of the Tutors of King *Mamud* having conceiv'd a jealousy of the Design of the *Turks*, retir'd with his Forces from before *Diu*, and having represented their ambitious Projects to the King, he soon obtained of him a Prohibition in all his Territories not to furnish the *Turkish* Camp with Provisions.

This prov'd no small disappointment to *Solyman*, who notwithstanding this did not lose Courage, but pursued his design of carrying the place, cost it what it would: For this purpose the *Turks* contriv'd a very large Fireship, which under favour of the Tide and the smok of some burning Wood, they intended to send into the Harbour, and to fix to the Fortifications; and whilst the *Portuguese* were busied in quenching the Flames, they were to attempt the surprising of the Fort on the Land-side: but whilst they were staying for the Spring-Tide,

Set a fire by the *Portuguese*.

*Francisco Goveano* a *Portuguese* found means to set it on fire, tho not without

great hazard, being oblig'd to pass twice the Enemies fire; 20 of the *Turks* aboard the Fireship leap'd into the Sea, and were all slain. The *Turks* were so incensed at this disappointment, that they exerted all their Fury against *Rumenstadi*, the Walls whereof being to ruin'd as not to be maintain'd any longer against a vigorous Attack, *Paticco* the chief Commander thereof thought fit to quit it in time. The *Turks* flush'd with this Success, renew'd the Siege of *Diu* both by Sea and Land with more vigor than ever, leaving nothing unattempted, with Cannonading, Mining, or whatever might be attempted to reduce the place; whilst the *Portuguese* on the other hand with Countermines, Retrenchments and frequent Salles endevour'd to stop their Fury. The *Turks* being at last by means of a Gallery advanc'd over the Ditch, and entering the Breach, a most furious Combat ensu'd for four hours successively, the *Portuguese* defending themselves like Lions. *Massau* relates, that a *Portuguese* having spent all his Balls, pull'd out one of his Teeth and charg'd his Musquet with it. At last the *Turks* were forced to retire with the loss of 500 Men slain, and 1000 wounded: The *Portuguese* also on their side had 14 of their best Officers slain, and so many of their Soldiers either kill'd or wounded, that they had scarce 40 Men left fit for Service. Besides this they began to be in such want of Provisions and Ammunition, that they were very near reduced to the last extremity. However they did not lose Courage, but encouraged one another rather to die upon the spot, than to submit to the most sordid slavery; the Women and Children were even not backward in giving all the Assistance they were able.

In the mean time *Nonnius Acunia* being sufficiently sensible of the danger of the Fortrefs of *Diu*, had left no Stone unturn'd for the relief thereof; but the case admitting of no delay, he sent 16 *Patachos* or Yachts thither: these coming to an Anchor in the night time before *Madrasaba*, had each put four Lanthorns on their Sterns, with an intention to terrify the Enemy. This succeeded accordingly; for the *Turks* having by this time lost above 3000 Men, and fearing the Succour expected from *Goa* might be much stronger than really it was, set fire to the City, and leaving 500 wounded Men, and most of their great Cannon behind, reimbarc'd the first of November, steering their Coast towards *Arabia*; and

*Sofar*

*Sylveria* prepares for a brave Defence.

*Solyman* lands, and attacks the *Portuguese*.

Retreats to *Madrasaba*.

*Alucan* leaves *Diu*.

A Fire-Engine of the *Turks*.

Set a fire by the *Portuguese*.

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*Sofar* with the Remnants of his Forces retir'd to the Continent, to the no small honour of the *Portugueses*, who with so small a number had defended themselves not against barbarous undisciplin'd *Indians*, but against a Body of warlike well-exercis'd *Turkish* Troops. It's said, that *Francis I.* King of *France*, was so highly pleas'd with this brave Action, that he desir'd and had an Original Picture of the brave *Sylvia*, the Governour of the place.

Whilst *Nonnius* was busied in making all the necessary Preparations for the Relief of *Diu*, *Goa Garzias Noronia* was

sent by *Don John* King of *Portugal* with 11 Men of War, and 7000 Land-Men to relieve *Nonnius*: Among these there was one Ship fill'd with Malefactors and Criminals of all sorts, who had obtain'd their Pardon from the King; but this being separated from the rest, was never heard of afterwards. *Nonnius* *Acunia* having surrender'd the Government to *Noron*ia after a stay of ten years in those parts, set sail for *Portugal*, his Native Country, but before he could reach it died at Sea, near the *Cape of Good Hope* on the *African* Coast.

*Baldew.*

*Nonnius* reliev'd by *Garzias* *Noron*ia.

*Nonnius* in Death.

## C H A P. XI.

*Noron*ia makes an Agreement with King *Mamud*. *Lupius Soza* constituted Governour of *Diu*. *Sofar's* sinister Designs against the *Portugueses*. He besieges *Diu* in conjunction with *Mamud*: Is slain in the Enterprize. The City is vigorously assaulted, and as bravely defended. An unsuccessful Sally made by the *Portugueses*.

*Noron*ia apply'd all his Thoughts to the Affairs of *Diu*; and having dispatch'd certain Deputies to *Mamud* to treat with him of a Peace, they at last, not without a great deal of difficulty, came to the following Agreement, in the Negotiation of which they met with no small opposition from the Grand-mother of *Mamud* and *Sofar*, who were continually inciting the young King to revenge the Death of his Uncle King *Baldur*; viz. That the King of *Cambaja* should remain in the Possession of the City of *Deu*, and the *Portugueses* continue Masters of the Fort and Harbour thereof; that they should divide the Customs share and share alike, and that the *Cambajans* should be at liberty to erect a Wall to front the Castle, provided the same were done at a convenient distance.

Matters being thus settled, *Lupius Soza* was constituted Governour of the place instead of *Sylvia*, with a Garrison of 900 Men. But it was not long before *Mamud*, at the Instigation of his Grand-mother, sent a considerable Body to attack *Bazain*; but *Laurentius Tavora* making a vigorous Sally upon them, constrained them to seek for Peace. *Sofar* in the mean time having recover'd himself, had for six years together bent all his thoughts upon the ruin of the *Portugueses*; and having found means to ingratiate himself into King *Mamud* his favour, they sent underhand their Emisseries to

the neighbouring *Indian* Princes, to engage them against the *Portugueses*, who they told them did lord it over them; under pretence of trafficking in the *Indies*. The Affairs of the *Portugueses* were at that time but in a very indifferent condition in those parts, their Treasures exhausted, their Naval Strength neglected, their Seamen very scarce; and the Land Soldiers deserted in such numbers, that of the 900 that were in *Garrison* under the Command of *Lupius Soza*, there were not above 250 left in the Government of *Mascarenhas*; and what was worse, there was not above a month's Provision, and a slender share of Ammunition left.

*Sofar* was not unacquainted with these things, having learn'd them from divers *Portuguese* Merchants; so that looking upon this as a fit opportunity to execute their projected Design, they pitch'd upon the Winter-season, when they knew the *Portugueses* could not be so easily secured from *Goa*. *Sofar* being in the mean while not negligent to cajole *Mascarenhas* the *Portuguese* Governour by his Letters into a belief of his Sincerity, the same did not discover his real Intentions, till it was almost too late; but finding no other redress but in a brave Defence, he made all the necessary Preparations for it, by sending away all the useless Mouths, and fortifying himself after the best manner he could: and having bought up

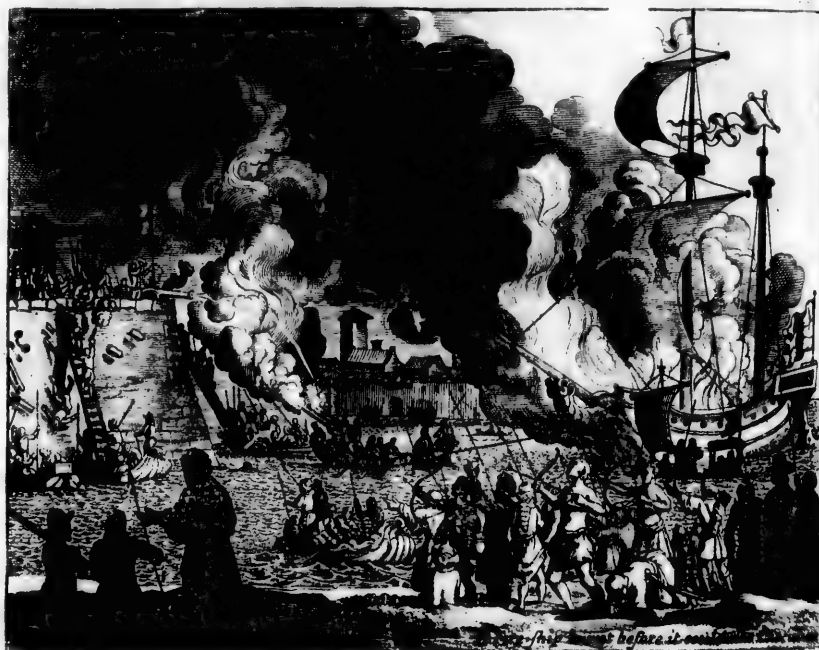
Miserable state of the *Portugueses*.

Treachery of *Sofar*.

what quantity of Rice, Flesh and dried *Baldew*. Fish he could get of the *Portugueses*, he sent Advice of his approaching danger to *Bazain*, *Chaul* and *Goa*. This happen'd in the year 1546. *Sofar* took for a pretence the new Walls that were to be erected at one end of the City, which being built too near the *Portuguese* Forts, these stop't the Progress thereof, which soon gave occasion to open Hostilities. *Mascarenhas* to animate his Soldiers told them, "That they ought to remember the brave Actions of the *Portugueses* in this very place, where they had frustrated the Designs of the *Turks*, of which the same *Sofar* who now came to attack them had born his share; that God would certainly punish the breach of Faith of this Wretch; and that they ought not to be dismay'd at the Winter-season, there being no question but that the *Portugueses* by their Skill in Maritime Affairs, would overcome these Difficulties, and succour them in due time. The next thing he did, was to take care of all the Posts; the Water-Redoubt he committed to the care of *Martinbo Carvalho* with 30 Men, and the Defence of

the shore towards *Cambaja* to *Jacobo Leti*.

*Sofar* by this time had begun to carry on his Approaches a good way, and ply'd the place warmly with his Cannon, but could not without much difficulty attempt an Assault by reason of the Ditch, which being enlarg'd of late, was as broad again now as it was in *Sylveria* his time; however he ceased not to play with his Cannon, especially in the night time; and being sensible of advantage it would be to him if he could make himself Master of the Harbour, by taking the Water-Redoubt, he contriv'd such another Engine or Fireship as the *Turks* had made use of in the former Siege, which they intended to set on fire, and to carry with the high Tide under the Fort: But the *Portugueses* having receiv'd Intelligence of this Design, sent out *Jacobo Leti* with 20 Men to burn her, which he did with incredible Bravery, and the loss of one Man only, being forc'd to carry the Vessel through the Enemy's Fire on both sides, till he brought her within a certain distance of the Fort, where she was set on fire, and consequently *Sofar's* Project vanish'd into smoke.



Not

Not long after the *Portugueses* were rejoic'd with a fresh supply of Men, Provisions and Ammunition from *Goa*, under the Command of the young *de Castro*, a brave Gentleman, who, after he had been afflicted with very hard Tempests at Sea (in which several of his Vessels were separated from his Squadron) came with the rest, being eight in number, into the Road of *Diu*, and in spite of the Besiegers, landed his Men, Ammunition and Provisions, which increased the Number of the Garrison to 450 Men. About the same time *Mamud* King of *Cambaja* came in Person with a good number of Troops into the Camp: *Mascarenhas* being willing to know their exact number, sent out several Desperado's, who engaging the Outguard of the Enemy, three of them were kill'd in the Skirmish, but the rest had the good fortune to carry off one of the Enemy's Sentinels, by whom *Mascarenhas* was inform'd of what he had a mind to know. *Mascarenhas* having order'd certain Signals of rejoicing to be made, the Enemy sent a Messenger to know the reason thereof, who was answer'd, that 'twas done on account of the King's arrival in the Camp, which put them in hopes that for the future they should fight against a great Prince, whereas hitherto they had been engag'd with Vagabonds and Rogues.

*Mamud* immediately after his arrival level'd his Cannon with great fury against the Walls of the Fortrefs, and having brought along with him an expert Gunner, he order'd him to cast certain fiery Balls into the place, tho without much success, till the said Constable being kill'd, another succeeded in his place, who was so unskillful in his Art, that his Fireworks did more mischief in the Camp than to the Enemy. However by the continual battering of the Enemies Cannon, a large Breach was made by this time in the Wall, which the Besieged repair'd to the best of their power; but their main Reliance was upon the breadth of the Ditch, which the Besiegers were endeavouring to pass by the help of their Galleries. To prevent this, the *Portugueses* had open'd an old Vault at the foot of the Wall, in which they spent several days and nights, but turn'd to their advantage, since from thence they could take away great part of the Materials the Enemy had brought thither for the filling up of the Ditch. From hence it was also that *Sofar* receiv'd his Death's wound, being slain by a Bullet which pass'd through his Hand and Fore-

head, which occasion'd no small disturbance in the Enemies Camp; and had it not been for *Rumecan* his Son, the Siege had been likely to have been rais'd at that time.

The Joy the *Portugueses* had conceiv'd at the death of *Sofar* their mortal Enemy, was not a little allay'd by the perseverance of the Besieged in filling up the Ditch, and that with such success, that having stop't up the before-mention'd Vault, *Mascarenhas* began to be reduced to the utmost necessity, of which he gave notice to the Viceroy of *Goa*, requesting immediate Succours. It was now about the middle of *August*, when the *Mahometans* were preparing for the general Assault: They visit'd their Mosques with a great deal of Devotion, and St. *James's* day being appointed for this Attack, they advanc'd without the least noise in two Bodies before break of day towards the Breach, in hopes of surprizing the *Portugueses*; but finding 'em upon their guard, they enter'd the Breach with most terrible and dreadful Outcries, which however was so far from terrifying the brave *Portugueses*, that they were repulsed with great slaughter: Some of the *Indians* taking the advantage of the low Tide, got into the Water-Fort, where they pitch'd *Mahomet's* Standard, which *Mascarenhas* no sooner perceiv'd, but flying thither, he gave them such a Reception, that after 30 of them were slain upon the spot, the rest were forc'd down headlong over the Wall. This done, he return'd to his Post, where both by his Words and Actions he so encouraged his Men, that *Rumecan*, after a hot Dispute of six hours, saw himself oblig'd to sound a Retreat. In this Action not only *Mascarenhas*, but also *Ludovico Soza*, *Ferdinando de Castro*, *Ambronio Passando*, and all the *Portugueses* in general acquir'd immortal Honour, several Women having expos'd themselves in the midst of the Combat.

Notwithstanding this Repulse, the *Indians* did not cease to continue their Fire against the Fortrefs, which not succeeding according to expectation, they began to apply their Mines, not without some success. *Mascarenhas* having taken notice that the Enemy retreated sometimes without any necessity, near a certain Tower, gave notice thereof to *de Castro*, and some other Officers of note, commanding them to quit it; but these flush'd with their last success, refus'd to obey, for which they paid dear soon after: for the Enemy taking the opportunity, when they perceiv'd the Tower full of Soldiers, blew

*Baldew.*

*The Indians storm the Fort.*

*Are repulsed.*

*The Portugueses receive some Succours.*

*K. Mamud comes into the Camp.*

*Breaches made in the Wall.*

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blew it up on a sudden with at least 100 *Baldacus*. *Portugueses* in it, and among them *de Castro*, and several others of Quality; and such was the Barbarity of the *Indians*, that they thrust their Swords through the half-dead Bodies of such *Portugueses* as were thrown up into the Air before by the Mine. They were for improving this opportunity, and during the Confusion occasion'd by this Disaster, attack'd the Fort with incredible Fury, but were so warmly receiv'd by *Mascarenhas*, that they were glad to retreat. To prevent the like for the future, the *Portuguese* Governour order'd his Men to act with more caution for the future, and the Tower of *St. James* to be blown up, which was executed; and not long after, finding the Enemy ready to attack the Tower of *St. Thomas*, he blew up the Mine underneath it, and with it 300 *Indians*.

300 *Indians* blown up by a Mine.

The *Portuguese* Affairs in the Fortrefs began notwithstanding all this to grow worse and worse; for tho they had made Intrenchments within Intrenchments, yet had they (after a Siege of four Months) not above 150 Men left for the defence thereof; and being reduc'd to great extremity for want of Provisions, were forc'd to feed upon unwholesom things, which so discourag'd the Garrison, that they were resolv'd to put an end to their Misery by fighting their way through the Enemy.

But being just upon the point of putting their Design in execution, they were rejoic'd with a most unexpected Relief from *Goa*, whence they had sent 50 Frigats under the Command of *Alvares de Castro*, and *Franciscus de Meneses*, who arriv'd happily at *Bazain*. *Alvares* sail'd straightways thence with part of his Forces (amounting to 900 in all) for *Diu*, and good store of Ammunition and Provisions, the rest follow'd before the end of September. You may easily imagine with what Joy the poor emaciated Soldiers of the Garrison receiv'd this welcome News, which however they would not improve to so much advantage as they might have done, out of a perverse Temper, peculiar to the *Portugueses*, who as they are soon dejected in Adversity, so are they insupportable in Prosperity: For now the Soldiery began to accuse *Mascarenhas* of Cowardice and Neglect, telling him in plain terms, that they were resolv'd no more to be shut up within the Walls, but to act like brave *Portugueses*, to attack the Enemy in their Works, and to make him opce for all to repent that

Mutiny among the *Portugueses*.

ever he had attempted the *Portugueses*, whose Glorious Name was dreadful all over the *Indies*; this they told him they were fully resolv'd to put in execution, and if he refus'd to head them, they would choose another, the first, the best they could. *Mascarenhas*, who knew very well the stubborn Pride of the *Portugueses*, when flush'd with Success, did what he could to divert them from their Design by all the mild Insinuations and most forcible Arguments he could invent, telling them that the securest Methods were always the best, and how dangerous it might prove to hazard the losing of the Fort, when they were in a condition to keep it till the approaching Spring, when they expected sufficient Succours from *Goa*; but finding them deaf to his Periwations, he spok to them in the following manner: "Soldiers, ye are not insensible that, if you would consider your Duty, you ought rather to follow my Commands than your own Directions; but since you have ty'd up my hands, and both by your Words and Actions, nay by your very Looks, give me sufficiently to understand, that instead of commanding, I must obey; go on and shew your Courage, your Knowledge and Experience in Martial Affairs: Go on, I say, I will instead of leading you on, follow you, with this Caution however, that I would have you remember to take care to return with the same marks of Bravery as you march out. Then dividing the whole Garrison into three Bodies, he order'd *Alvares de Castro* to command the Van, the main Battel he gave in charge to *Francisco de Meneses*, himself remaining to guard the Rear: Thus they march'd towards the Enemy, but with far different success from what they had promised themselves; most of them after the first Charge retreating towards the Town, instead of pushing forward; the Body commanded by *Meneses* being charg'd in Front and Flank, betook themselves to their heels, and *de Castro* himself being sorely wounded by a Stone, was hardly sav'd by *Mascarenhas*, who crying out to the Soldiers, that it was now time to shew their Bravery they had so much boasted of before, would fain have stop't their Flight, but in vain; for they retreated with so much fear and precipitation, that for some time after they scarce durst look the Enemy in the face, or keep their Post; whereas the *Indians*, encourag'd by this Success, approach'd with their Engines nearer and nearer to the Walls of the Town.

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## C H A P. XII.

Baldew.

*De Castro comes to Diu. Takes some Arabian Vessels. Routs the Indians, who leave the Isle. Rumezan kill'd. Soliman's Transactions before Aden. He causes the King of that place to be hang'd on his Mast, and makes himself Master of the City. A Description of Daman, Dabul and Vifiapour.*

*De Castro* Viceroy of Goa had no sooner receiv'd the unwelcome News of the Death of his Son, and the distressed Condition of *Diu*, but he sent at the beginning of the Spring *Alvares de Acuria* with five Men of War and 400 Land-Men thither, with strict Orders that they should keep within their Fortifications till the whole Fleet with the intended Succours should arrive there. *Alvares* in his Passage thither took several Arabian Vessels, aboard of which were several Persons of Note belonging to *Sofar*, who, tho they offer'd a great Sum of Money for their Ransom, were all cut to pieces, and their Heads thrown into the River.

The Spring being pretty well advanced by this time, *De Castro* set sail for *Bacaim* with 40 Yachts, having aboard 1400 Portuguese Land-Soldiers, and 300 *Canarins*. With these, after having for some time infested the Coast of *Cambaja*, he arriv'd in the *Ilha dos mortos*, whence he sent an Express to *Mascarenhas* with Orders to batter the Enemies Entrenchments near the Sea-side with his Cannon, to facilitate his landing; which being bravely executed by *Mascarenhas*, *De Castro* enter'd the Harbour without much opposition, and soon after landed his Men. *De Castro* being not a little surpriz'd to see the Fort appear more like a heap of Rubbish than a Fortification, the very Ditches being laid level with the ground, he call'd a Council of War to consult of the most proper means to put an end to the Siege: Some were of opinion, that some time ought to be allow'd to the Soldiers to refresh themselves after the Fatigues of the Sea; but *De Castro* telling them, that it would be a great disgrace for a Portuguese Viceroy to be lock'd up in a Fort, it was resolv'd to attack the Enemy next day.

Accordingly they march'd out in good order, *De Castro* ordering the Draw-bridges to be drawn up, to cut off all hopes of retreating into the Fort, and leaving *Antonio Correa* with some Men to guard it against any sudden Attempt. The better to distract the Enemy's Forces,

*Nicolao Goncalvo* was commanded to make a false Attack with some Ships on the backside of the Island. *Rumezan* on the other hand, trusting to his Number, took care to guard his Posts on all sides, against which *De Castro* march'd with a much lesser Force, exhorting his Soldiers in a few words: That they ought to remember that they serv'd a King, who never fail'd to reward such of his Soldiers as fought bravely for God's Cause, and the Defence of his Territories in the Indies, the Preservation whereof depended on this Battel; that therefore they should fight like Men, and consider that all their Safety lay in their hands, all hopes of retreating being cut off by the shutting up of the Gates of the Fort, and the removal of the Fleet to the backside of the Isle.

Things being thus dispos'd, *Goncalvo* made his false Attack on the other side of the Island, which so alarm'd the Indians, that they hasten'd in whole Troops thither, which gave opportunity to the Portuguese (who were about 3000 strong) animated by the Example of *De Castro* and *Mascarenhas* their Leaders, to break in upon the Indians with such fury, that they were not able to resist them. *Rumezan* finding his Forces to give way, and imagining that the Fort was left destitute of Men to defend it, assaulted the same full of despair; but being repulsed by *Correa*, was forced to follow the rest, and being closely pursued by the Portuguese, quitted the Isle, and with the Remnants of his Forces pass'd over to the Continent. The Portuguese enter'd the City, where they kill'd all they met with, without any regard to Age or Sex, where they got an incredible Booty, and among other things the Standard of *Cambaja*, a prodigious quantity of Arms, and 35 Brass Cannon, one whereof being of an extraordinary size, is kept to this day in the Arsenal at *Lisbon*, with certain Arabick Characters upon it. The Portuguese lost not above 60 Men in this Action, whereas of the Indians were kill'd no less than 4000, and 600 taken Prisoners; *Rumezan* himself lost his Life as he was preparing to pass over to the Continent.



tincent. *De Castro* after having given the King of *Portugal* an account in his Letter of his glorious Victory, and the Bravery of his Officers and Soldiers, gave Orders for the repairing the Fortifications of the Fort, and return'd triumphant to *Goa*, where he was receiv'd with the general Acclamations of the People.

*Castagnedo* gives a somewhat different Relation of this Action; for he tells us that *Rumecan* wanted neither Bravery nor Conduct, and that he put the *Portugueses* so hard to it, that had it not been for *Mascarenbas*, who led in Person the Soldiers to the Charge, the *Portugueses* would in all likelihood have lost the day. He says further, that they had 150 Men kill'd, and among them divers brave Officers, *George de Souze*, *John Manoel*, *Francisco Azevedo*, *Cosmo de Paiva*, *Balthazar George*, *Eduardo Rodrigo*, *Juliano Ferdinando*, *Vasques Ferdinando*, and others; that the *Indians* loss amounted to 3000 Men, and that the whole Siege of *Diu* consumed the *Portugueses* at least 2000 Men.

We told you before, that *Solyman* did come with his Fleet before *Diu*, from *Aden*; about 20 Leagues thence coming to an Anchor to take in fresh Water, he sent certain Deputies with a Letter to the King of *Aden*, with the usual Present of a Brocado'd Vest of Tissue of Gold, offering him his Friendship, and requiring him in the *Grand Signior's* Name to furnish his Fleet with Fleth and Fuel, if he could not assist in Person in the Expedition he was going upon, to extirpate the *Portugueses* (declar'd Enemies of the *Mahometans*) out of the *Indies*. The King of *Aden* was at that time a Tributary to the *Portugueses*, unto whom he paid yearly 10000 Ducats Tribute, notwithstanding which he gave a very honourable Entertainment to the Messengers, promising to furnish them with what Necessaries they wanted. About seven days after the whole *Turkish* Fleet entering the Harbour of *Aden*, was receiv'd with singular Demonstrations of Joy, the King sending one of his chief Courtiers aboard to congratulate *Solyman* upon his arrival, and to invite him ashore. *Solyman* return'd for Answer, That he should be glad to imbrace the King's kind Offers, but that the late Fatigues of the Sea had put him into such a disorder, that he could not stir at present; but as soon as he should be recover'd of his present Indisposition, he would not fail to pay his Respects to the King.

The King's Messengers were no sooner return'd to the City, but *Solyman* sent 300 Men after them, under pretence of refreshing themselves, and taking a view of the place (being all chosen Men) and the better to cover his Treachery, he sent word to the King, that to prevent any Disorders, he would send 100 Men the next day to bring them aboard again. The King of *Aden* was so credulous as to assign these 300 Men their Quarters in his Castle, which *Solyman* had no sooner notice of, but he sent the next day instead of the 100 Men, no less than 2000 *Janizaries*, to the no small Astonishment of the King, who now beginning to mistrust the matter, did not know what course best to take; but whilst he was considering what measures to take, News was brought, that a much stronger Body of *Turks* was advancing into the City, who had no sooner posted themselves near the Castle, but the Commander in chief told the King with a smile, that he would be pleased to give a Visit with two or three of his Courtiers to *Solyman*, who was indisposed aboard his Vessels. The King now began plainly to see the danger that threatened him, but not being in a condition to make any opposition, he was forced to submit; and being brought before *Solyman*, he ask'd them with an unparallel'd Magnanimity, Under what colour he could presume to take in Custody a Prince in Amity with the *Grand Signior*, and to treat him no otherwise than as a Criminal? Unto which *Solyman* reply'd, And are you not asham'd to let the Admiral of the *Grand Signior* stay three days in your Harbour without paying him a Visit? The King return'd, Had the *Grand Signior* been here in Person, I ought to have done no more than what I have done, and I am sure I should not have been treated thus. 'Tis true, I am now in your power, which I might have prevented had I not trusted my self and my Kingdom with those who now are going to betray both; without which *Aden* need not have stood in fear of your Strength: I am now, too late, sensible of my approaching Destiny, seeing my self in the hands of a treacherous Tyrant; but tho you may dispose of my Body, I hope the Bravery of the Inhabitants of *Aden*, and the Grandure of their Princes will outlast your barbarous Cruelties. He had no sooner ended his Speech, but *Solyman* order'd him to be hang'd on the Main-mast Yard, with four of his chief Courtiers, and afterwards seized upon the City, excusing his Treachery with the *Grand Signior's*

*Solyman's*  
Treachery  
with the  
King of  
*Aden*.

The King of  
Aden's Soldiers

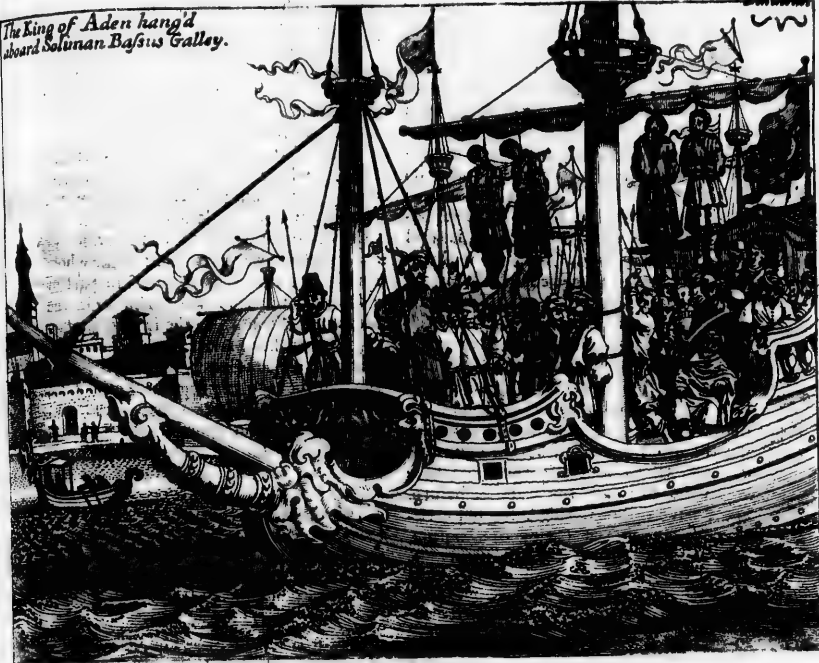
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Signior's Order, to punish the King for his being a Friend to the *Portugueses*.

*Diu* being one of the chiefest places of the *Indies*, we thought it would not be unacceptable to the Reader to insert the entire History thereof here. We will now proceed to the Description of the other places: *Daman* was one of the most antient and noted Places of the Kingdom of *Cambaja*, which, as we told you before, was taken and destroy'd by *Martino Alphonso de Soza*. As to *Chaul* and *Bazain*, there is scarce any thing remarkable to be said of them, except what has already been mention'd in the account of *Diu*.

*Dibul* is a City seated at 17 deg. 45 min. of Northern Latitude upon a most pleasant River, arising out of the Mountain *Ballaguante*, about two Leagues from the Sea, in former times much frequented by Foreign Merchants, and famous for its Traffick and Riches. *Sabajus* (a declar'd Enemy of the *Portugueses*) had surround'd this City with a Wall, and fortified the Harbour thereof with a strong Castle, which being garison'd with 6000 Men, (among whom were 500 *Turks*) he

thought himself secure against any Attempts of the *Portugueses*.

But *D'Almeyda* the *Portuguese* Admiral, appearing with his Fleet (aboard whereof were 1300 *European* Land Souldiers, besides 400 *Malabars*) sent some of his Gallies to make a false Attack upon the Castle, whilst he took this opportunity of landing his Men at some distance from thence. The *Indians* perceiving their Error, march'd with all possible speed out of their Gates against the *Portugueses*, whom they gall'd sorely with their Arrows; but these advancing with Sword in hand against their Enemies, made such a havock among them, that they were glad to retreat towards the City, and being closely pursued by the *Portugueses*, these enter'd pell mell with them, and made a great slaughter, killing all they met with, without sparing Men, Women or Children. They got here a considerable Booty, tho a great part of the best Moveables were burnt with the City, which was set on fire by the *Portugueses*.

We have hitherto given you an account of the most considerable Cities of the Kingdom of *Decan*, bordering to the

the South upon *Malabar*, upon *Bisnagar* to the East, upon the Sea to the West, and upon *Cambaja* to the North; it's divided into three parts, viz. into *Cuncan*, *Canara* and *Ballaguatte*, the last of which is a ridg of high Mountains flat on the top, with most excellent Pastures, extending even beyond *Goa*. The next in order is the Kingdom of *Visiapour*, the length whereof is no less than 250 Leagues, and its breadth 130. Its Capital City, which bears the same Name, lies 70 Leagues beyond *Goa*, 80 from *Dabul*, and is said to be five Leagues in Compass, with very strong Walls, and five noble Gates, on which are mounted above a thousand Brass and Iron pieces of great Cannon; they tell us, that among these there is one carrying no less than 540 Pound weight of Gunpowder, cast by a certain *Italian*, a Native of *Rome*, who being question'd by one of the King's Commissioners concerning the Money he had disbursed upon this account, threw him into the same hole where he had cast the Cannon before. Some have reckon'd this City, but erroneously, among the Cities of *Cambaja*. The King of *Visiapour* was formerly absolute Sovereign of this Kingdom, but after a long and heavy War was forced with divers other Princes in those parts, to become a Vassal to the *Great Mogul*: He used also sometimes to be embroil'd with the *Portugueses*.

This Kingdom borders to the South of *Wingurla* upon the River *Mirsee*, the Boundary of the Country of *Carnatica*, in the Territory of *Sivipaneyk*. To the North of *Wingurla* lies the Sea-port of *Danno*, the Boundary of the Kingdom of *Visiapour* on the side of the Empire of the *Great Mogul*, about 10 Leagues from *Daman*. The River here has  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fathom Water at high Tide, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  fathom at low Water. The second River is named *Terrapour*, having at low Water half a fathom, and with high Tide two fathoms depth. The third call'd *Chunam*, has generally two fathoms. The fourth call'd *Machyn*, has  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathom at high Water, and half a fathom at low Tide. The fifth Harbour is call'd *Quelieny*; the sixth *Bazain*; the seventh *Bombain*, (*Bombay*) where the depth is six fa-

thom at high, and four at low Water: The eighth is call'd *Siouwel*, where at high Water there is six fathom deep. All these Rivers belong to the Kingdom of *Visiapour*, but are for the most part in the possession of the *Portugueses*, who have built their Forts upon them: As for instance, at *Bombain* (*Bombay*) a spacious Harbour (at 18 deg. 50 min. Northern Latit.) where Ships may lie safe at Anchor against all the Winds; here the *Portugueses* have built a very fine Castle, (the Draught whereof you may see in the next Cut) which commands the whole Road, and was in 1662 given in part of a Dowry, together with *Tangier* in the Straits of *Gibraltar*, to the Infanta of *Portugal*, upon her Marriage with *Charles II.* King of *England*; whereby the *English* thought to have got a great Booty from the *Portugueses*, whereas they are in effect Places of no considerable Traffick. The Rivers *Dabul*, *Radiapour* and *Carapatan*, are entirely possess'd by the Natives.

For the rest, this Kingdom abounds in Saltpeter Works. The Royal Palace lies in the Center of the Capital City, defended by a double Wall and Ditch, with 100 battering Pieces, and a Garison of 2000 Men; the richest Merchants dwell in the Suburbs. The other Cities of note of this Kingdom are *Cintapour*, a Seaport Town, *Razapour*, *Banda*, *Rajeabaag*, Inland Cities; *Arec*, *Mirdy*, *Alfa*, *Tamba* and *Wingurla*, where the *Hollanders* have a stately Factory; it is seated at 15 deg. 7 min. of Northern Latit. a place very considerable, not only for its plenty in Wheat, Rice, and all sorts of Provisions and Refreshments, but also for its situation near *Goa*, which stood the *Dutch* in no small stead, whilst they were engag'd in War with the *Portugueses*, and had block'd up that Harbour. The Forces of the King of *Visiapour* consists in 150000 Horse, and 8000 Foot, of which more anon in the Description of *Negapatan*. We will in the next place proceed to the Description of *Goa*, together with its Origin, and what afterwards happen'd most remarkable in those parts, betwixt our Nation and the *Portugueses*.

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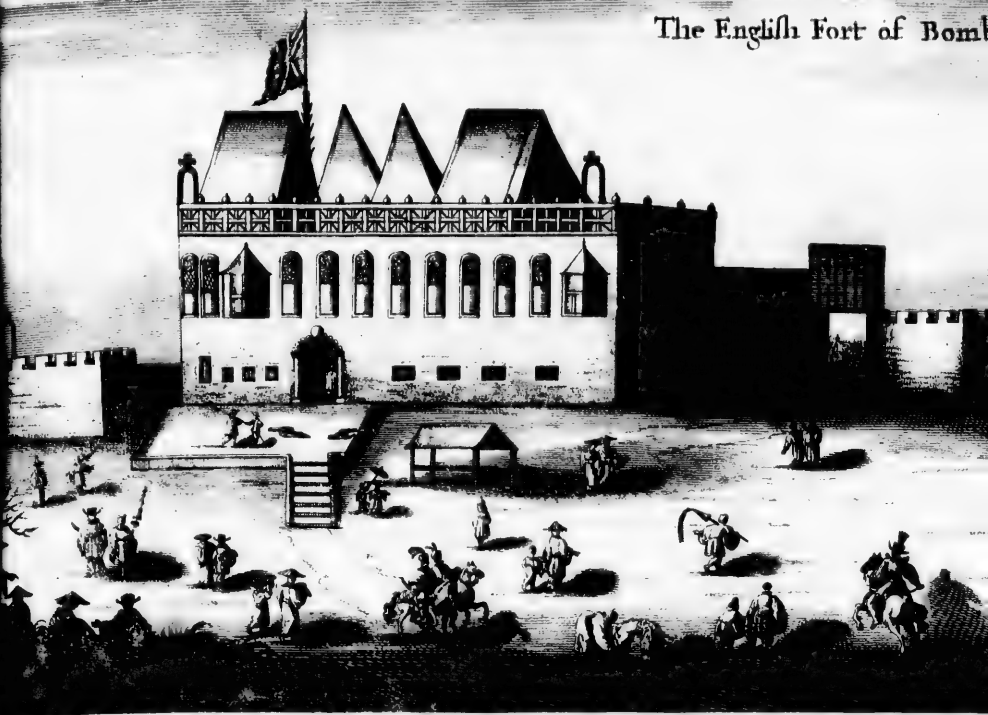
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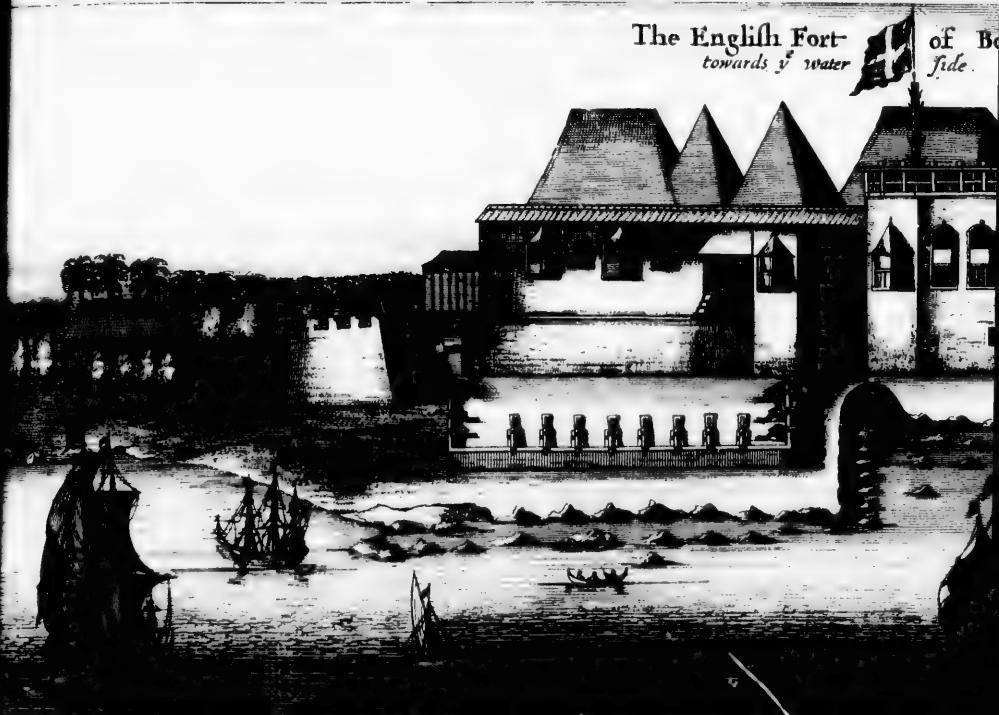
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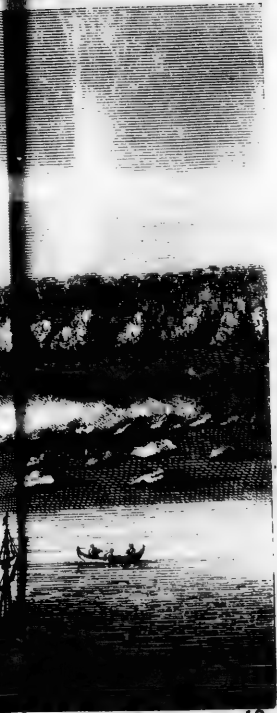
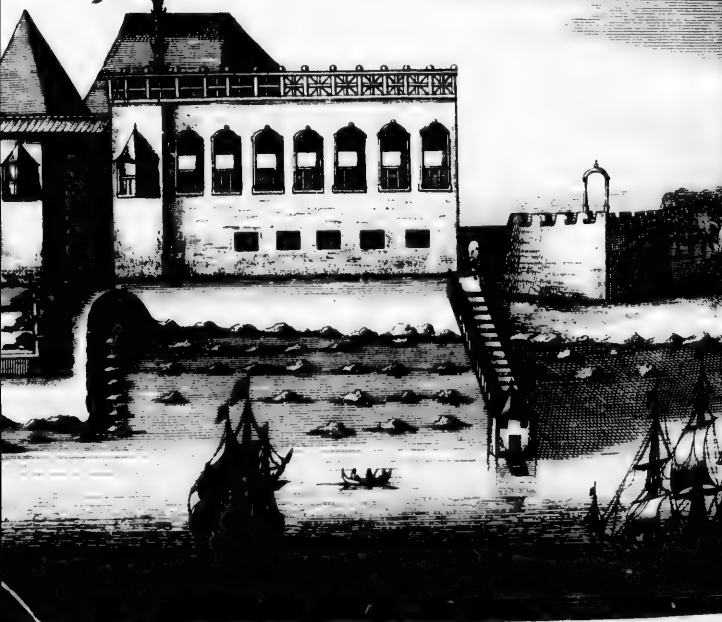




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## C H A P. XIII.

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*Goa taken by Albuquerque. The Death of Sabajus. Hidalcan comes before Goa. Albuquerque takes Goa a second time: Routs the Moors, and establishes Christianity in that City. The Life and Actions of Xaverius in the Indies, China and Japan. His Zeal and Piety.*

Goa has a hot Air, and most of its Provisions from the Continent.  
 THE City of *Goa* is seated in an Isle of a considerable bigness, at 16 deg. of Northern Latit. The Air or Climat is not very wholesom here, so that the *Portugueses* have in this place (as the *Dutch* have at *Batavia*) their great Hospital of the *Indies*, because many of the *Europeans* die here immediately after their arrival, and many more fall sick by reason of the moisture of the Air, as it was formerly at *Batavia*, which has been remedied since in some measure, by draining the fens thereabouts. *Goa* is the Capital City of the *Portuguese Indies*, the chief Residence of their Viceroy and Archbishop. The City is built after the *Portuguese* manner, each House having its peculiar Garden, as at *Cochin*, and other *Portuguese* Cities in the *Indies*.

Goa taken by Albuquerque.  
 The famous City of *Goa* was conquer'd for the *Portugueses* by *Albuquerque* in the following manner: One *Timoja* a famous Person in those parts, having possess'd himself of a small Isle belonging to the Kingdom of *Onor*, was a declar'd Enemy of *Sabajus* (of whom before) and the *Mahometans* of *Goa*, who interfering with him in their Commerce, he had destroy'd many of the Ships of the *Egyptians* and *Saracens* trading thither. Thus being link'd in point of Interest to the *Portugueses*, he had declar'd to *Almeyda* his readiness to do what Service he was able to perform to *Emanuel* then King of *Portugal*.

Sabajus his Death.  
*Albuquerque* coming into those parts, sent for *Timoja*, to consult with him concerning certain matters of moment relating to those parts, who inform'd him, that *Sabajus* being a declar'd Enemy of the *Portugueses*, had after the taking of *Dabul*, bestow'd vast Sums of Money in making Preparations against the *Christians*; but being prevented by Death from putting them in execution, he was succeed'd by his Son *Hidalcan*, who being engag'd in a War with the neighbouring Kings, and *Goa* at this time embroil'd with intestine Divisions, which had made most of the Garrison desert his Service, he was of opinion, that in case *Albuquerque* would for this time set aside his Expedition

against *Ormuz*, and attack *Goa*, he might make himself master of that City without much opposition: and to convince him of the sincerity of his Intention, he offer'd to go along with him in Person, and to take his share in all the danger. *Albuquerque* approving of the Counsel of *Timoja*, call'd together a Council of War, in which it being agreed to lay aside the Design upon *Ormuz*, and in lieu thereof to attack *Goa*, *Timoja* list'd a good number of Soldiers (under pretence that they were to be employ'd against *Ormuz*) and soon after having join'd *Albuquerque* with 14 Ships, they arriv'd near 11 days in the Isle of *Anchediva*: For some of the *Portugueses* began to question the success of this Enterprize, alledging that there were 4000 Men in Garrison in the City, and that it was imprudence to rely too much upon *Timoja*; but *Albuquerque* persisting in his Resolution, set sail from the Isle, and came to an Anchor before the Bar of *Goa*.

From hence he detach'd *Anthony Noronia* his Sister's Son, and *Timoja* with some light Vessels, to make themselves masters of the two Forts that defended the Entrance towards the City; which being done with all imaginable success, he sent his Messengers to *Goa*, to let the Inhabitants know, that if they would submit, they should be treated like Friends, and be discharged of one third part of the Tribute they were oblig'd to pay to *Hidalcan*; but in case of refusal they must expect no Mercy. The Inhabitants of *Goa* seeing themselves reduc'd to this nonplus, in the absence of *Hidalcan*, most of their Soldiers having deserted, and their Forts in the Enemies hands, thought it their wisest course not to abide the extremity, but to accept of the Offers of the *Portugueses*, which they did accordingly, and receiv'd *Albuquerque* with all the Demonstrations of Friendship, who rode triumphantly on Horseback into the City under the Acclamations of the People, a *Dominican* carrying an Ensign with the Crofs in it, and another the Keys of the City (surrender'd to him) before him. He was very punctual in performing all the Articles

*Albuquerque sets sail for Goa.*

*Two Forts taken.*

*Goa surrendered to the Portuguese.*

Baldans.

agreed upon betwixt him and the Inhabitants, forbidding the Soldiers under the most severe Penalties, to commit the least Outrages. His next care was, to take a view of the condition of the City, where he found divers goodly Vessels, some lately built, others upon the Stocks; the Arsenal very well provided with Artillery, and the King's Stables with a considerable number of the best Arabian Horses. And finding by the situation of the Place, of what consequence it might prove to the Portuguese for the future, in carrying on the War upon the Continent of Cambaja and the Cape of Coru, and to keep the neighbouring Princes in awe, he left no stone unturn'd to provide for its Security.

Left again by the Portuguese.

Thus much for the first Enterprize of the Portuguese upon Goa. We will now also give you a short account of their further success, how they lost it again by Treachery, and regain'd it a second time the 25th of Novemb. 1510. where these following Persons signaliz'd themselves to their immortal Honour, Manuel de Cinba, Manuel de Lacerda, Don John de Lima, and his Brother Don Jeronimo de Lima, Denys Fernandes, Diego Mendes de Vasconcelos, with many others.

Hidalcan prepares for the recovery of Goa.

For Hidalcan had no sooner receiv'd the surprizing News of the loss of Goa, but he made a Peace with the neighbouring Princes upon the best Conditions he could, with an intention to bend all his Forces towards the recovery of Goa. The better to compass his Design, he sent Camalcan his General, a brave Soldier, before with 8000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, to endeavour to pass a certain Branch of the Sea which incloses the Isle, he himself intending to follow with an Army of 5000 Horse, and 40000 Foot, as soon as he had made all the necessary Preparations for such an Enterprize.

Camalcan having pitch'd his Tents near the Sea-shore, this, together with the News of the approach of Hidalcan with a most powerful Army, caus'd no small Conternation in the Island. Goa was inhabited at that time by two sorts of People, viz. the Mahometans and Pagans; the first out of an irreconcilable hatred to the Christians, cry'd out for Hidalcan the Son of Sabajus, who was of the same Religion with them; and the Pagans fearing lest they should be severely chastised for their having surrendred the City upon such easy terms, were for purchasing Hidalcan's favour by betraying Albuquerque's Counsels to him. The worst of all was, that many even among

the Portuguese began to upbraid Albuquerque with want of Conduct, who they said, out of Vain-glory only, without the least regard to the Interest of Portugal, had with a handful of Men ventur'd upon so desperate an Enterprize as the seizing of so populous a City.

Albuquerque nothing dismay'd at all these Obstacles, endeavour'd to appease the Portuguese by fair words and promises, took 100 of the chief Inhabitants into custody, and having intercepted a Letter directed to Camalcan, he punish'd the Author thereof with Death, with divers others who were convicted of a Correspondence with the Enemy. But as his chief aim was to dispute their Passage cross the Branch of the Sea, he had erected Batteries provided with Cannon, at convenient distances near the Sea-side, and secur'd all their Boats, by which means he had repuls'd them several times in their Attempts. At last taking the advantage of a dark tempestuous night, they brought over both their Horse and Foot, without receiving any considerable damage from the Portuguese. Thus approaching to the City in Battel-array, most of the Inhabitants join'd with them, which oblig'd the Portuguese to retreat thither, tho without any great prospect of Security.

Camalcan summon'd Albuquerque to a surrender under certain Conditions; but tho he was sensible of the approaching danger, and the difficulty there would be of receiving any Relief in the Winter-season from May till September, when the frequent Storms render the Seas thereabouts unnavigable, and choak up the Entrance of the Harbour of Goa, yet was he resolv'd to expect the arrival of Hidalcan, and to abide the utmost Extremities rather than to surrender the place, resolving if all fail'd to pass the Winter in his Ships in the Harbour in spite of the Enemy. Camalcan, astonish'd at the Resolution of the Portuguese, made several fierce Attacks upon them, but in vain, till at last Hidalcan appearing with all his Forces, he resolv'd to cut of all manner of Provisions from the Portuguese, by which means he did not question to become Masters of the Place without Bloodshed.

He resolv'd however to send a Herald to Albuquerque to offer him honourable Conditions if he would depart; but whilst they were treating upon that Head, he found means to have a Ship loaden with Ballast sunk below the City, where the Branch of the Sea is pretty narrow, and the

Albuquerque endeavours to hinder their Passage into the Isle.

Camalcan passes into the Isle.

Albuquerque's Attempts to hinder the Portuguese.

Channel very strait, with an intention to have another sunk hard by it: *Albuquerque* was no sooner adverted thereof, but he call'd a Council of War, in which it was unanimously agreed, that they should embark the next night, before they had stopp'd up the whole Channel, that the Enemy might not intercept their Passage.

Accordingly they march'd out in the dead time of the night; but having set fire to their Magazine, they were discover'd and attack'd by the Enemy, so that with much ado they got to their Ships, when they weigh'd their Anchors, and with incredible difficulty pass'd through the narrow Channel at some distance from

the Town: By which however they were not freed from their Misery or Danger; for by the continual windings of the River they were frequently expos'd to the Enemy's Fire, and being destitute of fresh Water, they were forc'd to drink salt corrupted Water; what Horse-flesh they had left being also consum'd, they were reduc'd to feed upon Mice, Cats and Leather, which occasion'd a great Mortality among the *Portugueses*: Add to this, that they were continually annoy'd with the Enemy's Cannon from the two before-mention'd Forts (left by the *Portugueses* for want of Men) and saw no way how to pass them without a most manifest hazard.

*Albuquerque* being put to these straits, resolv'd upon a thing which at first sight appear'd rather to be a madness than founded upon serious Considerations: but the Event shew'd, that in Extremities the boldest and most hazardous Undertakings are often the best. Both these Forts were provided with good Garisons, but being sensible of the Misery of the *Portugueses*, they regarded them so little, that they scarce thought it worth their while to guard their Posts: *Albuquerque* having receiv'd some notice thereof, detach'd 300 chosen Men, whom he divided into two Troops; these being animated with great Promises and Revenge, advanced towards the Forts at the same time, and finding the Centrys asleep, kill'd them, and so entering the Forts soon put the rest to flight, took possession of the Fort, and carried off the Cannon aboard their Vessels. *Hidalcan* was so surpriz'd at this bold Enterprize, that not thinking himself secure in the place where he was, he order'd his Tent to be pitch'd at a greater distance.

The next thing the *Indians* attempted was, to endeavour to set fire to the *Portuguese* Fleet by means of dry Brush-

wood and Faggots dipt in Pitch and Rosin; to prevent which *Albuquerque* man'd out certain Boats to burn them before they could come near enough: This occasion'd a smart Engagement, wherein *Anthony Noronia* (a brave young Gentleman, declar'd Viceroy of the *Indies* after *Albuquerque*) being dangerously wounded in the Knee, died a few days after. The Enemy's loss was also very considerable; but the Death of *Noronia*, together with the manifold Miseries, Dangers, and Difficulties they had daily to struggle with, made the *Portugueses* resolve to sail to the Isle of *Anchedra* to set ashore their sick Men, who stood in great need of Refreshments for their Recovery.

Whilst *Albuquerque* was here ruminating with himself how to recover *Goa*, a Squadron of 10 *Portuguese* Men of War arriv'd in the *Indies*. Strengthened with this Succour, and having new modell'd his Forces by purging them of some mutinous Spirits, he embark'd 1500 Land-Soldiers, and 300 *Malabars* aboard 34 Vessels; and steering his course to the Isle of *Onor*, he concerted new measures with *Timoja* for the Recovery of *Goa*: and having engag'd him to list as many Forces as possibly he could, he set sail immediately towards *Goa* with such an astonishing Confidence of success, that the *Indians* upon his approach deserted the Forts without firing a Cannon.

Advancing from hence to the City, a bloody Engagement ensu'd near the Royal Palace, which *Hidalcan*'s Soldiers pretending to defend to the utmost extremity, but being routed, the rest threw down their Arms, some precipitating themselves from the Walls into the Ditch, others seeking Refuge, or rather Death, among the Waves, whilst the rest dispersed in the Island. This Engagement lasted above six hours. Immediately after *Timoja* coming to the Assistance of the *Portugueses*, they enter'd the City, where they made a most miserable havock among the *Moors*, whom they were resolv'd to extirpate root and branch; 7000 whereof are suppos'd to have been slain in four days times; the Pagans themselves being exasperated at them for having dispossest them of their Lands, cut many of them to pieces, and among the rest the Treasurer of *Hidalcan*, in whose House they found a good Booty. Such of the *Mahometans* as were taken Prisoners, *Albuquerque* order'd to be enclosed in a Turkish Mosque, together with a certain Renegado Christian, who had deserted to *Goa*, and to set it on fire.

*Baldern*

*Anthony Noronia*

*The Portuguese sail to Anchedra*

*Attack on Goa a second time*

*And take it*

*Commit great Cruelties*



**Baldens.** fire, which was executed accordingly. The next thing *Albuquerque* took care of, was to have Bricks and Lime made for the rebuilding and strengthening of the Fortifications; and (if we may credit the *Portugueses*) as they were digging under the Ruins of some old Walls, they found a Brazen Cross, which (considering no Christians were ever known to have liv'd there before) was look'd upon by them as a miraculous good Omen, prefiging the Establishment of the Christian Religion there.

A Cross found in the Ruins of Goa.

*Albuquerque* having punish'd with Death such of the Inhabitants as had had a hand in the first Mutiny, order'd that the *Portugueses* should marry the young Women of the Country (after they had been baptiz'd) the better to people the City, which from that time began to encrease considerably: *Sequeria* having caused the first Church that was built, with the adjacent Houses and Convent, to be dedicated to *S. Francis*. And in the year 1548. the Church and Convent of *Dominicans* was erected of Brick-work, 12 Fathers of that Order being about that time introduced into the *Indies* by *James Bermudius* a *Castilian*. After the arrival of the *Jesuits* in those parts (who have also a fine College here) there were in four years time baptiz'd no less than 17290 *Indians*, without reckoning those converted by the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* before. In the *Jesuits* Chappel lies interrench'd the Body of *Francis Xavierius*, of which the *Portugueses* relate strange Miracles, as well as of his whole Life; an ample relation whereof may be seen in *John de Lucena* in *Portuguese*, by *Daniel Bartholi* in *Italian*, and by several others in *Latin*; and in another Treatise of *Bartholi* printed at *Rome* 1653. concerning the Actions of the antient Fathers of the *Jesuitical* Order. It will be sufficient for us to touch upon some of the chief Heads related by the *Portugueses* of this Saint.

The Church of the Franciscans and Dominicans.

Increase of the Christians.

The Death of Xavierius.

His Body uncorrupted.

He died in the Isle of *Sanchan* in *China* 1552. the second of *December*, of a violent Fever, in the eleventh year of his Voyage over the *Indies*. His dead Carcase was laid in a Coffin with his Clothes on, fill'd with Lime, with an intention to transport his Bones thence after the Flesh had been consum'd by the quick Lime. Many days after the *Portugueses* opening the Coffin, found his Body not only uncorrupted, but also of a lively Colour, and most agreeable Scent: Thence being transported to *Malacca*, and the Coffin being opened a second time, above three Months

after his Decease, they found neither the least signs of Corruption, or any nauseous Stench. After he had been buried here five Months, a certain *Jesuit* travelling that way from *Goa*, being desirous to see the Body of *Xaverius*, found not only the Body, but also his Clothes uncorrupted, and of a very odoriferous Scent.

Thus it being judg'd unseemly that his Body should remain any longer underground, *Didacus Pereria* caused a magnificent Coffin adorn'd with Gold and Silk to be made, wherein the Body was deposited at *Malacca*, till it could be transported to *Goa*, where it was received with incredible demonstrations of Joy by the *Viceroy*, all the Persons of note, and especially by the *Jesuits*, and deposited with a great deal of Ceremony in the Chappel of *S. Paul*. And finding that the People were so eager to touch his Body, that it was to be fear'd they would in time consume it, or carry it away by piece-meals, it was inclosed in an Iron Grate; such being the Zeal of the People of *Goa* at that time, that they would embrace the Body of *Xaverius* without intermission, lay their Beads upon it, rub it with their Hands, &c. and the whole City rung of the Praises of this Saint, of his uncommon Zeal, Piety, Charity, Mildness, his Dangers in his Voyages, his Chastity, Temperance, Fasts, Prayers, Miracles, Constancy, Prudence, and great Actions for the Honour of Christ.

The Speech he made upon his departure for *Japan* and *China* to his Friends, who were for dissuading him from so dangerous an Undertaking, is so excellent in its kind, that it very well deserves a place in this Treatise.

"I am surpriz'd to see you who spend your days in the Praise of God Almighty's Power and Mercy, should now be so dissident thereof in regard of my Person. Have you forgot who is the Supreme Governor of the Universe, and that every thing is rul'd by his Will? Can you be destitute of Instants? What is his nature? Don't the Waves of the Sea, who open'd a way to the servants of God through the depth thereof, furnish you with an undeniable Example? Don't the Winds who allay'd their fury by his Command, proclaim his Power? Pray look upon *Job*, who could not be afflicted by the Devil without God's special Permission. The Mouth of Truth himself tells you, that the Hairs

Xaverius his Speech

" of

" of our Heads are number'd. As we  
 " see Ambassadors of Temporal Princes,  
 " relying upon their Characters, and the  
 " Power of their Masters, pass unarm'd  
 " and undisturb'd through an Enemy's  
 " Camp; so it becomes us who bear the  
 " Character of Interpreters of the Di-  
 " vine Law, and of Teachers of the  
 " Heathens, to rely upon nothing but  
 " the Assistance and Power of the Di-  
 " vine Majesty, which without any other  
 " Weapons can carry us safely through  
 " all Dangers both by Sea and Land,  
 " through Fire and Sword, or what else  
 " may seem to oppose the accomplish-  
 " ment of his Will. And if it happen  
 " that some of his faithful Ministers fall  
 " into the hands of cruel Persons, if they  
 " are devour'd by wild Beasts, suffer  
 " Shipwracks, or are expos'd to Hunger,  
 " Thirst, Cold, Heat, Sickneses, and  
 " other Miseries, all these are to be  
 " look'd upon as the Effects of the Di-  
 " vine Pleasure, to try the Faith and  
 " Constancy of his Servants: For were  
 " it not so, we are sufficiently convinc'd  
 " by many Examples, in what manner  
 " our God has a careful Eye over them;  
 " how he has sent the Ravens to feed  
 " them, the Angels to feed them, how  
 " the wildest Beasts have deposited  
 " their natural Fury and become mild,  
 " how the Flame it self has not been  
 " able to hurt them, nor the greatest  
 " Tyrants to execute their Cruelties  
 " upon them. 'Tis true, the Victory  
 " does not always incline on our side,  
 " and we are often frustrated in the ex-  
 " pectation of the fruits of our Labour;  
 " but those Disappointments ought not  
 " in the least stop the hand of a zealous  
 " Minister, in attempting every thing  
 " that may conduce to God's Honour,  
 " and the Salvation of Souls. If a Sol-  
 " dier in hopes of a small share of Ho-  
 " nour, ventures his Life in the midst of  
 " his Enemies; if the Seaman for the  
 " hopes of an inconsiderable Lucre, leave  
 " the shore, and commit his Life to the  
 " merciless Waves, would it not be a  
 " shame for a Minister of Christ to re-

" fuse to hazard his Life for God's Ser-  
 " vice, and to look upon every thing as  
 " a trifle in comparison of the Kingdom  
 " of Heaven, and its Increase? Let no  
 " such thoughts enter our Minds, there  
 " being nothing so precious, that ought  
 " in this regard to hinder us from the  
 " promoting of God's Service.

A most excellent Speech, worthy to  
 be imprinted in the Hearts of all faith-  
 ful Ministers of Christ, and the more  
 valuable upon that score, that his Deeds  
 were altogether agreeable to his Words:  
 For embarking at Goa for Malacca, he  
 thence set sail in a *Chinese Joncke* or Vessel  
 for Japan, where he arriv'd happily at  
*Cangaxima*, where this great Man did  
 not think it below himself to be in-  
 structed in the first Rudiments of that  
 Language for Christ's sake. The next  
 thing he applies himself to was, to have  
 the chief Articles of the Christian Faith  
 translated into the *Japanese* Language,  
 making use for this purpose of an Inter-  
 preter, till he attain'd himself to the  
 Perfection thereof, in which he ceased  
 not to labour day and night; being mov'd  
 by an uncontrollable Zeal of planting  
 the Gospel among these Pagans. Truly  
 a very commendable Zeal, not to be for-  
 gotten by " who bear the Name of  
 Christians; and tho *Xaverius* his Religion  
 differs in certain Points from ours, yet  
 might his Piety and other commendable  
 Virtues serve as an Encouragement to all  
 pious Ministers, to follow his Footsteps  
 in performing the Service of God to the  
 utmost of their Power. It must be con-  
 fess'd on all hands, that had not the ac-  
 tive Spirit of the Jesuits awaken'd the  
*Franciscans*, and other Religious Orders  
 from their Drowsiness, the *Roman Church*  
 had before this time been buried in its  
 Ruins: And as for my self, I am very  
 willing to own, that my Pen is not capa-  
 ble of expressing the worth of so great  
 a Man; tho at the same time I am of  
 opinion, that if *Xaverius* were alive now,  
 he would disown many things, especially  
 as to his Miracles, since publish'd by his  
 followers.

Baldew.

Baldens.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Increase of the City of Goa. Its Traffick, Manners, and way of living of the Portugueses there. The War betwixt the Dutch Company and the Portugueses. Their Ambassadors appear in the Great Council at Batavia; their Propositions and Transactions.*

Increase  
and Traf-  
fick of Goa.Inhibi-  
tions.The way of  
living of  
the Portu-  
gueses.

THE City of Goa increasing every year in Riches and Traffick, increased also in Strength by the addition of several Forts near the Water-side; this being the Capital City of the Portugueses in the Indies. Its Traffick was much more considerable formerly than of late years, since by our blocking up the Bar of Goa they were not a little disturb'd by our Ships. Whilst Goa was in its flourishing State, they used to send their Ships to Pegu, Siam, Japan, Persia, Cambaja, Arabia, Malabar, Coromandel, Bengale, Achem, besides divers other places. It's well inhabited not only by Europeans, but also Canarins, Moors, and Pagans of all Nations, who live for the most part upon trading, or are Handicrafts Men. The great Street of Goa has many rich Shops well-stor'd with Silks, Porcellain, and other precious Commodities, Drugstery Wares, Manufactories, &c. Some of these as well as fresh Provisions are sold every day in the Market-places, where you hear a Crier, or Auctioneer (call'd by them *Lalang*) to sell in publick all sorts of Goods, both movable and unmovable, Cattle, Slaves, &c. to the fairest Bidder; but they leave off early, by reason of the excessive Heat about mid-day.

The manner of living of the Portugueses is the same here as in most other places of the Indies; they are distinguish'd into *Cazados*, i. e. married People, and *Zoldados*, single People; the last are most esteem'd. The Portugueses here are generally very idle, seldom applying themselves to any Employment, leaving the management of their business for the most part to their Slaves, even the Women committing the care of their Children to the Female Slaves, who also give them suck. The Men frequently marry with the Natives of the Country, yet not so much now as formerly: The Children begot betwixt a Portuguese and an Indian Woman are call'd *Mistices*, as the Children of these *Mistices* are call'd *Caslicos*.

The Men are generally addicted to excessive Lust; and I remember to have

seen three Women Slaves lie in at once, who were got with Child by their Masters; Fornication and Adultery being consider'd among them as Errors of little moment; but they are very averse to Drunkenness, notwithstanding which Quarrels and Murders are frequent among them.

The Men are also generally excessive proud, there being scarce any of them that thinks himself remov'd a little above the vulgar sort, but what has his Umbrello carried over his Head, another Servant to carry his Cloke after him, and another who holds his Sword: They use frequently Snuff, not excepting even the Maidens and Women; and as they walk along the Streets, they are continually stroking and setting up their Whiskers. The Women never appear abroad either a foot or in Chairs unveil'd, their Husbands being (and perhaps not without reason) very jealous of them; for which reason also they keep them at home in their Apartments above stairs. The Windows whereof are so contriv'd, that they can look upwards, but not downwards into the Streets.

The Distempers most in vogue at Goa are the burning Fevers, which the Portugueses cure by Venesection, sometimes five or six times aday, but they let but little at a time. The French or Spanish Pox are also so common here (as in most other parts of the Indies) that a *Fidalgo* or Gentleman here does not look upon it as a disgrace to have been afflicted with it twice or thrice in his life-time. For the rest, the Portugueses use much Sweetmeats, and take a Draught of cool Water after it, they being Enemies to strong Liguors, and moderate in their Diet, a small share sufficing for a good number of People. The Women feed much upon Rice, tho they have excellent Wheaten Bread; they also use frequently *Betel* and *Areek*, and all sorts of Pickles, which makes them have a pale Colour.

The King of *Vijapour* has more than once shewn his Inclination of attacking Goa by Land, especially at that time whilst *Cornelius Simonse* commanded the

Dutch

Their Lust  
and Pride.

Their Jealousy.

Distempers.

The Dutch  
cure not to  
the Masters  
of Goa.The War  
betwixt  
the Dutch  
and Portu-  
gueses  
propitious  
to the King.The King of  
Vijapour  
willing to  
attack  
Goa.

Dutch  
much  
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The War  
betwixt  
the Dutch  
and Portu-  
gueses  
propitious  
to the King.

*Dutch Fleet* in those parts, he being much respected among the *Mahometans* ever since his burning of the Galleons near *Mormagon*: But the Death of the said Admiral prevented the design of that King, as much questioning whether his Successor might be a Man of the same stamp. In the year 1641. the said King promised a second time to form the Siege of *Goa*, provided the *Dutch Company* would engage to let a certain number of their Ships winter at *Dalul*, *Orizery*, or some other of his Majesty's Harbours, which was no more than a necessary Precaution; it being certain, that in case the Siege should miscarry, the *Portugueses* without our Assistance would have made themselves Masters of these Harbours. Formerly it was accounted dangerous to send our Ships to the Bar of *Goa* before *October*; but Experience has taught us since, that this Coast of the *Indies* is navigable towards the latter end of *August*, or in *September*, the exact time when the rich Ships come from *Mosambique*, *Mascate*, and divers other places, which have sometimes been taken by our Ships; whereas if they come later, they have nothing else to do but to attempt the Galleons under the Castle. In the year 1640. the *Portugueses* made shift to bring into the Harbour two Caracks, and as many Galleons, well provided with Men, and all other Necessaries; which gave them the opportunity to fortify the Isle of *Mormagon*; since which time, to render the Blockade by Sea the more effectual, the *Hollanders* have order'd certain Frigates to cruise with a Sloop near the Cape and the *Burned Islands* (call'd *Ibas quimadas*) whereby the *Portuguese* *Cassilas*, which supply them with Provisions, are prevented from going out or in.

It is sufficiently demonstrable, that the *Dutch Company* did at first judg it for their interest to be Masters of *Goa*, but laid it aside afterwards, thinking it more for their interest to block up the Bar of *Goa*: Certain it is, that both the Directors and the Governor and Members of the Great Council of the *Indies*, look'd upon the War betwixt them and *Portugal* as propitious to them, as is evident from the Petition deliver'd in *May* 1641. by the said Directors in the *Hague* to the States General of the *United Provinces*.

The chief intent of this Petition was, to shew, That tho it was beyond all question that the *Dutch East-India Company* was erected in its first beginning in the years 1601, 1602, and

1604. to carry on a peaceable Commerce in the *Indies*; but that since Experience had sufficiently convinc'd them, that the *Portugueses*, who had play'd the Masters in the *Indies* for many years before, had left no stone unturn'd to disturb the Commerce of the *Dutch*, by seizing their Ships, and imprinting very disadvantageous Notions of them into the *Indian Princes*. That in 1602. when the *Dutch East-India Trade* was incorporated into one Society or Company, two peculiar Advantages were (among others) obtain'd thereby at that time: First, Full Authority of protecting their Traffick jointly in the *Indies* by force of Arms: The Consequence whereof had been, secondly, That the *Indian Princes* were enter'd into an Engagement with the said *Dutch Company*, out of hatred and fear of the *Portugueses*; that by these means the Ships of the *Dutch Company* having purged the Seas of the *Pirats*, had settled since the year 1604. their Factories and Traffick, not only in all the Islands from the Red Sea as far as *Japan*, but also in the Territories of the Grand Signior, in *Arabia*, at *Mocha*, in *Persia*, even in the Capital City of *Ispahan*, in the Kingdom of *Cambaja*, and the Empire of the Great Mogul, in *Decan*, in *Malabar*, *Narsinga*, *Coromandel*, *Golgonda*, *Bengale*, *Araacan*, *Pegu*, *Albin*, *Sumatra*, *Jambi*, *Palimban*, *Bantam*, *Cambodia*, *Siam*, *Cochin-China*, *Tonquin*, &c. That since the Establishment of these Factories, the security of their Commerce was chiefly founded upon this Maxim, to maintain a War against the declar'd Enemy of these *Indian Princes*, their Engagements to us being founded upon their opinion of our Enmity with the *Portugueses*. To prove this they alledg the following ten Reasons.

1. Because the *Dutch East-India Company* was chiefly by means of the War with the *Portugueses* arriv'd to that Greatness it is now at, their whole Traffick in the *Indies* being founded upon this Basis, whence they draw yearly a return of 78910 Millions of Gelders; and if the said Foundation were not shaken, they might expect every year larger Returns.

2. That in case of a Truce they should not reap the fruits of the Victories, viz. to put a stop to their Power, a thing absolutely to be consider'd.

3. In case of a Truce the Equipment of many Ships of War would be laid aside, by which means *Holland* would be depriv'd of the Strength of a considerable number of Men of War in case of necessity.

Baldau.

Fallsries of the Dutch in the Indies

Ten Reasons for the continuance of a War with the Portugueses.

K k k k

4. That





*Justus Schouten*, a Member of the Great Council of the *Indies*, *Simon van Alphen*, Doctor of the Laws, Sheriff of the City of *Batavia*, *Sebald Wandelaar*, Receiver-General, *Peter Soury*, *Barent Wichmans*, *Dirk Snoek*, *Emoud Spieringh*, head Factors, *John Lamoot*, Serjeant-Major, *Gerard Herbers*, Doctor of the Laws, head Factor, *Francisco de Souza de Castro*, and *Antonio Fialho Pereira*, both *Portuguese* Gentlemen, were sent to conduct them from aboard their Vessel to the General's Palace, under the discharge of five pieces of Cannon; and being immediately introduc'd into the Apartment where the Great Council was then assembled, after the first Compliments on both sides, one of the Ambassadors began to make his Harangue: "That *Portugal* having withdrawn it self from the *Spanish* Jurisdiction, had chosen *Don John Duke of Braganza* their King; that the said King having soon after sent an Ambassador to their High and Mightinesses to treat of a Peace and an Alliance betwixt both Nations, they had all the reason to believe that the same was brought to a happy Conclusion before this time: In regard of which they were sent by the Viceroy of *Goa*, to treat with their Excellencies about a Cessation of Arms, as would more at large appear out of their Credentials, which they deliver'd at the same time to the Governor-General with this Superscription:

*A. O. Senhor Antonio de Dienien, Capitao General de Nacao Ollandesa n' este Oriente.* On the other side was written, *De Conde d' Aveiras Viceroy e Capitao d' India.*

The Letter was seal'd with the Arms of *Portugal*, and written in the *Portuguese* Language, as follows.

*Their Credentials.*

"IN the beginning of September arriv'd in our Fort *Onor*, a *Caravel*, sent from *Portugal*, whereby we were inform'd, that the *Portuguese* have proclaim'd and acknowledg'd a King of their own, by the general Consent of that Nation. His Majesty of *Portugal* did in one of his Letters give notice to us, that certain Ambassadors having been dispatch'd to their High and Mightinesses the States General, to treat about a Peace, it was not doubted, but the same would be soon concluded, a Truce having been already agreed upon betwixt the two Nations in *Europe*, whereof notice had been given by the said Majesty to the

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"Commodore *Quast*, intimating, that as a Cessation of Arms was concluded in *Europe*, so the same might take effect in these parts, and that he had given orders to the Viceroy of *Goa* accordingly. After the Decease of the said Commodore, we gave notice thereof to *Cornelius Leendertsz Blauw* his Successor, who excusing himself with his want of Power, as being oblig'd to follow strictly the Orders of the Great Council of the *Indies*, we thought fit to send *Diego Mendes de Britto*, Gentleman of the King's Household, and Father *Gonsalvo Viloso*, to treat with your Excellencies concerning this Point; they being provided with Credentials from his Majesty, that whatever shall be agreed upon with them, shall be valid and kept inviolably. We wish all Blessings to the Crown of *Portugal*, and the United Provinces. Dated 6 Decemb. 1641.

Subscribed,

*Conde d' Aveiras.*

The Great Council having told them, that they would take the matter into serious Consideration, the Discourse began to turn upon indifferent matters, and among the rest concerning the *Caraque*, lately taken by the *Dutch*. The Ambassadors being ask'd whether the Captain did not present the Viceroy with two or three Casks of Wine; they answer'd, No; At which the Governor-General shew'd a great dislike, telling the Ambassadors, that they must pardon the matter, it being a common thing for the best Seamen to make the worst Courtiers. After the Ambassadors had din'd with his Excellency, they were conducted to their Lodgings at Mr. *James Harder's* House. They were both Persons of a goodly Aspect, the *Franciscan* being betwixt 60 and 70 years of Age, the other of about 50. Their Train consisted in two Pages, and four *Portuguese* Footmen, besides the *Negroes* and *Mistices*, a Gentleman, a Secretary, Surgeon, and two Boys; their Livery was Orange Colour.

The 8th of February the said Ambassadors demanded a second Audience, which being for weighty Reasons defer'd till the 10th, they appear'd a second time at Nine a Clock in the Morning in the Great Council, reiterating their former Propositions concerning a Cessation of Arms: And lest the Governor-General might not as yet have receiv'd a full account of what had been transacted in *Europe*, they produc'd certain Original

Kkkk 2

Letters.

*Baldæus.* Letters, sent by his *Portuguese* Majesty to the Viceroy; but these being only private Letters from certain *Dutch* Merchants living at *Lisbon*, and another Letter from the States-General to the Admiralty of that place, and consequently the same that were before sent hither from our Squadron at *Goa*, by the way of *Coromandel*, by the Sloop call'd the *Pipeli*: His Excellency the Governor-General reply'd, that the last being sent to the Council before by the Commodore *Quast*, they had perus'd the same, and found that in the Letter of the States-General, it was expressly said that the *Dutch* should not molest the *Portugueses* on the other side of the Line; which being to be understood of the North-side, the *Indians* were not comprehended therein; besides that they had not receiv'd any Instructions upon that account from the Governors and Directors of the *East-India* Company.

But to convince the Ambassadors that they were not enter'd into this War out of any other motive than to obtain an honourable Peace; they could not but put them in mind, that tho they had deliver'd their Credentials from the Viceroy, they had not brought along with them any positive Proof whether the said Viceroy were authorized by his Majesty of *Portugal* to treat concerning matters of such great consequence; and it was consequently to be doubted whether the same would be approv'd of and ratify'd by his Majesty.

One of the Ambassadors reply'd, that the Viceroy of *India* was always endow'd with a Power of making Peace and War, many Instances of which could be alledg'd upon divers occasions; which would leave no room to question his Authority in this case; but if they did, they were ready to remain as Hostages for the accomplishment of what should be agreed upon. His Excellency the Governour-General return'd, That he was satisfied of the Authority of the Viceroy in making Peace or War with the *Indian* Princes, but remain'd doubtful, whether the same did extend also to the *European* Nations: Nevertheless, that he believ'd the Viceroy would not transgress his Commission, and that therefore they had been acknowledg'd as Plenipotentiaries; which being done, there remained nothing now to do, but to proceed to the Treaty it self, and to make their Propositions under what Conditions they would have the Truce settled.

The Ambassadors answer'd, that they look'd upon it as unnecessary to insist upon

many Conditions or Limitations at this juncture, when they expected every day to hear of a Peace concluded betwixt both Nations in *Europe*, according to the Conditions of which, both Parties would be oblig'd to regulate themselves hereafter: That their only aim now being to obtain a Cessation of Arms, the main thing in question was, to fix a certain time of its beginning, which they thought ought to be taken from that very hour the Truce was agreed upon and sign'd betwixt them.

The Governor-General told them that he agreed with them in that point, that not many Conditions were requir'd at this time, but that it would be next to an impossibility the Truce should commence from the very hour the same was sign'd, it being very probable that the *Dutch* Squadron would in the mean while not let slip any opportunity of taking their advantage over the *Portugueses*; as the Forces lately sent to *Ceylon*, perhaps might have made an Enterprize upon *Negumbo* or *Columbo*; as on the other hand, the *Portugueses* might probably have undertaken something against *Gale*, or have obtain'd some advantages against the *Dutch* in other places: The Viceroy himself having commanded *Don Philippo Mascarenhas*, that he should (till the News of the Truce did arrive) act with his utmost vigor against the *Dutch* in *Zeylon*. He urg'd, that all these things consider'd, it was to be fear'd that in case the Truce commenced according to their desire, this might furnish occasion to new Misunderstandings, it being more than probable that neither of the two Parties would be willing to restore what they had conquer'd in the mean while; that therefore it was his opinion, that the beginning of the said Truce must be so fix'd, as that sufficient time might be allow'd for giving notice thereof to the Subjects of both Parties.

The Ambassadors made many Objections against this, insinuating that the beginning of the Truce settled from the Date of the signing thereof, alledging among the rest, that they could scarce imagine the Viceroy should have sent such Orders to *Mascarenhas*. The Governor-General reply'd, that he had certain advice of it from *Ceylon*, but that notwithstanding this, he hoped the Ambassadors should not leave *Batavia* unsatisfied. He at the same time invited them to dine with him, where they were splendidly entertain'd, and drank to the Health of the King of *Portugal*, and the Prince of *Orange*.

The

Their third  
 audience.

The 18th of February the said Ambassadors had another Audience, wherein they desir'd a positive Answer to their Propositions, the time desir'd by the Governor to consult with the Great Council being expir'd. They urg'd, that since the 14th of February some Yachts were arriv'd, which had brought the Confirmation of the News of the Peace lately concluded betwixt both Nations, therefore they did not question but their Excellencies would no longer deny them the desir'd Trade.

The Governour-General gave for Answer, That the said Yachts had touch'd at *Fernambuco*, from whence they had brought the Articles of a ten years Truce betwixt his *Portuguese* Majesty *Don John IV.* and the High and Mighty the States General of the *United Provinces*, in respect of their Territories in *Europe*, with Exception however of the Places and Colonies belonging to the *East* and *West-India* Companies; that they had also brought along with them the Articles or Conditions agreed upon betwixt their High and Mightinesses and *Tristan de Mendoza* the *Portuguese* Ambassador, concerning the *West-India* Company: whence it appear'd, that the same ought to be first ratified by his *Portuguese* Majesty, and sent back to the States General; and that the same after that should not take effect before notice be given thereof in *Brazil*: and the same being agreed upon in reference to the *East-India* Company, and our Ships which left *Holland* in September last, being expected every day in these parts with the Ratifications of the said Treaty, it was thought convenient by the Great Council to expect their coming, and to regulate themselves according to the Conditions agreed upon betwixt their respective Masters, especially since the said Ships would probably arrive before the season would permit the Ambassadors to depart for *Goa*, and consequently there would be no loss of time in this respect.

The Ambassadors told them that they could not but think it strange, that since both Nations liv'd in Amity in *Europe*, they should act in a hostile manner against one another in the *Indies*. The Governor-General reply'd, that since their respective Masters had thought it convenient it should be so, till the Ratification of the Treaty by his *Portuguese* Majesty, and that notice had been given thereof to them, they were oblig'd to take their measures accordingly. The Ambassadors answer'd, that they had promised themselves a quite other Answer, tho in

all other respects they acknowledg'd the Honours and obliging Entertainment they had receiv'd, desiring that a Copy might be given them containing an exact account of all the Transactions during their stay here, betwixt their Excellencies and them, by which it might appear that they had not been defective in their Zeal and Industry to bring this matter to the desir'd effect. This was promised by the Governour-General, with this addition, that to give them all imaginable Satisfaction concerning the Truce, they would also give them a faithful Copy of the Articles thereof, not questioning but that the Ships would arrive in the mean while; but if they should happen to stay longer, beyond expectation, they would consult all proper means to give them what satisfaction they could. They thankfully receiv'd this Answer, extolling once more the obliging Entertainment they had met with at their hands; they din'd with most of the Members of the Great Council at the Governour-General's House, and towards the Evening took the Air on Horse-back.

The 30th of March the said Ambassadors had another Audience, in which they deliver'd a Memorial to the Great Council; which being read, the Governour-General told them, that what was alleg'd in the said Memorial was a Matter of Fact, and agreeable to what had been enter'd in their Records; but that they would not have them despond concerning the arrival of the Ships, which he was sorry staid so long behind; but that notwithstanding this, he hoped they should not depart without Satisfaction. The Ambassadors reply'd, his Excellency would be pleas'd to remember his Promise, of not letting them depart without Satisfaction, or obtaining the end of their Commission, in case the Ships should not arrive.

The Governour-General return'd for Answer, That by saying so, he did not intend to consent to the Truce, which was beyond his Power, at least till the arrival of the said Ships; but to give them all the possible marks of his Goodwill and Esteem, and that they should be dismiss'd with all the marks of Respect they were able to pay them. That since his Masters had thought fit to limit the beginning of the Truce to the time of its being ratified by his Majesty of *Portugal*, and being return'd into *Holland*, and thence to the *East-Indies*, they were absolutely oblig'd to wait for the arrival of it, lest it should seem as if they thought them-

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themselves more understanding in this Point than the States-General.

One of the Ambassadors made Answer, That they were periwaded his Excellency the Governour-General, was sufficiently authorized to make Peace and War at his pleasure in these Countries, the same tending to the advantage of the *Dutch* Nation; and that this Cessation of Arms could not but be acceptable to the States-General, who had so lately concluded a Peace with the King of *Portugal*. He further told them, that the Viceroy of *Goa* was always authorized with such a Power, but in a more peculiar manner at this time, having receiv'd expresse Orders for that purpose by a *Caravel* from his Majesty.

At last the Ambassadors perceiving that the Great Council remain'd stedfast in their Resolution, they thought it unfit to push the matter any further for that time, reiterating their former Request of having a Copy granted them concerning their Transactions here, and desiring that since the Season began to open the Passage by Sea to *Coromandel*, they might be dismiss'd forthwith, in order to prosecute their Journey by Land to *Goa* before the Winter, the same being impracticable afterwards, by reason of the frequent Rains. The Governour-General promis'd them entire Satisfaction upon both these Heads, and that a Ship should be got ready for their Excellencies; but that however he could not forbear to tell them, that in his opinion they would do better to tarry a little longer, in expectation of the before-mentioned Ships, and the Ratification expected to be brought over by them. They reply'd, That having receiv'd expresse Orders from the Viceroy to return to *Goa* with the first opportunity, they were oblig'd to obey, unless his Excellency would lay his Commands upon them to the contrary. The Governour-General answer'd, That it was not in his power to command them, what he had said being only by way of Advice; but if they were resolv'd to the contrary, they should not be in the least detain'd: That if they thought fit, Advice might be sent thereof to the Viceroy by the Ship that was then just ready to sail for *Coromandel*; or if they disliked this Proposition, one of them might tarry at *Batavia* till the arrival of the Ratification, whilst the other return'd to *Goa*. This Expedient being approv'd by them, it was agreed that the *Franciscan* Father should go back to *Goa* by the way of *Coromandel*, and the other

stay at *Batavia*, till the arrival of the Ratification.

Then the Ambassadors desir'd the Releasement of certain *Misfices* and *Negroes* that were Prisoners among us; which being soon granted by the Governour-General, he ask'd the same favour in behalf of four other Persons who had been clapt in Irons on occasion of some Mutiny at *Batavia*, in which they were the Ringleaders; which was also granted, under Condition that they should depart the Country with the *Franciscan* Father. They also made the like Request concerning *Francisco de Souza de Castro*, who (at the request of the Governor-General) being releas'd out of his Prison by those of *Achin*, was deliver'd up to the *Dutch*; he had likewise leave given him to depart with the *Franciscan* Father, provided he paid his Debts before his departure.

The first of *April* the two Ships call'd the *Tiger* and *Nassau*, which had left *Holland* the 16th of *September* last, being arriv'd at *Batavia*, the said Ambassadors appear'd once more in the Great Council, intimating, that they being inform'd that at the time of the departure of these Ships out of *Holland*, the Ratification of the Articles of his *Portuguese* Majesty concerning the *East-Indies* was not arriv'd, at which they were much surpriz'd, as not knowing what might be the reason thereof: They desir'd to know whether his Excellency had not receiv'd any more particular Intelligence, which might induce him to grant the desir'd Cessation of Arms. The Governour-General reply'd, that he had put it beyond all doubt, that the Ratification would have been brought along with these Ships; but since it had happen'd otherwise, it was not in his power to grant the requir'd Truce. The Ambassadors ask'd whether they should both depart, or whether his Excellency thought convenient that one of them should stay behind: The Governour-General told them that they were at their own disposal; but that, since they expected every day the arrival of their Winter-Ships, which infallibly would bring over the said Ratification, he judg'd it might be best for them to continue a little longer at *Batavia*.

Hereupon they resolv'd once more, that the *Franciscan* Father should go back over *Coromandel* to *Goa*, whilst the other should stay at *Batavia* for the arrival of the Ratification. Accordingly a written Certificate was given to the Ambassadors concerning their Zeal and Industry, in in-

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compassing their Commission, sign'd by his Excellency the Governour-General *Anthony van Diemen*, by *Cornelius van der Lijn*, *John Maatzwyker*, *Justus Schouten*, *Cornelius Witzen*, and *Peter Boreel*, in the Castle of *Batavia*, April 9. 1642. To the *Franciscan* Father the Council gave the following Letter, directed to the Viceroy of *Goa*.

*Most Illustrious Lord!*

Letter to the Viceroy of Goa  
 " *Diego Mendes de Britto*, Gentleman of the King's Household, and the Reverend Father, Brother *Goncalvo de S. Joseph*, your Excellency's Ambassadors, being come in our Road the 28th of January aboard the *Dolphin*, were honourably receiv'd by us the next day. They have deliver'd to us your Excellency's Credential Letters, dated in *Goa* the 6th of December of the last year, as also the Letters of his *Portuguese* Majesty to you, concerning the Truce betwixt *Portugal* and the *United Provinces*. The before-mentioned Ambassadors have not been remiss in their Zeal, Industry and Duty, to press in their several Audiences the obtaining of a Truce; which we would willingly have granted, had not we receiv'd certain Advice by some Ships arriv'd the 14th of February by the way of *Fernambuco*, and others arriv'd the first of April here, of a Truce concluded betwixt his Majesty of *Portugal* and the States-General of the *United Provinces*;

" wherein it was expressly agreed with his Majesty's Plenipotentiary *Tristao de Mendonça Furtado*, among other Points, that the Truce agreed upon for 10 years in *Europe*, should be of the same validity in these parts, yet so that the same should not commence before that his *Portuguese* Majesty should have sent back his Ratification into *Holland*, and the same be publicly proclaim'd afterwards in these parts, as will more fully appear to your Excellencies out of the enclosed Letters. Thus being oblig'd to follow the Directions of our Lords and Masters, we could not proceed further in this business till the arrival of the next Ships from *Holland*; which being expected daily, with the said Ratification, we did advise your Ambassadors to stay (or at least one of them) for the coming of the said Ships, as the only means not to render your Excellency's Embassy altogether fruitless: Accordingly Mr. *Diego Mendes de Britto* intends to hasten his Journey to *Goa*, immediately after the first further notice of the said Ratification, which we hope will prove agreeable to your Excellency's Sentiments. We recommend your Excellency to God's Protection. Dated in the Castle of *Batavia*, April 8. 1642.

Subscribed,

The Governour-General for the  
*United Provinces in the East-Indies.*

## C H A P. XV.

*The Ratification of the 10 years Truce brought to Batavia. A Protestation sent to the Count d'Aveiras. Treaty of Peace with the Viceroy. The Articles thereof. Agreements about the division of the Limits betwixt the Portugueses and Hollanders in the Isle of Ceylon. Agreement betwixt Mascarenhas and Cornelius van Sanen.*

The Ratification  
 published.  
 " THE so much desir'd Ratification (signed at *Lisbon* the 16th of January 1642. and deliver'd at the *Hague* the 15th of February following) being at last brought to *Batavia*, the same was publish'd the 8th of October throughout the *Indies*.

" *Anthony van Diemen* Governour-General, and the Members of the Great Council of the *East-Indies* under the Jurisdiction of the *United*

" *Provinces*, make known to all it may concern; That whereas by two several Letters, dated the 22d of February, and 15th of March 1642. brought over by the Ship the *Salamander*, we have been advertis'd, That the 12th of June 1641. a firm Alliance and Truce has been concluded for 10 years betwixt the most Potent *Don John IV.* King of *Portugal*, *Algerue*, and Lord of *Guinea*, and of the Conquests made on the Shoar of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *Persia* and *India*.



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"India, on one side, and their High and Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces on the other side, including all the before-mentioned Kingdoms, Countries, Provinces, Islands, and other places on both sides of the Equinoctial Line (without exception) all such as now actually are, or for the future may be under the Jurisdiction of the said King and the States-General; during which space of ten years successively all Hostilities betwixt their respective Subjects shall cease both by Sea and Land, without limitation or exception of any Places, Persons or Circumstances, as by the Articles of the said Truce does more amply and fully appear. It is therefore that we are commanded to surcease all manner of Hostilities from this day for the next succeeding ten years, according to which all our Subjects shall regulate themselves; and to take effectual care that nothing may be transacted any wise contrary to the true intent of the Articles of the said Alliance and Truce, but to maintain the same inviolably. And that nobody may plead ignorance in this case, we have order'd these Presents to be publish'd, enjoying every body under severe Penalties, not to infringe any of the before-mentioned Articles, as they will answer the same at their peril. Dated in the Castle of Batavia, Octob. 4. 1642. and first publish'd the 7th of the same Month, under the Great Seal of the Company in red Wax.

Anthony van Diemen.

By Order of his Excellency,

Peter Mcjdach, Secretary.

The Protest sent to the Count d'Avicira:

However this Truce was but ill observ'd by the Viceroy of Goa, especially in the Territories of Gale in the Isle of Ceylon, which induc'd the Dutch General and Great Council to send him this following Protest.

"BY Letters from our Commissary Peter Boreel, whom (after the Ratification of the Truce betwixt his Portuguese Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces) we dispatch'd to Goa, to give notice thereof to your Excellency, we have been inform'd beyond all expectation, that upon his arrival there, and his earnest request to your Excellency (pursuant

"to our Orders) to withdraw the Army under the Command of Don Philip of Mascarenbas, from the Territories of Puntegale under our Jurisdiction, your Excellency has been pleas'd to shew so much aversion to comply with his Demands, tho founded upon undeniable and just grounds represented to your Commissioners in the several Conferences held upon that Subject \*, that he finding his Presence usefess at Goa, he was forced to return from thence without being able to encompass his just Designs, and (pursuant to his Orders receiv'd from us) to denounce before his departure, the Continuation of the War to your Excellency, till Satisfaction might be obtain'd upon this score. And since the unjust detention of the Territories of Gale tends to our considerable Detriment, we declare, that upon perusal of the Writings sent to us by your Excellency by the hands of our Commissary, we can make no better Construction of the whole matter, than that your Excellency's Intention is, under this framed Proteft, to render the Truce concluded betwixt our respective Masters, invalid and of no worth. It is therefore that we think our selves oblig'd to approve every thing that has been transacted upon this Head by our Commissary, and to make use of such means for the Justification of our Rights, as God has put into our hands, and are altogether futable to the Laws of Nations. And as upon these Considerations, we have sent back this Fleet, by which your Excellency will at once receive this Protest, and be made sensible at the same time of our Resolution of maintaining our just Cause, which will questionless prove the occasion of new Differences betwixt his Portuguese Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, as also of much Effusion of Blood, of vast Expences, and many other Inconveniences; we call God to witness, and declare and protest by these Presents, that we are innocent, and are not answerable for the direful Consequences of this breach of the Truce, which we were ready to have punctually observ'd on our side, pursuant to the Intention of our Masters, had not your Excellency bereav'd us of all hopes of adjusting matters by an amicable Composition, for the recovery of our Rights in the Country

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" of Gale, unjustly detain'd by your  
" Excellency. Dated in the Castle of  
" Batavia, the 5th of August 1643.

Signed,

Anthony van Diemen, Cornelius van der Lyn,  
Francis Caron, John Maatzuyker,  
Justus Schouten, Salomon Sweers.

Thus matters remain'd in suspense be-  
twixt the Portuguese and us till the year  
1644. when Mr. Maatzuyker being au-  
thorized by their High and Mightinesses,  
as also by the General and Great Council  
of the Indies, to treat with the Count  
d'Avicras Viceroy of Goa, concerning a  
firm Truce, and to adjust the remaining  
Differences for that purpose (yet upon  
the approbation of their respective Masters)  
the same at last concluded a Truce the  
10th of November, upon the following  
Conditions.

" I. Both Parties declare, that this  
" present Agreement, intended for the  
" composing of such Differences as have  
" hitherto occasion'd much Bloodshed,  
" and obstructed the so long desir'd Peace,  
" shall in no wise be deem'd, or be pre-  
" judicial to the Rights and Sovereignties  
" either of the most Illustrious King of  
" Portugal, or of their High and Mighti-  
" nesses the States-General of the United  
" Provinces, as the same are establish'd  
" (by the Truce agreed upon betwixt  
" his Portuguese Majesty and the said  
" States General) in their respective  
" Cities, Castles, Fortresses, Towns, Har-  
" bours, and Seas in the Indies; and that  
" this Agreement shall be inviolably ob-  
" serv'd on both sides immediately after  
" its second Publication at Goa.

" II. Since the happy Effects of the  
" Truce have been obstructed hitherto,  
" by certain Differences arisen about the  
" just Division of the Limits in the Isle of  
" Ceylon, it is agreed that the Decision  
" thereof shall be entirely remitted to  
" the respective Masters and Lords of  
" both Nations, and in the mean while  
" a full Cessation of Arms and all Hosti-  
" lities to be kept inviolably, and all  
" Forts, Territories, and other matters  
" to remain in the same state as they  
" were at the day of the Publication of  
" these Presents at Goa; so that not the  
" least Alteration or Innovation is to be  
" made either in building, rebuilding,  
" or mending any thing, much less in  
" making any Preparations either for a  
" Defensive or Offensive War.

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" III. But that, whilst the before-men-  
" tioned Differences remain undecided, *Baldew.*  
" the Products of the Country may not  
" be neglected, or lost, by reason of the  
" Differences betwixt the Possessors, it  
" is agreed that the same shall be di-  
" vided into two equal shares betwixt  
" the Portuguese and the Dutch, yet so  
" that the same shall be deposited (re-  
" main in Custody) with the last, till the  
" decision of these Differences by their  
" respective Principals in Europe: where-  
" by they oblige themselves at the same  
" time to a full Restitution in case the  
" same be agreed upon by the said Prin-  
" cipals. And the said Ambassador de-  
" clares and protests, that the word  
" deposited, inserted at the request of the  
" Viceroy (for the better adjusting of  
" matters) shall not in any wise be in-  
" terpreted as prejudicial to the Posses-  
" sion and Title of the States General to  
" these Lands and their Products. And  
" to avoid all Contests concerning the  
" gathering of these Fruits, it is agreed  
" the Portuguese shall have full liberty  
" to gather, without any molestation or  
" hinderance, such Fruits as grow in one  
" part of the Lands in dispute, viz. that  
" part which is next adjacent to their  
" Fort; as on the other hand, the Hol-  
" landers shall enjoy the same freedom in  
" gathering the Fruits in that half part  
" adjoining to their Fortress. The same  
" is also to be understood of equally  
" sharing the Administration of Justice  
" in these parts, lest Malefactors may be  
" encourag'd, and Crimes pass unpun-  
" ish'd, by reason of the uncertainty of  
" the Administration of Justice; publick  
" Proclamation hereof being to be made  
" in this Isle by the respective Gover-  
" nours of both Nations.

" IV. Raja Singa the King of Candy  
" shall be comprehended in this Truce,  
" (according to the third Article) with  
" all his Kingdoms, Provinces and Posses-  
" sions.

" V. All Proprietors, Owners, or Far-  
" mers in the Villages, shall have full  
" liberty to return to their Possessions  
" and Farms of what nature soever,  
" with their Families, provided they re-  
" turn within the space of six Months,  
" either in Person, or send their Depu-  
" ties, and pay the usual Taxes and Du-  
" ties to those under whose Jurisdiction  
" they live, without any trouble. And  
" that no Inconveniences may arise in  
" point of Conscience, it is agreed, that  
" Liberty of Conscience shall be allow'd,  
" and the free exercise of Religion in  
" all

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" all Parishes or Villages, except in the fortified Places belonging to the *Hollanders*, till the before-mentioned Decision be arrived out of *Europe*.

" VI. The Labourers of the Isle of *Ceylon*, call'd *Sobalias*, employ'd in peeling of the *Cinnamon*, shall have liberty to work with both Parties, yet not without the consent of that Party under whose Jurisdiction they live; and the better to maintain the Truce, neither Party shall be permitted to entice these Labourers of *Ceylon*, or any other of the Natives out of one another's Service, without mutual Consent, but shall be oblig'd to send them back to their respective Dwelling-places.

" VII. All the Goods seiz'd on account of or during these Differences, shall be restor'd, or else the Value thereof paid in Money, provided they were actually in the Possession of either Party, and not otherwise; upon which account the *Dutch* Ambassador promises to pay here at *Goa*, or at *Suratte*, in the next following Month of *January* at farthest, the Sum of 100000 *Spanish* Reals, to be accounted for according to the true value thereof they bear at *Batavia*, as the payment of the Money shall be made, according to the course of Money in those places where these Goods were taxed; to be understood of such Goods as notwithstanding the payment of the before-said Money, are found to remain as yet unsatisfied for from the 22d day of *February* 1643. being a twelve-month after the Ratification of his *Portuguese* Majesty was sent to the *Hague*.

" VIII. In case during this Truce any Differences should arise betwixt both Parties, this Agreement shall remain firm and inviolable, and every thing remain in the same state, till the Decision of the respective Principals; and in case the nature of the matter admits of no delay, the same is to be refer'd to the Determination of certain Arbitrators, to be chosen by both Parties; and whilst the same is in agitation, the pretended Party to remain in Possession till the Point is decided by the said Arbitrators.

" IX. This present Agreement is not in the least to be prejudicial to such Judgments or Decisions as have been made or given betwixt contending Parties, or may be given for the future by our respective Principals; but the same shall be regarded and taken as

" valid in all respects by both Parties, notwithstanding this Agreement, intended only for the removing of Differences till the same can be approv'd of by our respective Principals. Which Agreement for the ceasing of all manner of Hostilities, and maintaining a firm Truce in the Isle of *Ceylon*, is promised by both Parties to be publish'd immediately, and inviolably observ'd both in respect of the Governours and Subjects: as his Excellency the Viceroy engages the same for himself and his Successors, Generals, and Governours; and my Lord Ambassador for the States of the *United Provinces*, and the *East-India* Company, pursuant to the Authority granted him by the most Noble *Anthony van Diemen*, General-Governour of the *Indies*. In Confirmation whereof this Agreement is authoriz'd and confirm'd by a solemn Oath taken upon the Gospel in the presence of the most Reverend Archbishop and Primate of *Goa*, *Don Frey Francisco de Martyres*, and *Don Alphonso Medis*, Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, Members of the Privy-Council of his Majesty; and in the presence of the other Privy-Counsellors of *Goa*, who have given their full Approbation and Consent therunto; as also in the Presence of *Wollebrand Gleyzen*, Chief Director in *Persia*, *Abraham Fierens*, Minister of the Gospel, *John Pottey* Fiscal, *Andreas Frisius* Secretary, *Thomas Kuyk*, head Factor; who together with his Excellency the Viceroy, and his Excellency the Ambassador, did set their Hands to it; *Joseph de Chaves* *Costo* Major, his Excellency the Viceroy's Secretary, having taken care to make the Draughts thereof.

Signed thus,

*Conde d' Aveiras*,  
*John Maatzuyker*,  
*Fr. Francisco de Martyres*,  
*Alphonso Medis*,  
*Francisco de Melo de Castro*,  
*Don Manoel Pereira*,  
*Antonio Saria Mochado*,  
*Antonio Movis Baretto*,  
*Joseph Pinto Pereira*,  
*Wollebrand Gleyzen* the younger,  
*Abraham Fierens*,  
*John Pottey*,  
*Don Bras de Castro*,  
*Louis Mugilbaon*,  
*Andreas Frisius*,  
*Andr. Selem*.

" Several

"Several Draughts of this Agreement having been made both in Latin and Portuguese, it is agreed betwixt the Viceroy and the Ambassador, that in case any Doubt should arise about the Interpretation of certain words, recourse is to be had to the Latin, which being the Original, is to be interpreted according to the plain signification of the words, without any collateral Construction, in Confirmation of which this Declaration was thought fit to be made: Subscribed a second time on the same day by the under-written Persons.

Conde d'Aveiras,  
John Maatzuyker,  
Fr. Francisco de Martyres, Archbishop and Primate;  
Alphonso Medis, Patriarch of Ethiopia;  
Francisco de Melo,  
Don Manoel Pereira,  
Antonio Saria,  
Antonio Monis Barretto,  
Joseph Pinto Pereira,  
Wolfebrand Gleyntz the younger.

In the year 1643. Jan. 10. the Division of the Limits in the Isle of Ceylon was agreed upon in the City of Columbo, Don Philippo Mascarenbas, Succellor to the Count d'Aveiras, being then Viceroy of Goa.

"The Countries betwixt Columbo and Negumbo, shall be divided into two equal shares, according to their several Districts (call'd *Corles*) as far as the same can be done, to prevent the Confusion which might otherwise arise from the Division of the ancient Jurisdictions; but in such places where the same is not to be done, this Division is to be made by sharing the Villages: so that considering there are 17 Districts betwixt the two before-mentioned Forts, seven thereof are to be annexed to the Jurisdiction of Columbo, viz. *Herra-coria*, *Omapauduna-coria*, *Quatigora-coria*, *Bilgal-coria*, *Gabare-coria*, *Apitigan-coria*, and *Pernacur-coria*, lying altogether towards that side. To the Fort of Negumbo are to be annex'd eight Districts, viz. *Pitigal-coria*, *Diomedes-coria*, *Orupula-coria*, *Carvagat-coria*, *Vili-coria*, *Madura-coria*, *Hiericia-coria*, and *Mangur-coria*; the rest to be divided into two equal shares, *Alicur-coria* by the River *Dandagan* to be the common Boundary of both Nations; so that

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"part which lies to the North shall belong to Negumbo, and to Columbo what lies on this side. The Province of *Catugambala-coria* is to be divided by the same River, together with its three lesser Districts, *Udaacabapato*, *Miendapato* and *Jetigalapato*; so that *Jetigala* shall fall to the share of Negumbo, and *Udaraba* to Columbo; but *Miendapato* shall be divided into two equal parts, in proportion to its Villages, such Villages as lie next *Jetigalapato* to be under the Jurisdiction of Negumbo, and those on the side of *Uda-caba* under Columbo. The Portuguese shall remain in the possession of *Pattelaon* and *Calpentyu*; but the River of *Alican* is to be the Boundary betwixt Columbo and Gale: so that part lying on the other side of the River shall remain to the *Hollanders*, but the other part on this side, together with the River and Harbour to the Portuguese, in the same manner as they were formerly possess'd of it, under this Condition however, that the *Hollanders* living here or in any other parts shall have the free use of the said River in fishing, or exporting and importing their Merchandizes without paying any Customs. And whereas by the 7th Article of the Agreement made at Goa, it was agreed, that the Labourers (call'd *Schalias*) who peel the Cinnamon, shall be employ'd by both Parties to prevent all further Differences for the future upon this Head; it is agreed, that the *Hollanders* shall every year in Harvest time send one half of these Labourers out of the Villages of *Bili* and *Colgura*, under their Jurisdiction on the other side of the River *Alican*, to assist as formerly the Portuguese in peeling of Cinnamon, under condition that the Cinnamon thus peeled by them in the Portuguese Territories, shall be laid up in a certain place upon the River *Dandagan*, to be divided once every year in two equal shares betwixt the two Parties, provided that each Party pay the usual Price to the *Schalias* for the peeling of their share of Cinnamon. This Division is to take place, and to stand firm till the same be otherwise decided by our respective Principals in Europe, with this reserve nevertheless in regard of the *Hollanders*, who being ignorant hitherto in the true situation of the Country, may easily be deceiv'd in this point, and therefore ought to have the liberty to appeal to better Judgment, and desire a recompensa-

LIII 2

Baldwin.

"tion of their Losses: But in case the Parties should disagree upon this Head, this shall not occasion any Rupture, but the Truce shall notwithstanding this remain in its full force, according to the intent of the 9th Article of the before-mentioned Agreement. Don Philippo Mascarenhas the present Viceroy, and Mr. John Maatzuyker do also engage to cause this Treaty of the Division of the Limits to be publish'd immediately, for the general benefit of all such as have any concern therein, that the Inhabitants of this Isle may no longer remain in ignorance under whose Jurisdiction they live; and for the due performance thereof, have confirm'd the same with their Oaths, and subscrib'd the Draughts thereof both in Latin and Portuguese; yet so, that in case of any doubt, recourse is to be had to the Latin Original.

Agreement  
betwixt  
Philippo  
Mascaren-  
has, and  
Cornelius  
van Sanen.

In the year 1647. a provisional Agreement was made by Don Philippo Mascarenhas, the then Viceroy, and Cornelius van Sanen, head Factor and Director of Wingurla, for the adjusting of the Differences concerning the Fortress of Malacca.

"IN the Name of God, Amen. Be it known to all who are concern'd in this present Agreement, That 1647. April 18. the following Agreement has been made in the Castle of the City of Goa, in the presence of his Excellency Don Philippo Mascarenhas Viceroy of Goa, and Cornelius van Sanen, head Factor and Director of Wingurla, authorized by the Governour-General and Great Council of the Indies, for the adjusting of the Differences arising concerning some pretended Rights of the City and Fortress of Malacca, concerning the Customs and Duties to be paid at Malacca; several Conferences having been held with the Merchants of Macau, yet could not the same be reduc'd to any just Equilibrium, or settled upon a firm Basis, tho we made as reasonable offers as possibly could be expected: so that in case your Excellency thinks it convenient to proceed further in this matter, you may treat upon this Head with Cornelius van Sanen, our head Factor at Wingurla. By virtue of this Commission I represented to the Viceroy, that in point of Justice, such of our Ships as pass by Malacca without unloading or selling any of their Commodities,

"ought to pay no Customs there: unto which his Excellency having given for Answer, that it appear'd out of the Treaties and Writings agreed upon betwixt both Parties, that they ought to pay the same; it was thought fit for the preventing of further Differences, and maintaining a good Correspondence betwixt both Nations, to agree upon the following provisional Treaty, till the full Decision of our respective Principals, and with this Proviso, that this Agreement shall not in the least tend to the prejudice either of his Portuguese Majesty, or of the States General in their respective Rights and Possessions. That his Majesty's Ships as well as the Dutch Merchant-men bound to China, or any other of the Southern parts, coming to Malacca, shall only be oblig'd to pay 6 per Cent. for such Goods as they shall actually sell there; the same to be paid to the Dutch from all such Goods as they shall sell in any of his Majesty's Harbours. Pursuant to the Agreement made at Batavia by the Great Council with the Merchants of Macau, in the presence of the Reverend Frey Goncalvo de S. Joseph, each Vessel, whether small or great, bound to Macau, whether it sells or unloads any Goods at Malacca or not, shall pay two *Scutellins* of Gold for its Passage thither and backwards; from which Duties however are to be exempted his Majesty's Ships, provided they may be searched, and an Oath taken thereupon, that they have no Merchandizes aboard; and if any are found, the Owners are to pay 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. That such Ships as pass by Malacca, and are not bound to China, shall pay 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. whether they unload or sell any Goods or not; then they may proceed in their Voyage without any Molestation. Which Agreement is to be publish'd and strictly observ'd by both Parties, and confirm'd by Oath, till the Decision of our both sides respective Principals.

Signed,

Don Philippo Mascarenhas,  
Cornelius van Sanen,  
Duarte de Figueiredo de Mello,  
Frey Goncalvo de S. Joseph.  
Francisco de Melo de Castro,  
Antonio Souza Coutinho,  
John van Teylingen, Head Factor,  
Anthony Ondermeulen,  
Jacob Roßcam,  
Laenderi Johnson.

C H A P.



## C H A P. XVI.

*A Description of Anchediva, Canara, Onor, Batecalo, Malabar. Cananor, built and besieged by the Malabars, bravely defended by Laurence de Britto; besieged and taken by the Hollanders.*

The Isle of  
Anchedi-  
va.

The Por-  
tugueses  
Fort be-  
sieged.

Is dem-  
olished.

The Reason  
thereof.

Canara.

Onor.

Batecalo.

THE Isle of *Anchediva*, not far from *Goa*, and about 30 Leagues from *Calecut*, is almost covered with Woods and Forests, but well stor'd with Fish; the *Portugueses* had formerly a Fort here: *Sebajus*, the Father of *Hidalcas*, sent a Fleet of 60 Ships to *Anchediva* (whilst *Glineyda* was at *Cananor*) to chase the *Portugueses* from that Island, under the Command of *Anthony Fernando*, a most impious Wretch, who having forsaken both his Religion, and the Service of his Native Country, turn'd *Mahometan*, assuming the Name of *Abdala*; and being well versed in Maritime Affairs, was in great Favour with *Sebajus*. This Renegade having landed a good Body of Men in this Isle, left no Stone unturn'd to make himself Master of the Fort, erected there by the *Portugueses*: But being bravely defended by *Emanuel Passa gie*, a Native of *Genoa*, descended from a great Family, and famous for his brave Actions; *Abdala* hearing of the return of the victorious Fleet, was glad to leave both the Fort and the Isle. The Fort was not long after demolished by the *Portugueses* themselves, who had been taught by experience, that too great a number of Fortresses consum'd all their Profit, and exposes them besides to no small danger; like a Hen who has more Chickens than she can protect with her Wings, often loses one by the rapacious Kite.

The Country of *Canara* is very fertile in Rice and other Necessaries of human Life; its Inhabitants, commonly called *Canarins*, are very robust, and fit for all manner of hard Labour. The chief City near the Sea-shoar, are the City and Kingdom of *Onor*, not far distant from *Goa*, where the *Portugueses* had also a Fort, it being formerly a Place of considerable Traffick. Next to *Onor* lies *Batecalo*, about 2 1/2 Leagues from *Goa*, the King whereof became tributary to the Crown of *Portugal* under the Reign of *Emanuel*; but refusing afterwards to pay the usual Tribute, *Sequeria* sent *Alphonso Menes* with some Ships to block up the Harbour, which soon reduc'd the King to Obedience. Afterwards the Queen of *Batecalo* entertaining the *Pyrats* in her Harbours, and refusing likewise to pay the

Tribute, *Sofa* sail'd thither with 49 Ships and 1500 Landmen; and after he had cast Anchor in the Harbour, sent his Messengers into the City to require the Payment of the Tribute, and the surrendering of the *Pyrats*: She being frightened at the Sight of so powerful a Fleet, surrendred four of the *Pyrats* Ships; but endeavouring for the rest to detain the *Portugueses* with fair Words, these landed their Men, not a little incommoded by the Arrows shot at 'em by the Inhabitants from the Coco Trees; but having put themselves in order of Battle, they advanced towards the City, where they were (in the Absence of the Queen) so warmly engag'd by the Inhabitants, that the Combat remain'd doubtful for some time, till these being worsted, they set the City on fire, with the Loss of 12 Men only on their side. In this Action one *Almeyda* a brave *Portuguese*, seeing his Comrade enclosed on all sides by the Enemy, fought his way thro' 'em; and having rescued his Companion, withstood the whole Force of the Enemy, till he was relieved by a Body of the *Portugueses*. Afterwards they made Incursions into the Country, which soon obliged the Queen to consent to the Payment of the Tribute.

*Barcelor*, *Baranor* and *Mangalor*, being Places of no great consequence, deserve no particular Descriptions; wherefore we will proceed to the Country of *Malabar*, which (according to common

Malabar.

Computation) begins about 30 Leagues to the South of *Goa*, and extends to the Cape of *Comorin*, to the utmost Borders of *India*, on this side of *Ganges*. This whole Country being full of Rivers, is consequently of an easy Passage; tho' most of the Rivers here are so shallow, that they are not capable of bearing any Ships of Bulk or Burden. The largest Rivers are *Bergeva* (a great Receptacle for *Pirats*) *Panane* and *Cranganor*, the common Boundaries of the Kingdoms of *Calecut* and *Cochin*; these as well as the River of *Cochin* are about 18 or 19 Foot deep at High-Water. The whole Country of *Malabar* is divided into five Kingdoms, viz. *Cananor*, *Calecut*, *Cranganor*, *Cochin* and *Coulang*, unto which some add the Kingdom of *Trevancor*, the least fertile

Its Extent.

Its Ri-  
vers.

tile of all, and the two petty Kingdoms of *Porca* and *Caleoulang*.

In former Ages *Malabar* was subject to one Sovereign Prince, who kept his Court at *Calecut*, now the Residence of the Great *Sannoryn*. This King having at the Persuasion of some of his Courtiers, undertaken a Voyage over the *Red-Sea*, to visit *Mahomet's Tomb*, and to be thorowly instructed in that Faith, died in his return from thence; and leaving no Issue, the whole Empire was divided between his Esquire, Sword-bearer, and Scepter-bearer: The first taking for his share *Cananor*, the second *Calecut*, and the third *Cochin*.

The Nights are very cold all along the Coast of *Malabar*, with very thick Fogs, especially in *January*, *February*, and *March*, when the days are excellent hot. They have every day a Sea and Land Wind; the first begins every Morning at 9 or to a Clock, and holds till Sunset. This Coast is scarce navigable from *June* till *November*, the best time here being from *April* till *June*. Their Winter begins in *May*, and continues till *November*.

The chief Products of *Malabar*, are *Pepper* and *Cardamome*: *Cochin* affords great Quantities of *Pepper*, but *Cananor* yields the best; especially in the Inland Countries, whence the *Moors* and other Merchants from *Carnatica* and *Visiapour* use to fetch it in considerable Quantities. The *Pepper* of *Calecut* is better of Grain than those of *Cananor* and *Cochin*. This Commodity is generally cheaper at one Place than another. They buy it by the *Canda*, at the rate of 390 or 400 *Fanams* a *Canda*, a *Fanam* being worth about 10 Pence of our Money. In the Year 1640, the Price rose to 450 *Fanams*. The *Pepper* delights in shady Places, the Stem is weak like those of the Vines, and uses to be upheld by Stalks like our Hops: Each Stem bears commonly 6 Bunches, every one a foot long, resembling in colour to our Grapes before they are ripe. They are gathered green in *October* and *November*, and dry'd in the Sun upon Mats, when they turn black. Besides the *Pepper* and *Cardamome*, this Country produces also *Ginger* and *Borborri* of a Saffron Colour. Formerly these two Commodities us'd to be sold for 5 *Fanams* a *Man*: It affords also some *Aloes*, but in no great Quantity. Besides these, *Malabar* affords very few Commodities, except a few *Bezoar-Stones*,\* found about *Cananor*, Salt-peter, *Gummilacca* (tho none of the best, being sold for a *Fanam*

the *Man*) and abundance of Wax and Honey.

The whole Country is covered with innumerable *Coco-Trees*, besides such other Trees as generally grow in the East *Indies*. The Commodities carry'd to, and to be sold in *Malabar*, are *Amson* or *Opium*, much in use here, especially among the *Nairos* when they are to fight, to intoxicate their Brains. *Ambergreece* also is in great Esteem among the *Malabars*, and transported thither from the *Maldive* Islands. I have seen an Ounce of it sold at *Cananor* for six *Reals*. *Malabar* consumes also abundance of *Cloves*, *Nutmegs* and *Altee*, as also *Allum*, *China-root*, *Lead*, *Tin*, *Brass*, *Copper*, *Brimstone*, *Cinnamon*, *Scarlet* and *Crimson* Clothes, red *Damasks*, *Benzoin*, and coarse *Porcelain*.

The whole Coast of *Malabar* abounds in Fishes, and at *Cochin* they have most excellent *Cods*. Belly Provisions are also here in great Plenty, and bought at an easy rate; for they abound in Oxen, Swine and Poultry. The *Coco-Trees* furnish them with Drink, which if not used to excess, is tolerably wholesome. Out of this Liquor they distil their *Arack*, much courted by the common Soldiers and Seamen, to their great detriment.

The first is the King of *Cananor*, not in respect so much of his Power, but of his Situation next to *Goa*. His Residence is about three or four Leagues in the Country from the River of *Bahapatan*; the extent of his Kingdom is from *Mantledely* to *Bergera*; he maintains a considerable number of Musketeers and Archers, who are very expert in managing their Scymeters.

*Cananor* is a populous City, inhabited chiefly by rich *Mahometan* Merchants, who live without, yet under the Cannon of the Fortifications. They had formerly a considerable Traffick to *Surat*, *Cambaja* and the *Red-Sea*, whither they used to send yearly 25 or 30 Ships; but this Place is much decayed in Trade of late Years, and is likely to be worse.

About two Leagues to the South of *Cananor*, lies the City of *Temmapatan*, under the Jurisdiction of a *Mahometan*; it is strengthened to the Land side by a good Wall. The rebellious Pirates of *Bergera* do considerable Mischief to the King of *Cananor* and his Subjects, who, as well as the other Nations trading in these Seas, are forced to buy Passports of them for their Security. They used formerly to infest these Seas with 40 Frigates at a time, but are not so potent of late Years, since the *Dutch* have frightened the *Portugueses*.

Baldens.  
The anti-  
ent State  
of Malabar

Sannoryn,  
the  
Emperor.

The Climate.

And Sea-  
sons.

Products.

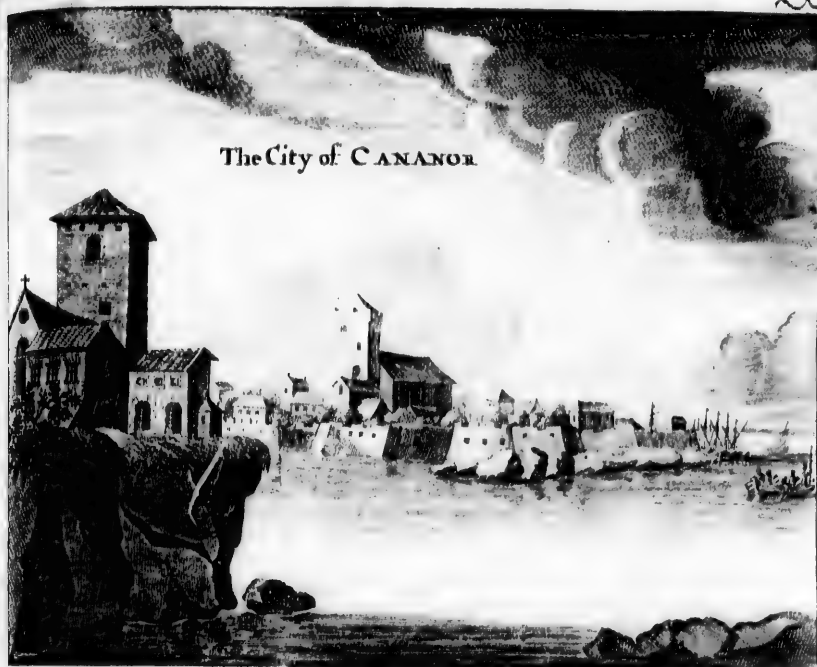
Pepper.

Man is a  
certain  
Weight.

\* Found in  
the Ba-  
bams, and  
sold at 5

or

For Por-  
tugueses  
sold a  
Port at  
Cananor.



The City of CANANOR

Portugueses out of these Parts, since which time they have now and then attempted the Dutch, as they did with the Ship called the *Dolphin*, but got nothing but Blows. Their Chiefs are *Mahometans*, and the Soldiers partly *Moors*, partly *Pagans*.

*Cananor* lies about 40 Leagues to the North of *Cochin*, having a spacious and secure Harbour; the Country thereabouts abounding in *Pepper*, *Cardamom*, *Ginger*, *Musk*, *Alans*, *Tamarinds*, &c. *Peter Alvares Capralis*, Commander in Chief of the second Fleet sent by *Emanuel King* of *Portugal* into the *Indies*, after having given a Visit to the King of *Cochin*, and the Great *Sammoryn*, came also to *Cananor*, where being kindly received, the King sent an *Ambassador* along with him to the King of *Portugal*. *Almeida* did erect here (with the King's Consent) a strong Fort, for the Security of their Commerce; which being afterwards most vigorously attack'd by those of *Calecut* and *Cranganor*, was bravely defended by *Laurence de Britto* to his Immortal Honour. And upon this occasion it will not be beyond our purpose, to give you the Reasons which induced the *Moors* to enter upon

this War, which was accompany'd with many most remarkable Actions.

The *Portugueses* having made themselves Masters at Sea, not only on the Coast of *Aethiopia*, but also of *India* and *Arabia*, would not permit the Inhabitants of these Countries to send out their Ships, without Passports obtain'd from them; for which purpose they kept a strict eye over all the *Malabars*, in a most peculiar manner. A certain *Portuguese*, Captain of a Man of War, having attack'd a Vessel of *Cananor*, which he supposed to have come from *Calecut* without a Pass; he caused the Master thereof, and another Person of Note on board her, to be fowled up in a Cloth, and so threw them overboard; which being done not far from *Cananor*, the dead Carcasses were cast ashore there. The Inhabitants knowing the Persons, and understanding their Fate, were so exasperated at the *Portugueses*, that they cry'd out for Vengeance, and assaulted the Fort: *Almeida* offer'd them Satisfaction, and cashier'd the Captain, but in vain, the *Moors* continuing obstinate, and resolving to revenge the Death of their Countrymen upon the *Portugueses* in the Fort.

The Fort  
was  
built at  
Cananor.

Cananor.

Tempan.

Pirates of  
at Malabar.

*Laurence de Britto* being sensible that he must expect a formal Siege, resolv'd to stand the Brunt bravely, and sent his Messengers to *Almeyda*, to desire prompt Succours. In the mean time the King of *Cananor* was not idle, but having entrench'd himself near the Harbour, all along the Sea-side he erected certain Forts, to cut off the Communication betwixt the City and Castle: At the same time being reinforced by 20000 Men, sent from *Calecut*, they now resolv'd upon a formal Siege. There was a certain Spring betwixt the City and Castle, which being the only one whence the *Portuguese* Garrison could be supply'd with fresh Water, this occasion'd frequent and bloody Skirmishes, so that they were forc'd to purchase their Water with much effusion of Blood. *Laurence Britto* had with him in the Fort a certain Mathematician, named *Thomas Ferdinand*, by whose Advice they digg'd from the Fort underground to the Spring, and by Pipes convey'd it to the Place where they had occasion for it; so that after having supplied their own Wants, they stoop'd in the next Sally to the Spring, so that the *Moors* were forc'd to remove their Camp from thence, but they in the Fort enjoyed the Benefit thereof. They then began their Attack on the other side, and by the help of Sacks filled with Cotton, advancing to the Ditch, fill'd it with Faggots, and made a fierce Assault; but being bravely repuls'd by the *Portuguese*, and forc'd to retreat, these sally'd out upon them, and made a great Slaughter of the Barbarians.

These finding that Force was not likely to do their Business, resolv'd to reduce it by Famine, knowing that the Winter Seasons would cut off all hopes of Relief to the Besieged. On the other hand the *Portuguese* made many successful Sallies upon them; in one of which a *Castilian*, nam'd *Guadalajara*, charg'd with 150 Men a strong Body of the Enemy, killing above 300 of them upon the Spot, and taking some of their great Cannon. Soon after it happen'd unfortunately for the *Portuguese*, that a Fire arising in the Fort by the carelessness of a Slave, some part of their Magazines of Provisions was consum'd, whereby a great Scarcity being occasion'd in the Fort, many Negroes run over to the Enemy, and gave them a full account of the condition of the Garrison, who were now forc'd to feed upon Cats, Rats, Mice, &c. At last Heaven was pleas'd

to commiserate the miserable State of the *Portuguese*, by sending a prodigious quantity of Locusts from the Sea (a thing not unfrequent in those Parts) which serv'd them both for Food and Refreshment. The Spring beginning to approach, when the *Sammoryn* fearing the Besieged might be shortly reliev'd by their Countrymen, redoubl'd his Fury against the Fort; and having sent them divers considerable Supplies of Men (which had increas'd his Army to 50000 Men) he resolv'd to try his utmost to reduce them by Force (the *Portuguese* being in the mean while supply'd with Provisions by a certain Prince of the Country, an Enemy to the *Sammoryn*) *De Britto* having receiv'd Intelligence that the Enemy were preparing for a general Assault, took care to guard all the Avenues both on the Sea and Land-side. The *Moors* assaulted the *Portuguese* with their utmost Fury, promising themselves an assur'd Victory, by reason they continually reliev'd their Men with fresh Troops; but the *Portuguese* receiv'd them so warmly, that after a smart Fight they put them to the Rout, and pursuing them with great Slaughter, the King of *Cananor* thought of it his best way to make Peace with the *Portuguese*.

Thus much of *Cananor* whilst in the Hands of the *Portuguese*; the next thing which falls under our Consideration is, how it came to fall into the Hands of the *Hollanders*. These having made themselves Masters of *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, and *Coulang*, sail'd 1663. from *Cochin* with a considerable Fleet, and a good Number of Land Forces, under the Command of *Jacob Hustar*, *Peter du Pon*, *Henry van Rhede*, and divers other brave Officers, for *Cananor*. Having landed their Men, and soon made themselves Masters of the City (which was without defence) they batter'd the Fort with their great Cannon, but without any great Success: the Bastions and Ditches on the Land side being cut out of the Rocks, and the Fortifications to the Sea side impregnable. However after a Siege of few days the *Portuguese* considering, that by the taking of *Cochin* all hopes of Relief were banish'd, they surrendred upon honourable Terms; and the *Dutch* having put a Garrison of 200 Men in the Fort, entr'd into a strict Alliance with the King of *Cananor*, 1664.

Peace with the King of the King of Cananor.

How Cananor was reduced to the Dutch.

Cananor surrendred to the Dutch.

The Spring was afterwards enclosed with in the fortifications.

Great Ditches into the Fort.

## C H A P. XVII.

*A Description of Calcut and Panane. The Arrival of Vasco de Gama. His Treaty with the Sammoryn. Panane fortified, besieg'd, and demolish'd by the Portugueses. Alliance betwixt the Dutch and the Sammoryn. The Portuguese Fort in Calcut attack'd by the Sammoryn, and defended by John de Lima.*

THE second Kingdom of *Malabar* is that of *Calcut* under the Jurisdiction of the *Sammoryn*; it begins about three or four Leagues to the South of *Bergera*, and ends at the River *Cranganor*; its whole extent being in length 32 Leagues, and 20 in breadth. This King is the most Potent of all the *Malabar* Kings, having a considerable number of *Nairos* under his Jurisdiction, who are very expert both in handling the Bow and Fire-Arms. He has made considerable Encroachments upon his Neighbours of late years; the Revenues of his new Conquests amounting now to 300000 *Fanams* yearly. The *Sammoryn* who reign'd 1662. was when I saw him not above 50 years of Age, and yet much impair'd in his intellectual Parts by the excessive use of *Opium*, a Drug much in request among the *Malabars*.

In the Kingdom of the *Sammoryn*, and in most others along the Coast of *Malabar*, the Crown is not inherited by the Son of the King, but by him who is next or an to his Mother or Sister; for they looking upon that as the surer side, they have introduc'd this Custom to prevent the bastardizing of the Crown. Thus the King who reign'd 1642. was succeeded by his Uncle on the Mother's side, and he was to be succeeded by his Sister's Son. The *Sammoryn* monopolizes all the Pepper of the growth of his Country, none of his Subjects being allow'd to sell it to any but his Factors.

Betwixt *Cananor* and *Calcut* lies the Town of *Panane*, seated upon the Seashore: Here the *Dutch* came 1607. to treat with the *Sammoryn*, but he being then in the field against the *Portugueses*, the Admiral sent three Deputies to him with a Letter from Prince *Mawice* of *Nassaw*. In this place the *Sammoryn* kept his Residence at that time, when *Don Vasco de Gama* came into these parts. He having cast Anchor before *Calcut*, dispatch'd immediately a Messenger to the *Sammoryn*, to give notice of his arrival, and to let the King know that the Renown of his great Name having reach'd the Ears of

the King of *Portugal*, his Majesty had intrusted him with a Letter, which he being desirous to deliver in Person, therefore desir'd leave to wait on his Majesty.

The *Sammoryn* being extremely pleas'd with the Complement, sent immediately certain Pilots to conduct the Portuguese Fleet into the Harbour of *Capocate*, where there was much better and safer Anchorage, from whence he was conducted with extraordinary Pomp to the *Sammoryn*.

For *Don Gama* being got ashore attended by eight Gentlemen richly attir'd, was receiv'd in the *Sammoryn*'s Name by the *Catual* (or he that manages all Foreign Affairs) accompanied with a vast number of Guards, Hautboys, Drums and Litters, and thence carried through *Calcut* to *Panane* (where the *Sammoryn* then resided) under such a vast concourse of Spectators, that several were crowded to death. At Court *Gama* was welcom'd by the *Caimales* (or chief Courtiers) and afterwards by the High-Priest of the *Brahmans* dress'd in white Callico, who taking *Gama* by the hand conducted him to many spacious Apartments (at the Door of each whereof stood about ten Sentinels) into a spacious Hall, the Walls and Floor whereof were cover'd with rich Tapestry, and Carpets of Silk and Gold, the chief Men of the Kingdom sitting round the Hall upon Wooden Seats, artificially wrought one above another, like the Seats in an Amphitheater. The *Sammoryn* himself was seated (according to the Custom of the Country) upon an *Alkatsy*, or Carpet, dress'd in white fine Callico, brocado'd with Flowers of Gold, adorn'd with divers rows of Diamonds of great value: In his Ears he had stately Pendants of precious Stones, and on his Head a Cap (after their Country fashion) cover'd with Diamonds, Pearls, and other precious Stones; his bare Feet being likewise adorn'd with Rings set with all sorts of precious Stones.



Baldaus.



One of the King's Attendants offer'd his Majesty a Golden Vessel with *Arak* and *Betel*, which the *Indians* chew almost continually to preserve their Teeth and Gums, and treat their Guests with it as we do with Wine, strong Liquors being not much in use here. *Gama* after having paid his Obedysance to the King began thus:

*Gama's Speech to the Samoryn.*

"*Emanuel*, the present King of *Portugal*, my Master, mov'd by the Renown of the Greatness of your Majesty among the Kings of *Malabar*, has sent me with Credentials, to enter into a strict League with You, in order to settle a firm Correspondence and Commerce betwixt both Nations; which my Master would have been willing to have perform'd in Person, had not the vast distance of your Majesty's Dominions prov'd an invincible Obstacle to his generous Intentions. After which having deliver'd his Presents, the King answer'd by his Interpreter: "That he had not the least doubt of the good Intentions of his Brother *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, having such convincing Proofs thereof before his Eyes,

"by honouring him with so splendid a Legation notwithstanding the vast distance of their Countries; that he was willing to enter with them into a strict League and Amity, and that they should enjoy the benefit of a free Commerce in his Territories. Then the King having ask'd them several Particulars concerning their Voyage, Shipping and Traffick, order'd *Gama* to be conducted to the Lodgings prepar'd for his Reception.

The News of this Embassy soon came to the Ears of the *Moorish* Merchants in those parts, who fearing, not without reason, that the *Portugueses* would do them considerable Mischief in their Traffick, join'd with the *Arabians* trading in those parts, to hinder the Consummation of this Treaty; for which purpose having purchased the favour of many of the Courtiers by Money, they insinuated into the King, that *Gama* was no more than a great Pirate, who endeavour'd to get a footing in the King's Dominions, which in time might prove his ruin; whereas he might rest secure in his Dominions, by encouraging his Sub-

*The Moorish Merchants, who feared the Portuguese, joined with the Arabians to hinder the consummation of the treaty.*

*The King's Answer.*

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jects in their Traffick with the exclusion of Foreigners. These Insinuations prov'd so effectual, that the *Sammoryn* began to give a favourable Ear to them, and had perhaps prov'd of very ill Consequence to *Gama*, had not a certain *African*, a Native of *Tunis*, who understood *Portuguese*, and had formerly convers'd with them, discover'd the danger to him, who thereupon without further delay got aboard his own Ships with his Attendants, and having weigh'd his Anchors kept at a greater distance from the Shore, whence he writ to the *Sammoryn*.

"That the ill Designs of the *Moors* against his Person being discover'd to him, he had thought fit to retire aboard, and to desire his Majesty not to be diverted from his Promise by their false Insinuations, assuring him that he would reap much more benefit by the Friendship of the King of *Portugal* than by the *Moors* and *Arabians*. The *Sammoryn* promis'd the Messenger to make a strict Enquiry after and to punish severely these Offenders, who had infringed the Law of Nations; and in his Letter to the King of *Portugal* assures him, "That the arrival of the *Portuguese* in his Dominions was very acceptable to him, provided they might regulate themselves so, as not to give any occasion of disturbance there, and that the League he was entering upon with his Majesty, might not prove prejudicial to the good Correspondence he had hitherto entertain'd with divers other Nations. *Gama* having receiv'd this Letter, set sail for the Isle of *Anchediva*, where having furnish'd himself with fresh Provisions, he return'd to *Portugal*, to give an account of his Transactions to King *Emanuel*. The famous *Vasco de Gama* died 1524. being the first who discover'd the Passage into the *East-Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope*.

And upon this occasion I can't pass by in silence what is mention'd by *Ferdinand* \* *hist. Ind. Lopes de Castanbeda* \*, viz. That *Gama* with some of his Retinue being at *Calecut*, and entering into one of the Pagan Temples, paid their Reverence to the Images, as taking them for the same they had left in their own Churches in *Portugal*; a convincing Proof that Superstition and Idolatry very near resemble one another.

*Panane* being well fortified by the *Sammoryn* with two Forts, erected on both sides of the Entrance of the Harbour, the *Portuguese* notwithstanding this resolve to attempt it. They no sooner appear'd in

Vol. III.

sight of the Harbour, but a certain number of the *Mahometans* associated themselves in one of the *Pagodes*, and with direful Execrations engag'd to one another to defend the City, or die in the Attempt. *Tristan d'Acunba* the *Portuguese* General detach'd a certain Body of his best Troops under the Command of *Laurence* and *Nomius* in small Gallies, to lead the Van, being to be follow'd by the great Ships: These enter'd the Harbour with unpeakable Bravery, notwithstanding the Enemies Fire, who sent their great and small Shot very thick upon them from both sides of the Shore, but without any considerable effect, most of their Bullets passing over their Heads, because the Soldiers kept close lying upon their Bellies in the Gallies. The Enemy seeing them enter'd the Harbour, leap'd in whole Troops into the Water, attacking them with incredible Fury in hopes of boarding them: but the *Portuguese* stood to it with so much Resolution, that at last they forced the *Indians* to give way; and pursuing them to the Shore, made themselves Masters of the two Forts, and set fire to all the Ships in the Harbour, which were richly laden, as also to the City. In this Action a certain *Portuguese* Ensign with his Soldiers did Wonders, and the *Mahometans* fought like Lions; but one of their Commanders, a Fellow of a huge bulk, being slain by *Laurence*, the rest betook themselves to their heels. The *Indians* lost 500 Men in this Engagement, and the *Portuguese* about 22. After which *Almeyda* and *Acunba* sail'd to *Commor*, from whence the first steer'd his course to *Cochin*, and the second for *Portugal*. About *Panane* grows besides *Cardamom*, the best *Pepper*, and is sold here at a very reasonable rate.

Thus much of *Panane*: we will now proceed to give you an account of *Calecut*, the Capital City of *Malabar*, and the Residence of the *Sammoryn*, where *Steven van der Haeghe* the then Dutch Admiral, in 1604. enter'd into a strict League with that King, who granted a free Commerce to the Dutch throughout all his Dominions. Many years before the *Portuguese* had obtain'd the same liberty of the *Sammoryn*, who had assign'd them certain Habitations in that City; so that they began to flourish in their Commerce, and the *Portuguese* Priests were very successful in the Conversion of many of the *Pagans*. This exasperated the *Moors* and *Arabians*, who caused the *Nurots* (always greedy after Prey) to

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500 slain of the Indians.

League betwixt the Dutch and the Sammoryn.

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Don Vasco de Gama.



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The Moors endeavor to abolish the design of the Portuguese.

Panane.

*Battle of the Province of Calicut assailed by the Indians.*



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fall to the number of 4000 upon the Portuguese (not above 70 strong) in their Factory, who were almost all massacred by them.

*Pedro Alvares Capral* the Portuguese General in those parts, being inform'd of this barbarous Attempt, and finding that the *Sammoryn* had not been altogether ignorant of the matter, to revenge the Death of his Country-men, burnt ten of their Merchant Ships richly laden, batter'd the City with his Great Guns, and kill'd them above 600 Men. The same Treatment these *Barbarians* receiv'd afterwards from *Meneses*. We will not in this place pretend to give a particular account of all the Differences and War-like Exploits of the Portuguese here, and of the famous Actions of *Albuquerque*, *Henry Meneses*, *James Sylveira*, *Capral*, &c. we will only mention in this place, that the Portuguese having found means to erect a Fort at *Calicut* by the Connivance of *Nambedar* the old *Sammoryn*'s Sister's Son (who favour'd the Portuguese) the Kings of *Cananor* and *Cochin* were so nettled thereat, that they did not desist till they had engag'd the *Sam-*

*moryn* to attack it.

It being then in the Winter-season when the Portuguese could scarce expect any Relief, and the Fort provided with a Garrison of 300 Men only, they were driven to great Distress; a certain Renegado, a Native of Sicily, who had serv'd as an Engineer in the Siege of *Rhodes*, directing the *Moors* in their Attacks, Hereupon *John de Lima* Governor of the Fort did all he could to defend himself, in hopes of the approaching Spring; and having extended his Fortifications (by means of great Casks fill'd with Sand) to the Shore, sent notice of his distressed state to *Henry de Meneses*, who without delay sent 140 Land Soldiers aboard two Ships commanded by *Christopher Jusart* and *Edward Fonseca* to his Relief: but the last being becalm'd near the Shore of *Calicut*, and the other not having above 80 Men aboard, *John Lima* did not think it advisable to land with so small a number, as being not sufficient to break through the Enemies Works into the Fort. However *Jusart* being resolv'd to venture at all, landed in a Boat with 30 Volunteers, who fought

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their way through the Enemy, and with the loss of four of their Men reach'd the Fort, which in the mean while was assaulted by the *Barbarians*, who were so warmly receiv'd by the *Portuguese* *Grandeers*, that they were glad to retire in great Confusion to their Works.

Soon after *Fonseca* arriving with his Ship, convey'd a Letter fastned to an Arrow into the Fort, intimating his arrival, and desiring his Instructions how to serve him. *Lima* sent an Answer, that he thought it not advisable to expose himself and his Men to the same danger as *Jusart* had done, but that he should return with all speed to *Meneses*, and solicit a Succour of 500 Men, with a good quantity of Ammunition, where-with he did not question but to defend the place. *Fonseca* being return'd to *Cochin*, and having deliver'd his Message to *Meneses*, he dispatch'd immediately *Anthony de Sylva* with some Ships, for the relief of the besieged, whilst he was making all necessary Preparations to follow with a much greater Force in the Spring.

The *Sammoryn* fearing the worst, left no stone unturn'd to oblige the Besieged to a Surrender before that time: and the before-mention'd *Sicilian* having done his utmost Endeavours with Mines, Mortars and Battering Pieces, but in vain, he resolv'd to reduce them by Famine, which he might questionless have effected, had he had only a small Squadron of Ships to block up the Harbour. But the Besieged being from time to time supply'd with Provisions and Refreshments by small Boats which enter'd in the night time, when *Meneses* arriving with 1500 *Portuguese*, landed his Men, and having put the *Malabars* to the rout, with the loss of 3000 Men on their side (among whom was also the *Sicilian*) the *Sammoryn* was so terrified thereat, that to

prevent his Country from being ravag'd by the *Portuguese*, he clap'd up a sudden Peace: And the *Portuguese* judging the Fort too chargeable to keep, did afterwards demolish it of their own accord; in the springing up of which many *Malabars* (greedy after Prey) were blown up into the Air.

Notwithstanding this Peace, the *Sammoryn* let slip no opportunity of doing mischief to the *Portuguese*; being encourag'd thereunto by the Differences arisen betwixt the *Portuguese* Generals, as betwixt *Meneses* and *Gama*, and *Sampajo* and *Mascarenhas*, about the Viceroyship, which had almost prov'd fatal to the *Portuguese* Affairs in the *Indies*. This is evident from a Letter writ by *Christopher de Sousa* to the said *Sampajo*, in which he represents to him the danger unto which the *Portuguese* (a small number in comparison of their Enemies) were exposed daily in the *Indies*, by his Difference with *Mascarenhas* about the Viceroyalty, exhorting him not to have recourse to Violence, but the Arbitration of such Persons as were competent Judges; telling him, that in case of refusal he must not expect to be obey'd by him. Which coming from a Person noted for his Courage, Liberality and Generosity in these parts, did not a little abate the Haughtiness of *Sampajo*: and *Mascarenhas* returning into *Portugal*, was favourably receiv'd by the King, who having recall'd *Sampajo*, oblig'd him to give full satisfaction to *Mascarenhas* for the Imprisonments, Affronts and Damages he had sustain'd upon that account. For the more ample Relation of which we refer our selves to the *Portuguese* Historians. From *Calecut* we will turn towards *Cranganor*, in order to give you a Description of its Origin and Situation, and by what means it fell into the Hands of the *Hollanders*.

*Baldau.*

*And demolished.*

*Differences among the Portuguese Generals.*

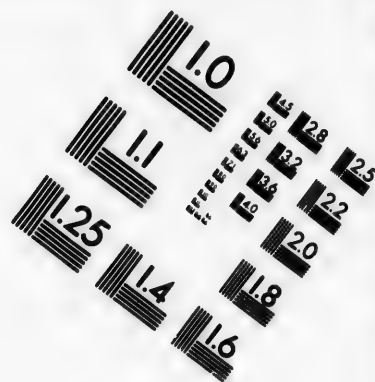
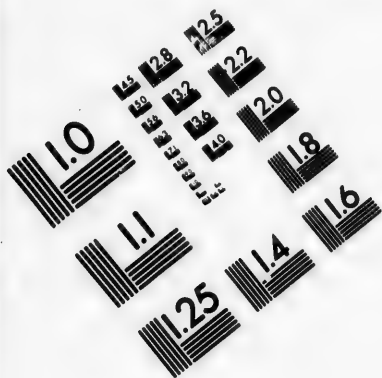
## CHAP. XVIII.

*A Description of Cranganor. How it was besieged and taken by the Dutch. Its Excellencies. The Isle of Vaypin. Cochin Fortified. Its Inhabitants, Buildings, plenty of Provisions, &c. Is besieged the first time by the Dutch, who raised the Siege.*

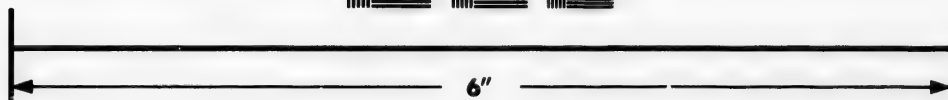
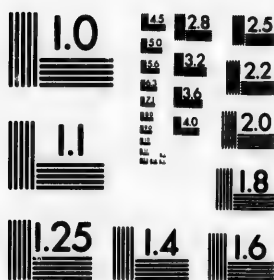
*The River and City of Cranganor.*

*Cranganor* lies five Leagues to the North of *Cochin*, and 20 to the South of *Calicut*, upon a sandy Hill. On the South side of the entrance of the River,

is built a small Fort call'd *Paliport*; a mile above which, higher up the River, lies the City and Fortress of *Cranganor*, a Place strongly fortify'd by the *Portuguese* at divers



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divers times; for in the beginning they had only a Tower, which they afterwards strengthen'd by a Wall, and at last enclosed the whole by regular Fortifications of Earth. The King of *Cranganor* keeps his Residence not far from *Cranganor*: He that then reigned, was a young, lusty, and tall Person, a declared Enemy of the *Portugueses*, as well as the *Sammorin*.

In the Year 1661. after the *Dutch* had made themselves masters of *Coulang*, and by strengthening the same with Fortifications, and a good Garison, had secured the South side, they thought it expedient (before they attempted the Conquest of *Cochin*) to get also a firm footing on the North side at *Cranganor*, especially since they fear'd they might be obliged to pass the Winter thereabouts, it being in *December*. According we land'd our Men, but found (beyond expectation) the Fortifications in such a state, as not to be attack'd without great Cannon. Above 14 days being spent in raising Batteries, making of Trenches and Breaches, but to no great purpose, and the approaching Season obliging us to carry on the Siege with all possible expedition, it was resolv'd (upon intelligence given by a certain Person, concerning the Condition of the Place) to attack the Point next to the River, on *Sunday Jan. 15. 1662.* very early in the morning.

The Signal being given accordingly by a Cannon Shot, our Forces advanced, under the favour of the Smoke of our great Artillery, to the Bulwork, which they took with Sword in hand, chasing the *Portugueses* thence to the *Jesuits* Church. In this Action the *Dutch* Captains, *Poolmann*, *Schulenburg*, and *Simon Werding*, as also Lieutenant *Silvester*, acquired immortal Honour, being slain as they were mounting the Breach, with 78 common Soldiers, and many wounded.

On the *Portuguese* side above 200 Christians were killed, besides a great number of the *Nairos*; and among the rest *Urbano Fialho Fereira* the Governour of the Place.

The *Portugueses* then hung out a white Flag, desiring a Parley upon reasonable Conditions; which were granted them, and by virtue thereof the *Portuguese* Soldiers transported into *Europe*. During this Siege we found the Nights very cold, tho the Days were almost insupportable by the excessive Heat. And after the Conquest thereof, being ordered to preach the Thanksgiving Sermon in one of the Parish Churches (of which there were 7)

I pitch'd upon a Text in *Deuteronom. Chap. 23. v. 14.*

The *Hollanders* judging it at that time convenient to surrender the Place into the King's hands, the same was done accordingly; but regain'd and reforcify'd the same afterwards, when they found themselves engag'd in a War with the *Sammorin*, who made frequent Excursions as far as *Cochin*; a thing so common among these *Barbarians*, that no settled Peace can be expected with so many Kings.

And upon this Occasion I can't sufficiently commiserate the Condition of the Inhabitants of the Countries about *Cranganor* and *Cochin*, who being guided by ignorant *Romish* Priests, are in great danger of falling by degrees into *Paganism* again; the District of *Cranganor* having formerly been so considerable for the great numbers of Christians of *St. Thomas* (as they are call'd) inhabiting there, that a *Portuguese* Archbishop had his Residence in that City. It is the general Opinion here, that *St. Thomas* the Apostle coming first to *Socotora*, an Isle at the entrance into the *Red Sea*, there preached the Gospel with good success; whence coming to *Cranganor* and *Coulang*, he converted a great number to the Christian Faith. From hence taking his way thro *Coromandel* into *China*, he returned to *Maliapour*, where he suffered Martyrdom. But of these Christians of *St. Thomas*, we shall have occasion to say more hereafter, our present purpose being to say something of the State of Affairs in the *Portuguese* Times.

First then, at our arrival at *Cranganor*, we found there a Noble College of the *Jesuits*, with a stately Library belonging to it, the Structure it self being not inferior to many in *Europe*. Besides the Church of the *Franciscans*, they had a stately Cathedral, adorn'd with the Tombs of the Archbishops of this Place. Without the Wall of *Cranganor* was the College of *Chanotte*, famous for the resort of the Christians of *St. Thomas* hither, who exercised their Religious Worship here in the *Syriac* Language; and having erected a School for the Education of their Youth, had several Masters and Priests of their own: Of which more in the Description of *Cochin*.

This Language being in high esteem among the Natives here, and used sometimes also by our Saviour and his Apostles; not only a Printing House, but a Seminary has been erected at *Rome* for the cultivating thereof, and propagating the same among the Youth.

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Thus 1622. a Syriac Dictionary was published at Rome, by John Baptist Ferrarius, a Native of Siena; and the Syriac Grammar of Georgius Ameira, a famous Divine and Philosopher of the College of the Maronites, born near the Mount Libanus. And 1628. Abrahamus Eccebelensis obliged the World with his Introduction to the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith, in the same Language. Whence it is evident that the Roman Clergy exceed ours, in their zeal of propagating the Roman Religion; tho on the other hand it must be allow'd that their Plenty furnishes them with sufficient opportunities of performing those things which the Reformed Ministers for want of Means are forced to let alone. I have seen divers Books printed with the Portuguese Characters, in the Malabar Language, for the instruction of the Paruas, one whereof I keep by me to this day; tho at the time time I must confess, that in case we should follow the same Method, in printing with our Characters, though in their Language, it would not have the same effect, they being much bigotted both to the Roman Clergy and the Portuguese Language; so that I have met with some of the Paruas who spoke as good Portuguese as they do at Lisbon. For the rest, the Products of Cranganor are the same as in the other Parts of Malabar, except that now and then they meet with some Gold Dust, but in no great quantity.

Between the River of Cranganor and that of Cochim, lies the Isle of Vaypin. When the Dutch, in Feb. 1662. besieged Cochim the first time, they erected a Fort upon the Bank of the River, from whence they batter'd the Place, the River being there not above a Musket-shot over: This Fort was call'd the New Orange, and here we found a goodly Edifice, formerly belonging to the Bishop of the Place; as also a very large Church, in which I preach'd the 29th of Jan. 1662. The Isle it self is tolerably fertile, under the Jurisdiction of the King of Cochim, whose Dominions extend from the River of Cranganor, six Leagues South of Cochim, the whole length being about ten Leagues. The Kings of Cochim have always kept firm to the Portuguese Interest, ever since Triumpara, being conquered by the King of Calicut, sought for refuge among the Portugueses, who restored him to his Kingdom, tho he afterward prefer'd a private Life before his Crown.

Cochim is a very antient City, but was not fortify'd till 1504. in the time of the two Albuquerque, who set sail 1503. from

Belem in Portugal; and after many smart Engagements with the Sammoryn, Alphonfus return'd into Portugal, where he obtain'd the Surname of The Great, his Actions being describ'd in a peculiar Treatise publish'd at Lisbon 1576. by John Eatreira. Soon after the Portugueses built a Church there, and enter'd into a League with the Sammoryn, and the Fortifications were considerably augmented by Edward Pateco, and a Wall erected by L. Vasco towards the Sea side. In some Years after this City began to increase so considerably, that it might compare with some of the best in Europe, its length being near two English Miles.

At first the Christians and Mahometans lived promiscuously in the City; which occasioning frequent Disturbances, Albuquerque obtain'd from the King Naubadora, that each should have their peculiar Quarters assign'd them to live in. In and about the City of Cochim, lived also formerly some Jews, who even now have a Synagogue allow'd them without the Fortifications; they are neither White nor Brown, but quite Black. The Portuguese Histories mention, that at a certain time, certain blasphemous Papers against our Saviour, with some severe Reflections against the Jesuit Goncalous Pereira (who afterwards suffer'd Martyrdom at Monopatapa) being found in a Box set in the Great Church for the gathering of Alms; and the same being supposed to be laid there by some European Jews, who now and then used to resort thither privately, this gave occasion to introduce the Inquisition into Goa.

Cochim may for its bigness justly challenge the second Place after Goa among the Indian Cities formerly in the possession of the Portugueses, tho at present it is not near so big as the City of Batavia. Its situation lies at 10 Degrees of North Latitude, bordering to the West upon the Sea, and the River has about 17 or 18 fathom Water at high Tide; but its Entrance is very difficult in the Winter-time, being commonly choak'd up by the Sands which are carried thither by the Stream in the Winter Season, which however are again removed by the violence of the Current in the Summer-time.

About Cochim, as well as all along the Coast of Malabar, they have every day two sorts of Winds, viz. The Land Wind beginning in the Evening, and the Sea Wind at ten in the Morning. Cochim is not accounted so wholesome as most of the other places seated on the Coast of Malabar, by reason of its situation in low

Baldeis.

Christians and Mahometans lived first together.

Cochim is very wholesome, but plentiful.

and

*A Prospect of the CITY OF COCHIN  
to the North.*



*COCHIN, to the Sea side.*



*Interior COCHIN, on the Land.*





CITY OF COCHIN  
North.



Cochin, on the Land side.



COCHIN, on the Land side.



and marshy Grounds; but abounds both in Fish and Flesh, and its situation is extremely delightful, by reason of the many Brooks, and adjacent little Islands in the River, wherein many of the *Portugueses* have built themselves very pleasant Summer Seats.

The River runs on the back-side of the best Houses of the City, where they catch fish with Calling-nets, at which the *Chinenses* inhabiting here are very dexterous. Formerly this City could boast of divers stately Churches, since demolished by the *Dutch*. The Jesuits Church and College facing the Sea-shore, had a lofty Steeple and a most excellent set of Bells: The College, which was 3 Stories high, and contained about 20 or 30 Apartments, being surrounded with a strong Wall. The Cathedral was also a noble piece of Architecture, adorn'd with two rows of Pillars, and a lofty Steeple.

Antient  
Churches  
and Con-  
vents of  
Cochin.

The Church and Convent of the *Austrian* Friars stood upon the Bank of the River; and the Church of the *Dominicans* with their Convents, were two rare pieces of Workmanship, beautified with a double row of Pillars of most excellent Stone. The Church and Monastery of the *Franciscans* is the only that remains standing as yet, but has no more than two Brothers left, who are allow'd the free exercise of their Religion.

The best Houses of *Cochin* have their Court-yards and Gardens belonging to them, enclosed with very thin, yet strong and high Walls, so that the Neighbours can't overlook one another. The situation of the City is much more in length than breadth, without any Channels in the Streets; however that end towards the Sea-side is much broader than the other, as may be seen by the annexed Draught, which also representing an exact view of its Fortifications, we will refer the Reader to it.

The Mala-  
bar Co-  
chin.

The *Malabar Cochin* is seated somewhat lower, and built after the *Indian* fashion, with very broad Streets: it is very populous, and the Royal Palace is built with Bricks and Mortar after the *European* way, with Apartments very spacious and lofty; near which stands the *Pagode*, with a very large Cistern adjoining to it.

Anno 1662, in Febr. at the time of our first landing before *Cochin*, the *Nairos* inhabiting hereabouts (notwithstanding we positively declar'd we were no Enemies of the King, but only of the *Portugueses*) assembled in great Numbers in this Palace and the *Pagode*, and from thence assaulted our Forces, which obliged us to

drive them from thence, with the slaughter of 400 on their side, they fighting very desperately, by reason they had beforehand intoxicated their Brains with very large Doses of *Opium*. The old Queen of *Cochin* being taken Prisoner in the Fray, by *Henry van Rhede* an Ensign, was kept in safe custody for some time after.

Afterwards we began to form our Attacks against the *Portuguese Cochin* in three several places; that on the Land-side near the Church of St. Thomas (which served us for a Chappel and Hospital) being commanded by the General in Person; that along the Sea-side by *Tsbrand Gotsken*; and the third near the River by the Commodore *Roothaus*. After some time spent in making of Trenches, and raising of Batteries, it was thought expedient to surprize the Enemy on that side near the River. The first Sunday in February being appointed for that purpose, Capt. *Peter Wajh* was ordered to begin the Assault with a certain Detachment at four a Clock in the Morning: but it being after Sun-rising before they could reach the Place, the *Portugueses* took the Alarm; and being timely sustain'd by fresh Troops drawn thither by the ringing of the Bells, gave such a warm Reception to the *Hollanders*, that after a most obstinate Engagement, they were forced to found the Retreat, with the loss of divers of their best Men, and among them the beforemention'd Captain, who was kill'd by two Musket Bullets. The General *Ryetus van Goens*, and the Commodore *Roothaus*, were also both in great danger, the first receiving several Shots through his Hair, the last being likely to have been cast into a deep Well.

Notwithstanding this Disappointment, the Trenches were carried on with all imaginable speed, tho not without great difficulty, by reason of the marshy Grounds, which cost us a good number of Men, more than we could conveniently spare at that time, when our Forces were not a little weakened before; we having left at least 300 sick and wounded at *Coulang*, and a considerable Garrison at *Cranganor*, and in the Fort of *New-Orange* on the Point of the Isle of *Paypin*. We continued however to batter the Town incessantly with our great Artillery, and to omit nothing we thought might annoy the Enemy; till a whole Month being spent in this Siege, and the Number of our Men reduced to 1400. we began to consider of the approaching Winter, the uncertainty of the Event,

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and the want of several things necessary to carry on a long Siege; so that after mature deliberation, it was judged necessary to raise the Siege, and delay the Execution thereof to a more convenient time.

Accordingly our Cannon, Ammunition and other Moveables being sent aboard upon Floats, the General made a safe Retreat in the Night-time without beat of Drum; and the better to cover his Design, had gain'd a certain Jew by Money to make the Clock of S. Thomas Church strike as usually: to which also contributed not a little the ingenious Invention of a certain Gunner, named *Henry Boerdorp*, who went the Rounds all Night long, and calling *Who is there? Stand*, and that in a different Tone, deceived the Enemies Centinels, that they had not the least Suspicion of our Retreat; so that all the Dutch Forces got safely aboard, without the Loss of as much as one Man, except a Negro Slave. When the Dutch Soldiers saw the Artillery and Baggage going on board, they were not

a little dissatisfied thereat, but being appeased by Commodore *Rothous*, who told them that it was done only to secure them against the Enemy, who intended to make a general Sally, they were afterwards glad to follow their Officers Directions in the Retreat.

It was almost noon before the Portuguese were convinced of our Retreat, as suspecting the same to be only a Stratagem to draw them into an Ambush; but when they saw us weigh our Anchors, they express'd their Joy with the Discharge of their Cannon round the Walls. The Dutch General having left a sufficient Garison for the guard of the Fort of *New-Orange*, another at *Cvanganor* under the Command of Captain *Perspreet*, and constituted *Peter du Pon*, a brave Soldier, Commander in Chief of all the Forces in those Parts, sail'd to *Coulang*; which Place being likewise provided with all Necessaries, he took his course towards *Batavia*, with an Intention to give *Cochin* a second Visit in the Spring, which he did accordingly with better Success.

C H A P. XIX.

*The Isle of Formosa surprized by the Chineses. Cochin besieged a second time by the Dutch, is forced to surrender; the chief Articles of the Capitulation. The City made more compact, and strengthened with regular Fortifications. The Roman Catholick Bishop of the Christians of S. Thomas comes to Cochin. His Original Bull of Indulgence.*

BY this time we were sufficiently inform'd of the miserable State of our Countrymen in the Isle of *Formosa* (which the Portuguese would often upbraid us with during the Siege) a compleat account whereof would be perhaps too tedious, and look'd upon as beyond our purpose; therefore I will only for the Satisfaction of the Reader, insert a Letter written by the Reverend Mr. *John Kruyf*, Minister of the Gospel there in the Fort of *Zealand*, and afterwards at *Negapatan* on the Coast of *Coromandel* (where he died) and directed to me, and Mr. *A. Breyl* my Fellow-Minister in these Parts.

“ After my Arrival here the 6th Oct. with my Family, I was seized with so violent a Fever, as disabled me to write to you, yet did not hinder me to remember my hearty Service to you by Mr. *Ross*, Captain of our Ship, and the Factor Mr. *Reuf*. Whether the

“ same was brought to you or not, I am ignorant as yet, having for some time after been so dangerously ill with my Distemper, that my Recovery was almost despaired of; but am now by God's peculiar Mercy so far recovered, that I went first to Church on Thursday last, and preached twice the Sunday following, and intend to visit the Sick to-morrow, and to administer the Holy Sacrament on Sunday next. To give you a particular Account of the late miserable State of the Isle of *Formosa*, is both beyond the compass of a Letter, and my present Strength; and tho I tremble at the very Thoughts of it, yet will I mention the chiefest Transactions: The first Assault of the furious Chineses was made against the Castle of *Sacam*, whereabouts, after they had cut some of our Soldiers in pieces, they took my eldest Son and my Wife's Brother, who, tho very

Miserable Condition of Formosa.

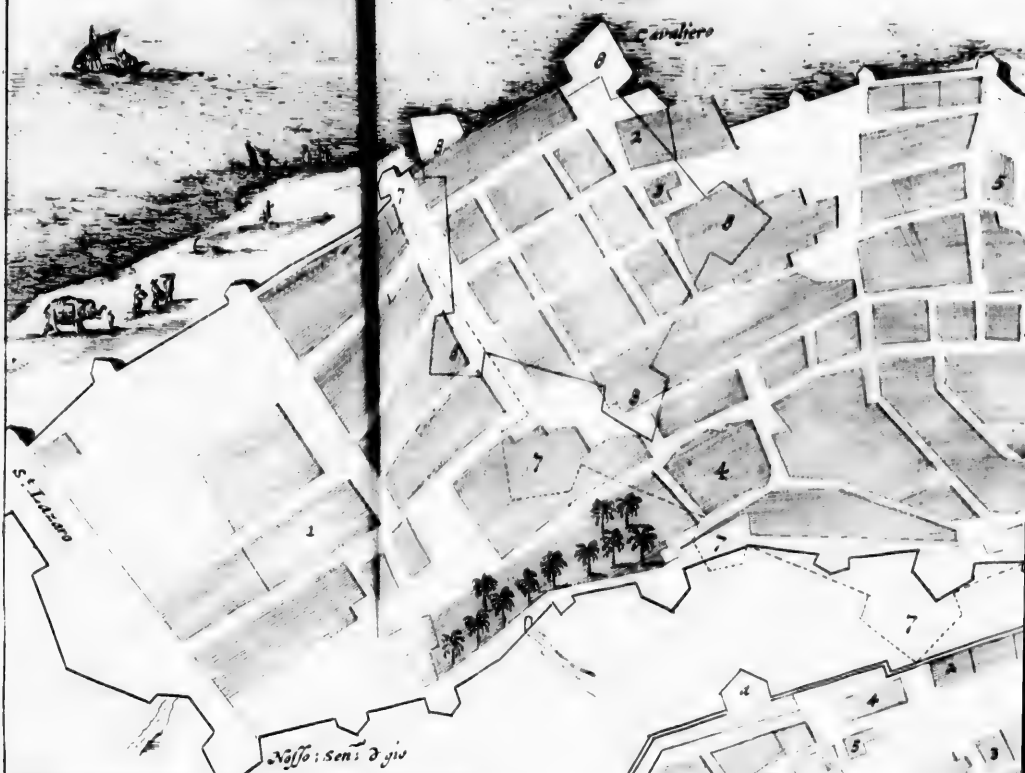
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Directions for Old Cochui

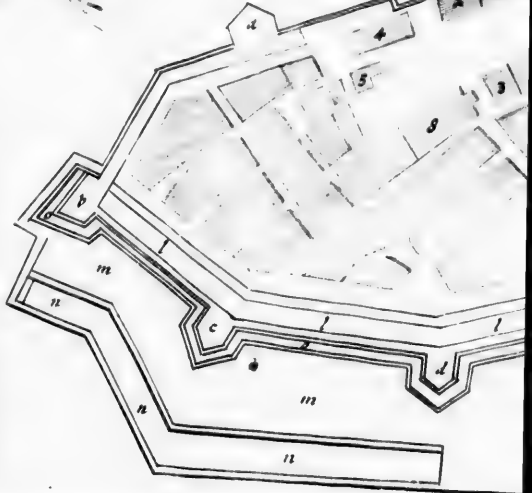
1. *S* Pauls Convent
2. Governors Pallis
3. *S* Church Bon rouge
4. *S* Ch: & ab: of *S* Domingo
5. *S* Mary's Church
6. *S* Stad house

Directions for New Cochui

7. *S* Draught of new Cochui
8. *S* Dra: by *M*. Newland
9. *S* Timber wharfe
- a. *S* Bastion of Gelderland
- b. *S* Bastion of Holland
- c. *S* Bastion of Zeland
- d. *S* Bastion of Friseland
- e. *S* Bastion of Utrecht
- f. *S* Bastion of Goningen

g. Overyste

- h. Cuylenbergh
- i. Vaican
- k. Bear
- l. *S* Inward ditch
- m. *S* Outward ditch
- n. *S* Counterfarp
- o. *S* Fousfbree *S* Chiefst
1. *S* Pallace of *S* Governer
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4. *S* Reformed Church
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8. Convent of Franciscans
9. *S* Stad house

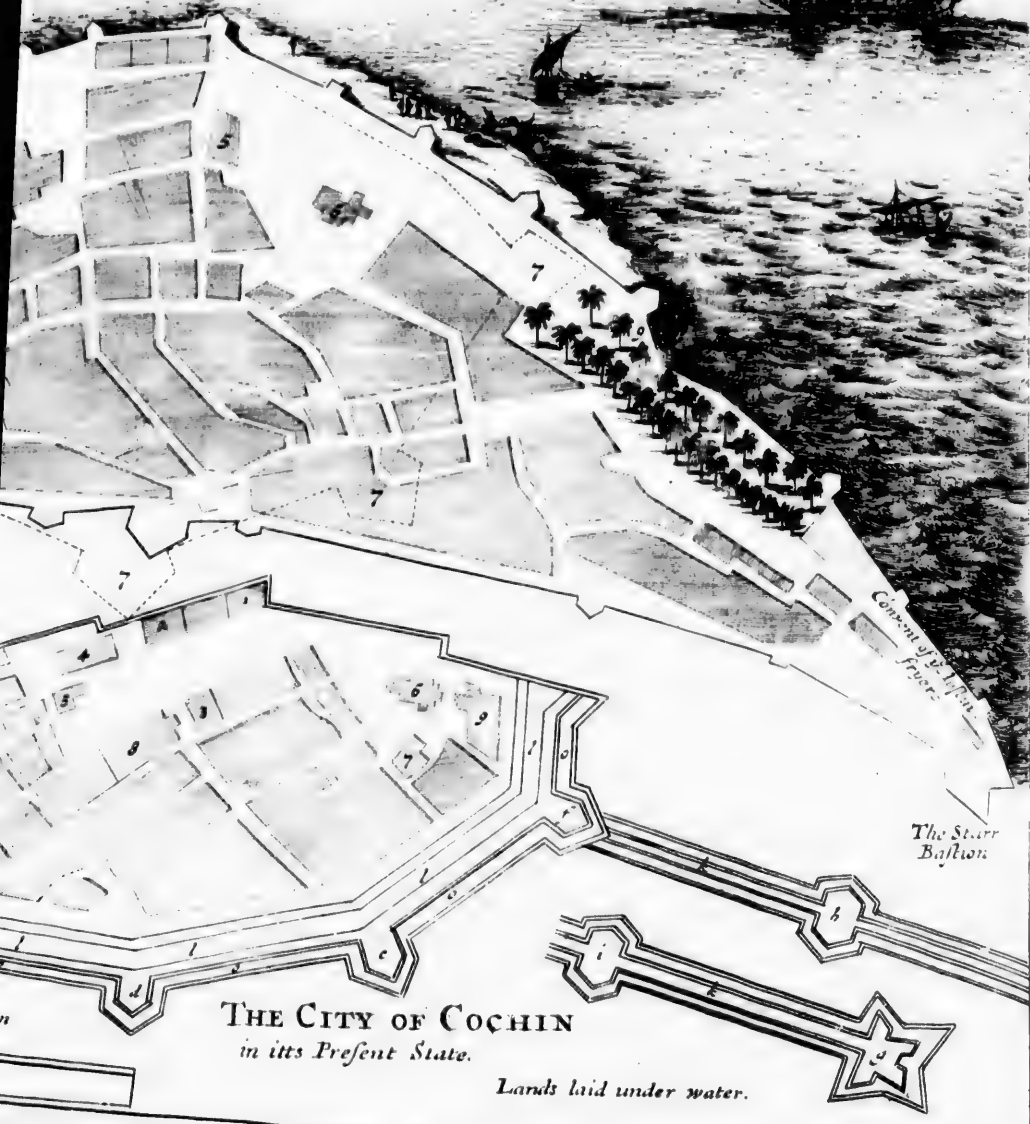


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The River of Cochin

**THE CITY OF COCHIN**  
*at the time of its being taken by v<sup>d</sup> Admiral  
and Ieneral van Goens. 8. Jan: 1663.*



**THE CITY OF COCHIN**  
*in its Present State.*

*Lands laid under water.*

The Starr  
Bastion

Baldew.

" young, had one of his Arms cut off. The next day our Ship called the *Hector* being engag'd with a vast Number of *Chinese Jones*, was blown up, and in her some of our best Soldiers, among whom was also my Father-in-law *Thomas Pedel*. The Fort of *Sacam* being, after a defence of a few days, forc'd to surrender for want of fresh Water and other Necessaries, the Ministers, Officers, Schoolmasters, Soldiers, and in general all the Inhabitants of the flat Country, were forc'd to make the best Terms they could for themselves. The Squadron of Ships commanded by Mr. *Kaum*, (after it had for a small time rejoic'd our drooping Spirits) being dispers'd by Tempests, and the Ship the *Ork* forc'd upon the Sands, and taken by the Enemy, the same was neither seen nor heard of in five or six Weeks after. To be short, the whole Country being over-run by the *Chinese*, our Soldiers every where routed, *Koukerken* laid in Ashes in sight of our Fort: Such of our Contrymen as had not secur'd themselves by a timely Flight, fell into the Hands of the merciless Enemies, who sacrific'd the Reverend Mr. *Hambroek* with his Son, and divers others in *Tilocen*, to their Fury: As also Mr. *Peter Mus* Minister of *Favorlang*, and Mr. *Arnold Winsheim* Minister of *Sinkan*, who had their Heads cut off, and their Wives with many others carried into Slavery. By this there being great want of Necessaries in the Forts, the Soldiers died daily of the Bloody Flux, Scurvy and Dropsy; so that in nine Months time, having lost above 1600 Men, both by Famine and the Sword, we were forc'd (for the Preservation of our Lives) to capitulate. Who can without Tears remember the unexpected Destruction and Ruin of so many Families, and of near 30 Ministers, partly in their Lives, partly in their Fortunes (among whom I had my share, having lost all that I had gather'd in 15 Years time) the Loss and Dishonour of the Company, with the unspeakable Miseries, among which I reckon mine none of the least, as the Loss of three Parts of my Library? All which we ought to look upon as the effects of God's just Indignation, on account of our manifold Sins. I have no more to add, than that it is none of the least among my other Afflictions, that Matters are

Several  
Ministers  
beheaded  
by the  
Chinese.

" both so ill represented, and worse taken at *Batavia*.

Subscribed,

Your affectionate Colleague  
Negapatnam 13.  
Octob. 1652. to serve you,

*Joannes Krug*

But it is time to leave the miserable in the Isle of *Formosa*, and to come to the second Siege of *Cochin*. Anno 1662. in September, *Jacob Hugart* late Governour of the *Molukes* and *Amboyna*, and afterwards residing in the same Quality in *Ceylon* and *Malabar*, set sail from *Batavia* with a good Squadron of Ships, *Isbrand Goske* Commodore, for *Cochin*, leaving Mr. *Ryklof Van Goums* at *Batavia* by reason of his Sicknets, but follow'd soon after. In November we began to batter the place most furiously, being willing to reduce it before we could receive the News of a Peace concluded betwixt us and the *Portugueses* (which we expected every day) and having the last year receiv'd certain Instructions from the Governours of our Company to allow free Commerce, and Liberty of Religion to all such *Portugueses* as would submit to us, we propos'd to the Belieged that they should be left in full possession of their Churches (except one) provided they would receive a *Dutch* Garrison. This was not ill relish'd by some, but *Ignatio Sernento* the Governour refusing to comply with it, we resolv'd to lose no time to reduce the place by force.

Accordingly it was resolv'd in a Council of War to assault it on the River side at low Tide; and to render the Passage the less difficult, a great number of Sacks fill'd with Sand were prepar'd to be thrown into the River. But this Attempt prov'd unsuccessful, our People meeting with so hot a Reception there, that they were glad to think of retreating. But as we had no time to lose, so we soon pitch'd upon another, which was carried on with better success: For that brave Commander *Peter du Pon* being order'd to assault the Bastion on the Bank of the River, he executed his Commission so successfully, that (tho not without great Resistance) he broke through the Enemy, and maintain'd himself in some of the adjacent Houses against the whole Force of the Enemy, till being seconded by fresh Troops of his own, they put out the white Flag, and sent their Deputies

Prisoners  
made in  
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puties to capitulate upon the following Conditions.

The *Franciscans* to enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion under the Protection of the States: The Clergy to have free liberty to carry away all their Images, Church-Ornaments, Relicks, &c. and what else belong'd to them. The Governor *Ignatio Sernento* and his Family, together with all the Officers, to be receiv'd civilly by the *Dutch*. The Garrison to march out with Ensigns display'd, Drums beating, with Bag and Baggage,

and to be conducted in *Dutch Vessels* to *Goa*, except such of the Soldiers as *Baldaw*, were in immediate Pay of his Majesty, who were to be transported to *Portugal*. Such of the Inhabitants as were willing to stay behind under the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch Company*, to have free liberty to remain in their full Possessions, and that care should be taken of the sick and wounded. All which was punctually perform'd, and the Keys of the City deliver'd to our General, who soon after enter'd victorious on Horse-back in



great Pomp, and order'd a solemn Thanksgiving to be made in the great Church lately belonging to the Jesuits, for the Conquest of so important a place, which was done accordingly.

Being thus become entirely Masters of *Cochim*, after it had been 150 years in the possession of the *Portugueses*; the *Dutch General* made it his chiefest care to issue his Orders not to molest the *Portugueses*, but to observe punctually the Articles of the Capitulation. The next was to demolish a certain part of the Houses and Churches of the City, in order to draw it into a more narrow compass, and to

Vql. III.

render the Fortifications the more regular, the former requiring too great a number of Men to defend them. The King of *Cochim* being crown'd, and divers of the neighbouring petty Princes oblig'd to become his Tributaries, several strict Alliances were made with the neighbouring Kings to the South of the River of *Cochim*.

About the same time *Joseph de Sancta Maria*, of the Order of the *Discalceated Carmelites*, sent by the Pope in quality of a Bishop among the Christians of *St. Thomas*, came (in his return into *Europe*) to *Cochim* to salute our General, and was

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very

*Baldæus.* very kindly receiv'd by his Excellency: He had two sorts of Enemies to contend with during his stay in these parts; first of all with the *Portugueses*, who could not brook that any other but their Countrymen should be exalted to that Dignity, and that not by the Pope, but by their own King: The other was the *Archidabo* (as the *Portugueses* stile him) or chief Head of the Christians of *St. Thomas* hereabouts, who being a *Negro* would neither submit himself nor his Flock to the *Romish* Jurisdiction.

Concerning the Christians of *St. Thomas* we shall speak more at large anon.

But to return to the Bishop, Brother *Joseph de Sancta Maria*, he was sent from *Rome* with a Bull of Indulgence, granted *Jan. 18. 1660.* in the fifth year of *Alexander VII.* Pope of *Rome*, subscribed by the Cardinal *Barberini, Joseph Caetanus*, &c. the true Original whereof being in my Custody, and containing many things tending to the Elucidation of the Affairs of the Christians of *St. Thomas* (of whom we are to treat immediately after) we thought it not beyond our scope to oblige the Reader with the Translation thereof.

*Franciscus Bishop of Portua, Cardinal Barberini, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, and Protector of the Honourable Fraternity of the Church of S. Jerome.*

*Josephus Caetanus, Keeper of both the Seals of his Holiness, Refendary and Prelate; Carolus Antonius à Puteo, Knight; Franciscus Cinus, Solicitor-General of the Court of Rome; Johannes Baptista Valentis, Abbot; Petrus Bassanus, Carolus de Comitibus, Pompejus Serinus, Marianus Vecchiarellius, and Joh. Bapt. Ciofanus, Commissioners:*

*The Bull of "Indulgence."*

With to our dearly beloved Brothers and Sisters in Christ of the most Reverend Fraternity of the Apostle of *St. Thomas*, of the Church dedicated to that Saint, without the Walls of *Cochin*, founded by Legal Authority, Eternal Salvation in the Lord.  
The more than ordinary Inclination you have shewn to Piety, Charitable Works, and other holy Exercises, have induc'd us, who according to our Duty are to take care of the Salvation of the Faithful, and promoting of Piety and Religious Exercises, to receive into and unite with our Society your Fraternity intended for the Exercise of pious and charitable Works; and by these Presents receive you as such, and thereby make you Partakers of all the Indulgences, Authority and other Spiritual Gifts granted us by Pope *Paul V.* of happy Memory. And the Reverend Father, Brother *Johannes de Sancta Maria*, Frier of the Order of the Discalceated *Carmelites*, President of your Fraternity, having in your Name earnestly solicited for the said Reception, and a grant of the Indul-

gences, we the above-mention'd Prelates and Commissioners, relying upon the Authority of Pope *Clement VIII.* of happy Memory, and his Grant of *Nov. 7. 1604.* and mov'd with a holy Zeal and Christian Love for the promoting of the true Religious Worship, we do by virtue of these Letters receive your Fraternity founded according to the Apostolical and Canonical Institution, with the Approbation of the most Reverend Bishop, or the Ordinary of that place, into our Communion and Society, pursuant to the Apostolical Authority granted us for that purpose; and therefore impart to the said Fraternity and to all its Members all the Indulgences and other Spiritual Gifts, specified and granted to our Society by the said Papal Bull of *Paul V.* to give Encouragement to your Fraternity for the performance of all sorts of pious Works, and the obtaining of eternal Salvation (by God's Mercy) after this Life.

*N. B.* The Bull of *Paul V.* being very long, fullsome, and not material, was not thought fit to be inserted.

And



" And it being our full intention that  
 " all the Indulgences, and other Spiritual  
 " Gifts granted us at large, as before-  
 " said, should be enjoy'd by your Fra-  
 " ternity and its Members, pursuant to  
 " the Institution of Pope *Clement VIII.*  
 " of happy memory; we will and com-  
 " mand, that these our Letters shall  
 " have the same Authority (when pro-  
 " duced) as if they contain'd the Orig-  
 " inal it self. For the Confirmation  
 " whereof we have order'd this Letter  
 " to be sign'd by the Secretary of our  
 " Society, and our Seal, together with  
 " that of the Protector thereof, to be  
 " affixed to it. Given in *Rome* at the  
 " usual place of our Assembly, in the  
 " year after the Nativity of our Saviour  
 " *Jesus Christ*, 1660. of the XIII. In-

" diction, the 16th of *January*, in the  
 " fifth year of the Reign of our holy  
 " Father *Alexander VII.*

Subscribed,

*Cardinalis Barberinus*, Protector.  
*Joseph Caetan*, Prelate.

*Franciscus Cinus,*  
*Carolus Antonius à Pusco,*  
*Marianus Vecchiarellius,*  
*Petrus Bassanus,*  
*John Bapt. Ciojanus,*  
*Philippus de Rubeis,*

Commissioners

*Andreas Leonius*, Secretary.

CHAP. XX.

*The Voyages, Miracles and Death of St. Thomas the Apostle. The Doctrine of the Christians of St. Thomas; of the Greek, Syriac, and Georgian Christians; of the Russians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Coptes, Abyssines, Armenians, Maronites. A good Correspondence betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches very necessary.*

IT is the general opinion that the Apo-  
 stle *St. Thomas* did come into the  
*Indies*, but especially into these parts:  
 His first coming was in the Isle of *Soco-*  
*tora* (at the entrance of the *Red Sea*)  
 where he converted many to the Christian  
 Faith; it being certain that to this day  
 many of the Inhabitants stile themselves  
*Christians of St. Thomas*, which also in-  
 duced *Xaverius* to touch at that Island in  
 his Voyage to the *Indies*; and, if we may  
 credit *John de Lucena*, would fain have  
 staid there. From *Socotora* *St. Thomas*  
 sail'd to *Cranganor*, whence, after he had  
 converted many to the Christian Faith,  
 he went to *Coulang*. Upon the Rocks  
 near the Sea-shore of *Coulang* stands a  
 Stone Pillar \*, erected there (as the In-  
 habitants report) by *St. Thomas*. From  
*Coulang* crossing the high and dangerous  
 Mountains he travell'd into *Coromandel*,  
 where having likewise planted the Seed  
 of the Gospel he sail'd into *China*, where,  
 after he had preach'd the Gospel to the  
 Infidels, he return'd to *Maliapour*, to con-  
 firm some of the new converted Christi-  
 ans in their Faith, and there suffer'd  
 Martyrdom.

His several  
 Voyages.

\* I saw  
 this Pillar  
 1662.

*Maliapour* (afterwards call'd *St. Tho-*  
*mas* by the *Portugueses*) was at that time  
 a famous City in *Coromandel*, where this

holy Man would fain have built a Church,  
 but was prevented by the *Brahmans*, and  
 their King *Sagam*. They relate a very  
 miraculous thing of *St. Thomas*. The  
 Sea having cast up a Tree of a vast bulk,  
 the King, who was desirous to use it in  
 the building of a House, had employ'd a  
 great number of Men and Elephants to  
 bring it from thence, but in vain, the  
 Wood being not to be moved from the  
 place: *St. Thomas* standing by told the  
 King, that if he would present him with  
 the piece of Wood, he would carry it  
 alone to the City (then ten Leagues from  
 the Shore): The King looking upon him  
 as a mad Man, told him he should do  
 with it what he pleas'd; whereupon  
*St. Thomas* tying his Girdle to one of  
 the Branches, and making the sign of the  
 Cross, drew the whole Tree after him  
 with a great deal of ease, follow'd by a  
 vast number of People; and coming to  
 the City erected a Stone Cross there, tel-  
 ling the Spectators, that whenever the  
 Sea should rise up to that place, God  
 would send certain Strangers from far  
 distant places to settle the Christian Re-  
 ligion here, which the *Portugueses* would  
 have to be verified at the time of their  
 coming there.

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*St. Thomas* having by this Miracle, and  
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*Baldau.* the Conversion of a vast number of Pagans, arriv'd to a great Authority among them; this so incens'd the *Brabmans*, that one of them kill'd him with his Launce upon a Hill near the City, where he us'd to perform his Devotion. They had before that accus'd him falsely of a Murder, but *St. Thomas* having resuscitated the Child from Death, he declar'd his own Father to have been his Murderer; which had so powerful an influence upon many of the chief Men of the Country, and the King himself, that they receiv'd Baptism. Some say that *St. Thomas* was kill'd at *Calaminba*, by mistaking this word for *Calurmina*, i. e. upon a Stone; *Calur* signifying in the *Malabar* Language a Stone, and *mina* upon; *St. Thomas* having been slain upon a Rock: whence it is, that if to this day you ask one of the Christians of *St. Thomas*, where *St. Thomas* suffer'd Martyrdom, they will tell you, *Maliapour Calurmina*, at *Maliapour* upon the Stone, where he was ston'd, and at last run through with a Launce.

*His Death.*

They tell you of a certain Cross made by his Blood, and a vast number of Miracles wrought by it, for which I will refer my self to *Lucena*, *Oforius*, and *Baronius* \*. The Christians of *St. Thomas* teach their Children in their very Infancy these following Heads concerning *St. Thomas*. *St. Thomas* was the Man who first abolish'd Idolatry; it was he who converted the *Chineses* and *Negroes*; it was he that baptiz'd them, and taught them the true Faith, and to profess God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost. They also tell you, that he converted the three Kings of the East (one of whom, call'd *Perumal*, they say was King of *Ceylon*) and that *St. Thomas's* Body was transferr'd from *Maliapour* to *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*.

But setting aside all these uncertain Relations, the most secure way (founded upon no small Probabilities) is, that *St. Thomas* was actually in these Parts, and converted a great number of People to the Christian Faith; which contradicts that bold Assertion of the *Roman* Catholics, that all Nations have receiv'd the Christian Faith from *Rome*; it being beyond all question, that at the time of the arrival of the *Portugueses* in those parts under *de Gama*, the Inhabitants declar'd themselves to be Christians from most antient times, desiring the Protection of the King of *Portugal* against the Pagans, and in token of their Obedience presented him with a Silver Scepter gilt. Nay, the Church of *Rome* can't

boast of that Honour, even of all parts of *Europe* it self; since the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, *Lucius* and *Donaldu*, embrac'd the Christian Faith 124 years after our Saviour's Nativity, without having the least Communication with the Church of *Rome*; whence *Tertullian* rightly says, *Britannorum loca Romanis inaccessa Christo subdita sunt*. And *Cyprianus* says to the same purpose, 240 years after the Birth of Christ, That the Vine-branches of the Gospel have spread themselves beyond the extent of the *Roman Empire*. Thus *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyru* under the Reign of *Constantine* the Great, positively asserts, That the Chamberlain of *Queen Candace* did introduce the Gospel into *Ceylon* and the Happy *Arabia*.

The Christians of *St. Thomas* remain'd many years in the Primitive Purity of the Christian Religion, till in time, for want of good Pastors, they began to be infected with some Pagan Superstitions, and were in most imminent danger of losing the Remnants of the Truths of the Gospel, had not *Martome* a Native of *Syria*, taken care of the decay'd state of Christianity in these parts; and being seconded in his Endeavours by divers other Teachers out of *Syria*, *Babylonia*, *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, the *Syriac* Language was introduc'd, and the former Purity of Religion restor'd among them, till in time the *Nestorian* Heresy got footing in *Syria*, and was from thence transplanted hither, as is sufficiently evident from the Records of the *Malabars*.

This *Martome* (signifying in their Language as much as *Lord Thomas*) being much respected by the Kings of *Cranganor* and *Coulang*, and by the Christians of *St. Thomas* in general, was declar'd by them their Head: and the Bishops of *Cochin*, *Coulang* and *Cranganor*, being afterwards sent for out of *Syria*, these introduc'd the *Syriac* Language, and acknowledg'd the Patriarch of *Alexandria* or *Babylon* for their Metropolitan, till at last they submitted to the Pope of *Rome*: For the Supreme Ecclesiastical Head of the *Indians* (at the perswasion of the *Portugueses*) did 1562. acknowledg'd the Supremacy of the Pope of *Rome*, provided they might continue in the former free Exercise of their Religion, which was confirm'd in the Synod of *Goa*, where they would not consent to the least Alteration of any of their Church-Ceremonies. But after the Decease of this Bishop, his Successor 1599, embrac'd with the rest of his Clergy in another Synod, the *Roman* Faith.

\* Tom. i. 1557.

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The Christians of St. Thomas inhabit for the most part on the Coast of Malabar, about Cranganor, Cochin, Coulang, Travancor, and some in Coromandel, amounting in all to a considerable Number. Before they were united with the Church of Rome, they were infected with the Nestorian Heresy, as some are still to this day; whence it is that they deny the two Natures in the Person of Christ. This Nestorius was Bishop of Constantinople, and Eutyches Archbishop of Constantinople was Abbot in the same City. His Doctrine was received at first in the Council of Ephesus, by the Interest of Chrysostom (to please Eudoxia the Empress) Lord Chamberlain to Theodosius the Emperor; but Chrysostom being slain at the instigation of Pulcheria, the Sister of the Emperor, the same was afterwards condemned in another Synod of Ephesus held in the Year 431. Two Years after the Death of St. Austin, wherein Cyril Bishop of Alexandria presided; as the before-mentioned Council of Ephesus, and the Doctrine of Eutyches was condemned in the Council of Chalcedon 451.

For the rest, the ancient Christians of St. Thomas did administer the Holy Sacrament in both Kinds, using Salt, Bread, and the use of Raisins instead of Wine. It was a very ancient Custom among them, not to baptize their Children till they were forty days old, except in case of imminent danger of Life. They used no Unction, neither any Images, except that they had Crosses in their Churches. Their Priests were forbid to marry a second time. They were declared Enemies of Cyril of Alexandria, a great Antagonist of the Nestorians, but revered Nestorius and Dioscorus as Saints. They did not acknowledg the Superiority of the Pope of Rome, and used the Syriac New Testament in their Churches.

As divers Religions have been broach'd of late Years in Europe, so there are many Sects of antient standing in the East. The chiefest of these are the Greeks, who acknowledg the Patriarch of Constantinople for their Head, viz. those of Naxos (except Armenia and Cilicia) Greece, Russia, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Valachia, Moldavia, Podolia and Muscovia.

The next are the Melchites, the most numerous of all the Sects in the East; they are call'd Syrians from Syria, and Melchites by their Enemies, because they conform'd themselves in their Religious Worship, according to the Emperor's Orders. \* They acknowledg for their Head the Archbishop of Damascus, who

antiently had his Residence at Antioch.

The third Sect is that of the Georgians, inhabiting the antient Iberia between the Euxine and Caspian Seas. Some would have them to be call'd Georgians, because, as they say, they reverence S. George as their Patron; but erroneously, the Georgians having been mention'd both by Pliny and Mela, long before S. George was known. They are of the same Religion with the Greeks, and have eighteen Bishops of their own, besides a Metropolitan.

The fourth Sect is the Russians, who likewise profess the Greek Religion, denying with them the Proceeding of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son, the main Point in question betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches.

The fifth Sect of the Nestorians follow the Heretical Doctrine of Nestorius, and live for the most part among the Pagans and Mahometans, in Babylon, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Parthia, Media, &c. Nay, Paulus Venetus affirms, that they are found from the North side of Casaja, to the most Southerly Parts of the Indies; so that on the East side beyond the River Tigris, scarce any other Christian Sect is to be met with: The reason whereof they alledg to be, that Cosroes King of Persia, a declared Enemy of the Emperor Heraclius, forced all his Subjects to embrace this Doctrine. The Patriarchal Seat of the Nestorians is at Muzal, a City of Mesopotamia upon the River Tigris, now subject to the Turks; notwithstanding which it has 40000 Christians and 15 Churches. Some of the Nestorians did submit to the Roman Jurisdiction under Pope Julius III. who was created Pope 1550. and reign'd five Years. And the Patriarch Abdiesu, who was invested with the Episcopal Dignity by Pope Pius IV. was present at the Council of Trent.

The sixth is that of the Jacobites, having got their Name from one Jacob a Native of Syria, and a Follower of the Doctrine of Eutyches, 530. according to Nicephorus and Damascenus. They inhabit for the most part in Syria, Aleppo, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Palestine, whence the Patriarch of Jerusalem is also a Jacobite; but the Patriarch of the Jacobites resides at Caranot, an antient noted City in Mesopotamia. They acknowledg but one Nature in Christ, make the Sign of the Cross with one Finger only; they mark their young Children with the sign of the Cross by means of an hot Iron; use both Baptism and Circumcision, and reject the Purgatory, it being their Opinion

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nion that the Soul remains with the Body under-ground till the Day of Judgment; and that the Angels are composed of a fiery and lucid Substance.

The seventh are the *Coptes*, or *Egyptian* Christians, being rather the Name of a Nation, than belonging to any peculiar Religion: They are the same with the *Jacobites*, the word *Copti* being the same with *Aegypht*. For notwithstanding the Doctrine of *Eutyches* was condemned in the Council of *Chalcedon*, and *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* deposed upon that score, the same took deep Root in the Eastern Parts, and more especially in *Egypt*. These *Egyptians* (according to *Tecla Maria* an *Abyssine* Priest) agree in Point of Doctrine with the *Abyssines*, and acknowledg the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, whose Residence is now at *Cairo*.

8. The *Abyssines*.

\* Preslegan now the Title of a certain Abatick Prince; some will have it a Persian word.

The eighth Sect is that of the *Abyssines*, or *Mediterranean Ethiopians*, being generally *Jacobites*, whence their King (call'd erroneously by some \* *Prester John*) is stiled the *Prince of the Jacobites*. They reject absolutely the Council of *Chalcedon*, and will allow it no place in their Writings. To their Patriarch they give the Name of *Albana*, i. e. *Our Father*, who must be a Native out of the Territories of *Alexandria*, and of *S. Anthony's Order*; for it is observable that all the Patriarchs and Bishops in the *East*, are either of the Order of *S. Basil* Bishop of *Cesaria* and *Cappadocia*, or else of the Order of *S. Anthony*. The Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Antiochia* and *Armenia*, are of the Order of *S. Basil*; those of *Alexandria* and *Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia*, as also those of the *Jacobites* and *Maronites*, of *S. Anthony's Order*; but the Patriarchs of the *Nestoreans* are promiscuously of either of these two Orders. The *Abyssines* have for their Head the Patriarch of *Ethiopia*: They are rebaptized once every Year, on 12th day, as indeed are most of the other Eastern Christians. They follow the Rules of the Old Testament in reference to clean and unclean things. It is observable, that contrary to the custom of all the other Eastern Christians (except the *Armenians*) they use unleavened Bread in the Holy Sacrament; tho some affirm that this is only done on *Thursday* in the Holy Week, and that at other times they use leavened Bread. All Persons, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, take and receive the Sacrament standing, and that always in the Church, the King himself not being dispensed with in this Point: The Priest gives the Bread, and the Deacons

the Wine; and that day the Sacrament is received (which is generally once a week) they are forbidden to spit. They baptize both with Fire and Water; besides which they circumcise their Children on the 8th day, and that both Sexes, not according to the manner of the *Jews*, but after the *Mahometan* way, whence it seems as if it were rather a Custom than a Point of Religion. And if we deduce their Original from the ancient *Ethiopians*, *Herodotus* tells us, that they used to practise the same in very antient Times; if from the *Arabians*, the Matter is sufficiently evident, the *Arabians* being descended from *Ismail*, tho they are generally ambitious to trace their Origin rather from *Sarab* than *Hagar*. For the rest, they reject Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead; as also all Traditions, looking upon the Word of God as the only Rule of Faith; but with the *Jacobites*, allow no more than one Nature in Christ. Of the Religion of the *Abyssines*, *Damian a Goos*, *Athanas. Kircher*, *Alvarius*, and others, have given a more ample account.

The ninth Sect is that of the *Armenians*, in great esteem among the *Mahometans*, by reason of their Traffick and Riches; tho some alledg another Reason, viz. that an *Armenian* did foretell *Mahomet* his future Greatness. In the Year 1656. a certain *Armenian* Merchant, named *Goya Salomon*, a very grave and sober Person, travell'd in our company to *Adacassar*, where we were to treat about a Peace with the King, and he to fetch some Money due to him from the *Danish* Company, who gave us several needful Instructions concerning both the Ecclesiastical and Political Affairs of the *Armenians*. They antiently belonged to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, pursuant to a Decree of the Council of *Chalcedon*; but afterwards having withdrawn themselves from the *Great Church*, set up two Patriarchs of their own, viz. one in the *Greater*, the other in the *Lesser Armenia*. We were told that they administer the Sacrament to the very Infants, whereas the *Russians* don't allow it to Children under seven Years of Age. They declare positively against the Purgatory and Transubstantiation. They rebaptize such as turn to their Religion from the *Western* Churches; They don't allow any Happiness to the Souls of the deceased till after the Day of Judgment.

The tenth Sect is that of the *Armenians*, having got their Name, not from the



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the famous Heretick *Maron* (as *William Tyrius* and *Prateolus* falsely imagine) but from a certain Holy Man, in certain ancient Records, mention being made of the Convent of St. *Maron*, the Friars whereof were call'd *Maronites*: Some of them inhabit in *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Tripolis*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*; but their chief Seat is the Mount *Libanus*, whose whole compass being computed of 700 Leagues, but in most places rocky and barren, is inhabited by about 12000 Families of the *Maronites*, who pay to the Grand Signior seventeen Crowns per annum apiece for every Head that is above twelve years old; and a Crown a year for each piece of Ground of sixteen Spans in the Square. The Mountain is of such a height, that it may be discovered at 40 Leagues distance. The Patriarch of the *Maronites* has eight or nine Suffraganean Bishops, he himself being always a Friar of the Order of S. *Anthony*, and resides sometimes near the Mount *Libanus*, in a Convent of S. *Anthony*, sometimes at *Tripolis*. The *Maronites* are at present under the Jurisdiction of the See of *Rome*; and Pope *Gregory XIII.* (the same who caused the Alteration of the New Stile to be inserted in the Almanack) erected a College of the *Maronites* at *Rome*. The *Maronites* agree with the *Greek Church* in this Opinion, That the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, that every Soul was created in the beginning. They look upon a Female Infant as unclean for eighty days after its Birth, and the Males for forty, which is the reason they don't baptize them before that time; and administer the Sacrament to the Children soon after they are baptized. They don't carry the Sacrament in Procession, and allow not of a fourth Marriage; but don't ordain any Priests or Deacons without they are married before; and allow a Parent the power of annulling the Marriage of his Son or Daughter, if the same be done without his consent. Beatitude they don't believe till after the Day of Judgment. For the rest they follow the Opinion of the *Monothelites*, that there is but one Nature in Christ. The *Maronites* had united themselves 400 Years ago with the See of *Rome*; but when *Saladyn* King of *Egypt* and *Syria* did conquer those Parts, the *Maronites* relinquish'd the *Roman Communion*, till they were reunited to them a second time under *Gregory XIII.* and *Clement VIII.* Of the S. *Thomas* Christians we have spoken before.

Among all these Eastern Sects, there are few who teach any Points contrary to Vol. III.

Salvation, except those of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*; for they execrate the Adoration of Images, reject Purgatory, allow Marriage to the Clergy, administer the Sacrament to the Laity in both kinds, deny Transubstantiation, and don't acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the See of *Rome*.

*Maffaeus* relates, that the Patriarch of the *Abyssines* being desired by their King to dispute with the Jesuit *Roterigio*, told the King, That he would not enter into Dispute with an Heretick, and charged the King, under pain of Eternal Damnation, not to read their Writings. It is beyond all dispute, that the *Coptes* avoid the *Latin Church* as much as the *Jews*. Cardinal *Baronius* tells us indeed, that *Marcus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, did send his Deputies to Pope *Clement VIII.* in order to subject himself and all *Egypt* to the Papal Chair; but the same proved abortive, and proved no more than a Compliment in the end. See *Thomas* a Jesuit, l. 7. c. 6. Whence it is evident, that setting aside the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father only, they are subject to not near so many Errors as the *Roman Catholics*.

The Eastern Christians exercise their Religious Worship in different Languages: Some are of opinion that all the Primitive Christians, for 120 Years after Christ's Nativity, viz. till the Reign of *Hadrianus* the Emperor, used only one Language, viz. the *Hebrew*, but without any certainty: Certain it is, that the *Armenians* have a Translation of the Bible into their own Language; which by some is attributed to *Chrysostom* while in exile. *Alvares* affirms that the *Abyssines* have translated the Bible in their own Language, and so have the *Russians*, or *Muscovites*, contrary to what is practised by the *Romans*; for Pope *Pius IV.* put the Bible among the prohibited Books. And *Erasmus* in his Letter to *Charles Vtenbofer* tells him, that *Lewis Berquin* was 1529. burnt at *Paris*, for no other reason, but his having asserted, that the Bible might be translated into the *Vulgar Tongue*, and read by the common People; notwithstanding St. *Jerom* and *Chrysostom* had employed themselves in the Work.

The other Eastern Christians perform their Religious Service in the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Chaldean* Languages; and use divers Liturgies, as those composed by *Petrus*, *Jacobus*, *Sixtus*, &c. Whence it is evident that it would be no very difficult task, to settle a good mutual Correspondence betwixt them and the Protestant Churches of *Europe*, which has

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Baldau.

The Eastern Churches deny the Supremacy of the Roman See. The Greeks used always five days before Easter to excommunicate the Pope.

In what Language the Christians worship God.



been too much neglected hitherto, tho we have had several opportunities given us by the *Eastern* Christians to embrace so useful a Design. Thus (as *Camerarius* tells us) the *Greeks* of *Constantinople* did encourage the *Bohemians* and *Hussites* against the *Roman Catholics*. *Joseph* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, sent one *Demetrius* a Deacon to *Wittenbergh*, to confer with the Divines there concerning an Union, who carried a *Greek* Copy of the *Augustan* Confession back with him to *Constantinople*. At the Synod of *Tboon* in *Poland* 1595. certain Deputies sent by the *Greek* Christians appeared to exhort to a Unity, and endeavour a Reconciliation betwixt the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*. And in the Year 1616. *Cyril* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, sent one of his Priests to *George Abbot* the famous Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in order to have him instructed in the University of *Oxford* in the true Principles of the Protestant Churches. Neither ought we to pass by in silence the Confession of *Cyril* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, of his adhering to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, which drew upon him the hatred of the *Jesuits*, who could not rest satisfy'd till they had underhand procured his Death 1638.

His Letter, writ upon that Subject to a certain Friend of his, and preserved by the Learned *Andrew Rivet*, is as follows.

" *Percio* ho voluto scriver a V. R. e protestarvi che mi siate testimonio se io more, que jo more *Catholico* *Orthodoxo*, nella fede del N. S. *Jesu Christo* nella dottrina Evangelica conforme la *Confessione Belgica* la confessione mia e le altra delle chiese Evangeliche che soni tutti conformi. Abhorrisco li errori delli *Papisti*, e le superstitione delli *Greci*, provo e abbraccio la dottrina del dottore meritissimo *Giovanni Calvino* e de tutti che sentono con lui, in questo voglio che mi siate testimonio, per che con sincera coscienza cosi tengo, cosi professo e confesso como anco la mia confessione mostra, e recomando a voi questo deposito, caso che morissi, di farne partecipi Tutti li fratelli Christiani *Orthodoxi*: e mi recomando alle preghiere di V. R. Al-  
" Il 15. 25. Marzo.

*Cyrillo Patriarcha di Constantinopoli.*

Which translated into English runs thus :

" Therefore I was willing to declare to you, and desire you to be my Witness, that in case I die an *Orthodox Catholic*, and in the Purity of the Faith taught by *Jesu Christ*, agreeable to the Confession of Faith of the Church of the *United Provinces*, mine being altogether the same with theirs, and with the other Evangelical Churches. I abhor the Errors of the *Roman Church*, and the Superstitions of the *Greek*, but approve and embrace the Doctrine of the most Worthy *John Calvin*, and of all those that have the same Sentiments with him. I call you to witness, that I believe, confess, and attest the same by these Presents, recommending this my Confession to your care, in order to communicate the same (in case of my Death) to all truly believing Brethren, and my self to your Prayers.

The 15. 25. March.

*Cyril Patriarch of Constantinople.*

As the preceding Letter is a convincing Proof of the stedfastness of *Cyril*, in his adhering to the Doctrine of *Calvin*; so out of what hath been said before, it is evident that most of the *Eastern* Christians have an aversion to the *Roman* Religion. And I remember that *Benjamin* the Jew in his Travels, makes the same Observation in particular, in respect of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. In the Year 1664. being at *Cochin*, I addressed my self to Mr. *Jacob Huiskart* our General, to grant leave to the Arch-Deacon, or Chief of the Christians of *S. Thomas* in Ecclesiastical Affairs, to come thither, in order to have a free Conference with him: Which being readily granted, he sent his Letter to the Arch-Deacon for that purpose; but he excused himself, alledging (and not without reason) that we having given so extraordinary a Reception to the *Roman* Bishop, *Joseph de Sancta Maria*, he could not appear in Person among us, without his Prejudice, to my great Dissatisfaction, being extremely sorry it was not in my power to perform my Promise made in my Letters to the States General 1662. And upon this occasion I can't, without praise, mention the generous Zeal of the States General, who at their own Charge did order

A Correspondence with the Eastern Christians necessary.

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order to have the New Testament and  
our Carechism translated into the Tongue  
used among the Modern Greek Christians,

the same being very different from the  
antient Greek Language.

Baldew.

### C H A P. XXI.

*A Description of the Kingdom of Percatti, and Calecoulang. Coulang twice taken by the Hollanders. The nature and manner of living of the Nairos. The Paruas made Christians. Extraordinary Zeal of Don John King of Portugal.*

THE Kingdom of Percatti (call'd by some *Porca*) begins about four or five Leagues to the South of *Cochin*, and extends to *Coulang*, its whole length being about 12 Leagues.

In the Year 1642. the Dutch appear'd the first time in this Place, and treated with the then King of *Siam*, *Banchery Yaubaar* (who was not above 23 Years of Age) concerning a free Trade with Pepper. Which the King was very glad to accept of, being three Years past engaged in a War with the *Portugueses*, who had seized upon part of his Dominions, and would have erected some Fortifications there. He delivered to our Deputies a sealed Letter, directed to the General and Great Council of the *Indies*, in which he requested, that we would at least once a Year send thither a Ship freighted with such Commodities, as before that time used to be carried to *Camamor* and *Calecut*; whereupon an Interpreter was sent aboard the next day, to desire a Passport from his Majesty for such of our Ships as pass'd that way; which was granted.

The King who reign'd here 1664. of whom Mr. *Jacob Hufart* and I had Audience at that time, was about 24 Years old; a very active and well-limb'd Person; his Hands, Feet, and Ears, adorn'd with Jewels of a great value. Formerly they used to transport their Pepper from hence to *Mocha*; but since that time the *English* have traffick'd there in that Commodity, who had their Factory just upon the Sea-shore. The greatest Strength of this King consists in about 500 small Gallies, wherewith in the rainy Season, when the Rice-fields lie under Water, he used to make his Excursions from the utmost Point of the Cape of *Comoryn* as far as *Panane*, and especially to annoy the King of *Cochin*. He proved a troublesome Neighbour to the Dutch Company, till by the Terror of their Arms they brought him to submission, having in the

Siege of *Cochin* sided with the *Portugueses* against us.

Deeper into the Country live abundance of Christians converted by the *Portugueses*: They get their Livelihood by managing and gathering the Pepper, which they are obliged to sell to the King's Factor, a *Brahman*.

The Air of this Country being accounted extremely unwholesom; hence it is, that most of the Inhabitants are troubled with swell'd Legs, the Cause whereof they attribute to the Nitrous Water, which they use for their common Drink; Blindness is also an ordinary Distemper here. For the rest, the Ground is exceeding fertile, and very fit for Tillage, so that most of the Inhabitants live upon Husbandry, especially of Rice.

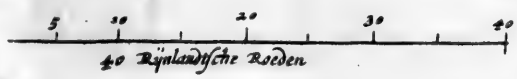
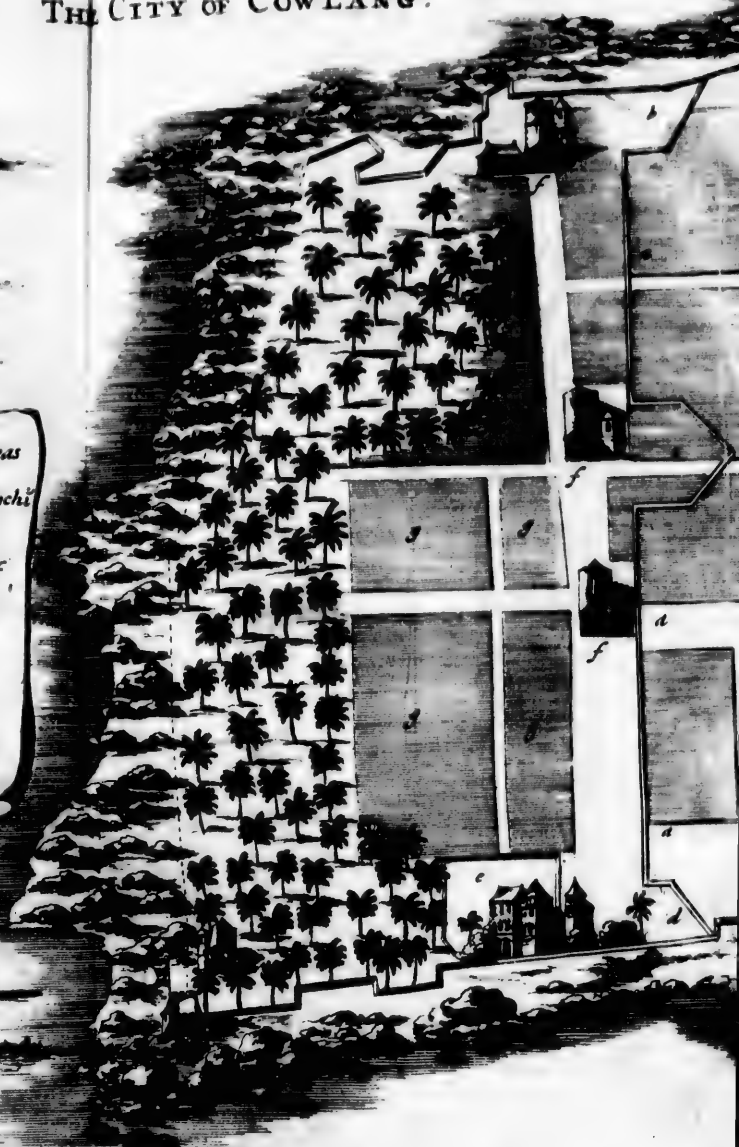
The next adjoining Kingdom is that of *Calecoulang*, of no great extent; here the Dutch Company has had their Factory many years ago, which used to buy up a great quantity of Pepper in these parts.

The least among the *Malabar* Kingdoms is that of *Coulang*, extending to the utmost Point of the Cape *Comoryn*, about 15 or 16 Leagues in length. The City of *Coulang* was first built by the *Portugueses*, being much of the same bigness as *Puntegale* in the Isle of *Ceylon*; having no less than seven Churches, some very good Houses, and many thousands of Trees, especially towards the Sea-side. This City is reckon'd one of the wholesomest on the whole Coast of *Malabar* by reason of its pure Air, and most excellent Springs. The *Portugueses* at their first coming erected only a strong House, defend to themselves in case of necessity against the Inhabitants; notwithstanding which, they were at a certain time surpriz'd by them, and cut all to pieces; which Barbarity was afterwards reveng'd by *Lawrence Almeyda* Son to *Franciscus Almeyda*, who burnt 20 of their Ships richly loaden.

# THE CITY OF COWLANG.

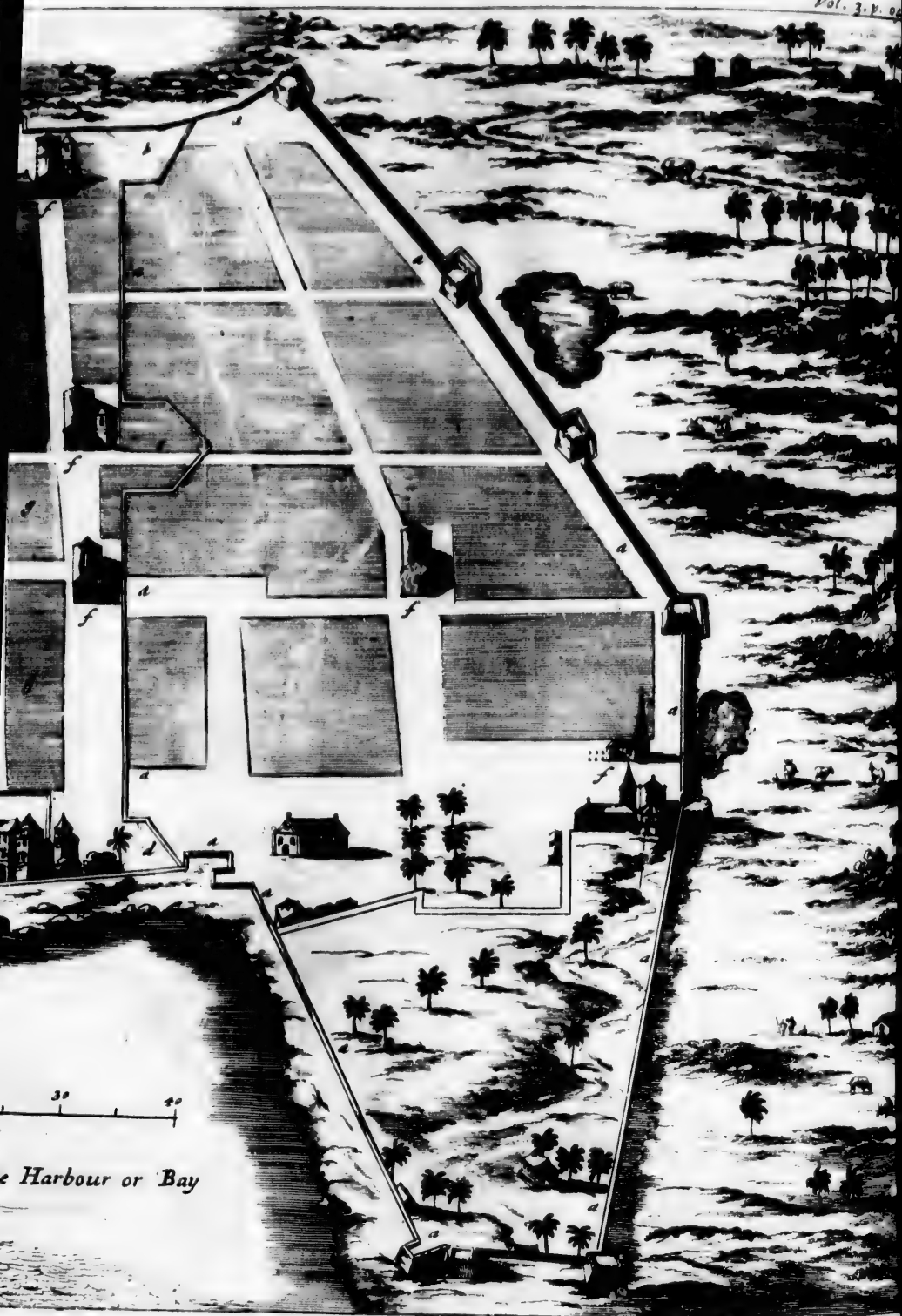


- a. Part of y City that was Demolished
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- e. y Lodgings of y Chief Factor
- f. Churches & Convents
- g. Private Houses



The Harbour or Bay





e Harbour or Bay

*Baldacus*. In the year 1503, one Brother *Rhoteric* a Dominican Friar, coming into these parts to propagate the Gospel, did convert many of the Pagans, and encouraged the Christians of St. Thomas inhabiting here to persevere in their Faith.

The Inhabitants  
treacherous.

The Inhabitants are generally very barbarous and treacherous, of which they have given several times sufficient Proofs to the Dutch. At a certain time they assaulted the City by night, and had almost carried it by Surprise; and at another time Capt. *Henry Gluwing* taking the fresh Air with some Officers without the Gate, were treacherously murder'd by them.

A Pagan  
Temple  
plunder'd  
by the Por-  
tugueses  
in time of  
Peace.

In the time of the *Portugueses* there stood a certain *Pagode* about four Leagues without the City, famous for its Riches throughout the *Indies*, which induced *Sofa* to plunder it, notwithstanding there was then a Peace betwixt them and the *Portugueses*. The *Nairos* reveng'd the Loss by killing about 30 of the *Portugueses*; and *Sofa* having sent a large Vessel full of *Fanams* (their Coin) to *John King* of *Portugal*, the same was by the advice of the Pope sent back to the King of *Coulang*, by whom it was placed again in the said *Pagode*.

The Dutch  
besiege  
*Coulang*, a  
second time,  
having lost  
it before.

In the year 1661. when the *Hollanders* came to these parts to besiege the City of *Coulang*, they were forc'd to have three smart Engagements with the *Nairos*, who to the number of 7000 or 8000 Men, arm'd with Scymeters and Musquets, and being intoxicated with Opium, fell upon them like desperate Men; in which Action Mr. *Dublet* our under-Factor lost his Life.

The Nairos.

And upon this occasion we ought not to pass by the *Nairos*. These are the Gentlemen of *Malabar*, descended for the most part either from Royal Families, or *Brabmans*, and are for that reason exceedingly haughty, proud and bold: If they meet any of the common People in the Street, they cry out, *Po, Po*, i. e. *Give way, Give way*. They seldom appear without their Scymeters and Shields, which they leave at the door when (by a peculiar Privilege) they go to give a private Visit to one of their Neighbours Wives, as a sign that no body must enter there in the mean while to disturb them. They are all bred to the War, even from the seventh year of Age, when they begin to anoint their Limbs with certain Ointments to render the Nerves pliable, which makes them very active and nimble, and the best Wrestlers in the World. They are not only well ac-

quainted with the use of Bows and Arrows, but also with Musquets and great Cannon; for I have seen them give a Salvo with the same order and dexterity as our best disciplin'd Troops in *Europe*; and they are of late years arriv'd to that Perfection, that they make their own Gun-barrels, Gun-powder and Matches. They commonly engage naked, having only a piece of Stuff wrapt about the middle: Being very nimble they often turn their Backs, but soon return to the Charge, when they find the least opportunity of having an advantage against their Enemies. On the Hilt of their Swords they wear certain pieces of Metal, which making a noise as they move, serves them for a certain Musick: They are very dexterous in defending their Bodies with their Shields, and consequently are better at handy Blows than at firing, for they commonly fire too high. Among the *Nairos* those who call themselves *Amok* are the worst, being a Company of Desperadoes, who engage themselves and their Families by Oaths to revenge such Injuries as are done them. They are often seen at *Batavia*. The Power of the Kings of *Malabar* is generally esteem'd by the number of the *Nairos* under their Jurisdiction. If any of their Kings should be murder'd, they would sacrifice all to revenge his Death. As they are naturally fierce and addicted to all manner of Lust and Pride, so they are declar'd Enemies of the Christians.

Scarce were the Dutch Masters of *Coulang*, but their Fleet consisting of 23 Ships great and small, were surpris'd by so violent a Tempest (which lasted three days) that they thought to have been all lost, as lying at Anchor under a low Shore, and therefore expos'd to the utmost fury of the Winds. The Ships Names were, the *Ulieland*, *Seabreeze*, *Haddock*, *Bantam*, *Flushing*, *Marygold flower*, *Cat*, *Tertolen*, *Red Lion*, *Erafmus*, *Shuyce*, *Achilles*, the *Romer*, *Flower Valley*, *Walnut Tree*, the *House of Swieten*, the *Elburgh*, *Stadthouse of Amsterdam*, and the *Exchange of Amsterdam*, the four last being lately come from *Holland* freighted with Provisions, such as Meal, Bacon, Cheese, Wine, Oil and Mum, besides a good number of Land-men, many whereof were ill of the bloody Flux. During this Storm we sent our fervent and constant Prayers up to Heaven for the delivery of our Fleet, on which depended all our Safety; for the *Stadthouse of Amsterdam* was in such distress, that she gave one signal after another for Relief,

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lief, having above six foot Water; the *Erasmus* had lost all her Anchors, but by good fortune got clear of the Sands; the *Sea-horse* had taken fire, but was soon extinguish'd, so that we came off with the loss of three sloop only. The fury of the Tempest beginning to allay on the third day, just at the very time when we were coming from Prayers out of the Church, and by midnight the same being quite ceased, a solemn Thanksgiving was order'd to be kept the 23<sup>d</sup> of November. 1661. when I preach'd upon the Text of *Psal.* 66. 12. By this time it being judged fit for our Fleet to depart, a convenient Garrison was left in the place under Capt. *Kicks* and Mr. *Nybof*, for the defence of the Fortifications of the City, which were lately made of Earth.

The Fleet  
sails for  
Cochin.

The King-  
dom of  
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The Kingdom of *Trevancor* borders upon that of *Coulang*: All along the Sea-shore inhabite the *Paruas*, who being for the most part Christians, you see the Shore all along as far as *Comoryn*, and even beyond it to *Tutecoryn*, full of little Churches, some of Wood, others of Stone. These People owe their Conversion to *Franciscus Xavierius*, he being the first who planted the Principles of Christianity among them; they being so much taken with the reasonableness of the Ten Commandments, that they receiv'd Baptism in great numbers, tho an accidental Quarrel betwixt a *Parua* and a *Mahometan* prov'd a strong Motive to their Conversion: whence it is that *John de Lucena* says, *As the Differences arisen betwixt the Jews and the Egyptians, prov'd the means of the delivery of the People of God, and of the recovery of their Spiritual and Temporal Liberty; so by God's Direction a Quarrel which happen'd betwixt a Parua and a Mahometan, prov'd the delivery of the first from their Spiritual and Temporal Slavery.*

The *Paruas* being sorely oppress'd by the *Mahometans*, one *John de Crus*, a Native of *Malabar*, but who had been in *Portugal*, and honourably treated by *John* the then King of *Portugal*, advis'd them to seek for Aid at *Cochin* against the *Mooris*, and to receive Baptism. Accordingly some of the chief Men among them (call'd *Parangatys* in their Language) were sent upon that Errand to *Cochin*, where being kindly receiv'd, they (in honour of him who had given this Advice) took upon them the Surname of *Crus*, a Name still retain'd by most Persons of Note among the *Paruas*. In short, being deliver'd from the *Moorish*

*Yoke*, and the *Pearl-fishery* (which formerly belong'd to them) restor'd to the right Owners, above 20000 of them receiv'd Baptism.

But tho they were baptiz'd, most of them being deficient in the knowledge of the true Fundamentals of the Christian Religion for want of Teachers, they had in a little time scarce any marks of Christianity left among them except the Ceremony of Baptism; as *Maffeus*, *John de Lucena*, and *Michael Vas* in his Speech to *Franciscus Xavierius* sufficiently testify. For the *Portugueses* being too eager in baptizing these People, provided they could say by heart the *Credo*, *Our Father*, and *Ave Mary*, and being unprovided with Teachers to instruct them, they soon return'd to Paganism; so that upon this score the *Romish* Priests need not talk so big as they often do.

*John* the then King of *Portugal* being sensible of this defect, did all that in him lay to remedy this Evil, by sending divers young Scholars to the Universities of *Salamanca*, *Paris* and *Comimbria*, to be educated and fitted for the Missions into the *Indies*. About the same time *Ignatius Loyola*, the Founder of the *Jesuits* Order, began to be famous at *Rome*, for having with his Society made a Vow to preach the Gospel throughout the World: Whereupon the King of *Portugal* order'd *Peter Mascarenbas* his Ambassador there, to confer upon that Head with *Ignatius*, and to desire six Missionaries for the *East-Indies*; two being only granted, *Simon Roterigius* a *Portuguese* (who had studied at *Paris* at the King's Charge) and *Franciscus Aspilcota Navarrus*, surnamed *Xaverius*, were selected for that purpose; but the first being seized by a Quartan Ague, and forc'd to stay at *Lisbon*, *Xaverius* (after having receiv'd Pope Paul's Benediction) set out 1540. for the *Indies*.

Xaverius  
goes to the  
Indies.

He was no sooner come thither, but having understood the deplorable State of the *Paruas* from the mouth of *Michael Vas*, he did not rest satisfied till he might deliver them out of their Darkness: For this purpose having had several Conferences with *John Albuquerque* Bishop of *Goa*, and *Martin Alphonso de Sousa* the Viceroy, he obtain'd leave to go among them; for tho he appear'd there in the quality of the Apostolical Nuncio, yet would he pay his due Respects to the Civil Government.

He left *Goa* in the beginning of November 1542. in Company of *Franciscus* among the *Paruas*.  
educa-

educated in the College of St. Paul; and coming among the *Paruas*, apply'd all his care in having the chief Fundamentals of the Christian Religion translated into the *Malabar* Language, or in instructing the School-masters in the right way of educating their Youth. For the rest, with what Zeal *John King of Portugal* prosecuted the Propagation of the Christian Religion in the *Indies*, will best appear out of his Letter written 1546. to *Don John de Castro* his Viceroy of the *Indies*, as follows.

To *John de Castro* Viceroy of India, all Happiness:

*John King of Portugal's Letter.*

“YOU knowing what an abominable thing Idolatry is in our Eyes, the same shall for the future not be tolerated in my Dominions. Being inform'd that in the Country about *Goa* the Pagan Temples are suffer'd and frequented both in publick and private, as well as divers sorts of Pagan Diversions, we command you once for all to have the same demolish'd, burnt and rooted out; and that all imaginable care be taken to prevent the Importation of Idols, either of Wood, Metal, Earth, or any other Matter. The Heathenish Sports shall be abolish'd, and the *Brahmans* not in the least encouraged, and such as contravene this our Mandat shall be severely punish'd. And, considering that the Pagans may be brought over to our Religion, not only by the hopes of Eternal Salvation, but also by Temporal Interest and Preferments, you shall for the future not bestow any Offices, or any other Places in the Custom-house (as has been practis'd hitherto) upon the Heathens, but only upon the Christians. We understand also that you commonly press the *Indians* for our Sea-service; in which case we would have you shew as much Favour as you can to the Christians, and, if necessity will not allow you to excuse them from that Service, to encourage them with good Pay and Rewards: In which Point you shall consult with *Michael Vas*, a Person well known to us for his Piety and Zeal in propagating the Christian Religion. Being further inform'd, that oftentimes Negro Slaves that might be instructed in the Principles of our Religion, are for filthy lucre fake sold to the *Mahometans*, the same shall be strictly prohibited, and care

“taken against all manner of Usury. In the City of *Bazain* you shall build a Church, and dedicate it to St. *Joseph*, and provide for the Subsistence of the Vicar and his Assistants; to accomplish which you may employ something out of our Revenues, and the 3000 *Pardaus* formerly employ'd to the maintenance of the *Mahometan* Mosque and their Service, shall for the future be allotted for the Subsistence of the Priests, and such other Persons as give a helping hand towards the Conversion of the Infidels. Among the new Converts, or all such as have hitherto, or for the future may be brought over to the Christian Religion, by the care of *Michael Vas*, you shall distribute yearly 900 Quarters of Rice, out of our Revenue: It being our Will, that all the Agreements made with the Christians of *S. Thomas*, concerning the Weight, Measures, and Price of their Commodities, shall be inviolably observed. And understanding nevertheless that the contrary is practis'd in and about *Cochin*, in the Pepper Trade, we command you to assist these Christians, and to take effectual care they may not be damnified, but treated with all mildness as becomes Christians. You shall also sollicite the King of *Cochin*, not to permit any Sorcery or such like things to be transacted, by the Sale of Pepper; and being inform'd that the said King beaues such of his Subjects as embrace Christianity, of all their means, you shall earnestly intercede with him on their behalf, and we will also write to him for that purpose. We could with heartily, that the Business of *Socotora* (which you have recommended to our care in your Letter) might be settled so as to deliver those miserable People out of their Slavery, provided the same could be done without exasperating the *Grand Seigneur*, under whose Jurisdiction they live. You may upon this Head consult with *Michael Vas*, and act in the matter according to your discretion. It being also come to our Ears, that the *Paruas* are sometimes but very indifferently us'd by our Officers, who force them to sell their Pearls (got by fishing or diving) at what rate they please to take them, this you shall not allow of, but permit them to dispose of their Commodities at the best Price they can get. You shall make an exact Inquiry, whether the Inhabitants of the Sea-shore might

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"not be protected, and our Revenues secured without a Fleet, so that the Ships employed in that Service might be made use of upon other occasions. You shall consult and debate with Francisus Xaverius, whether it were not practicable for the better increase of the Christians, that the Pearl-fishery might be permitted only to the Christians, with exclusion of the Mahometans and Pagans: and as many among the Paruas, who have embraced Christianity, meet with very ill Treatment from their Pagan Friends and Relations, and are despoiled of all; these you shall assist out of our Revenues, according as Michael Vas shall judge it convenient.

"We have further understood that a certain Royal Youth has escaped from his Father or Uncle to Goa, in order to be baptized; as his Conversion is of great moment, so you shall be very careful of his Person, and of his Instruction and Education in the College of S. Paul, and provide for his Entertainment in Clothes, Attendance and other matters, suitable to his Quality. He having notified to us in his Letter, that he is the legal Heir of the Crown of Ceylon; you shall make due Enquiry after that matter, and write to us your Sentiment thereof. The furious Attempts of the Tyrant of Ceylon against such of his Subjects as embrace Christianity, oblige us to command you, to take a slow and secure, but a severe Revenge of him, to let the World see, that we are ready to give all imaginable Protection to those poor Creatures, who have renounced their Pagan and Diabolical Idolatries. It

being a general Rumour here, that the Images of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary are made and sold by the Pagans, a thing unseemly and unbecoming the Christian Name, the same ought not to be allowed of. The Cathedral Churches of Cochim and Coulang, which have been building for a considerable time, being (as we hear) going to decay, we command to be finished, and covered with a good Roof, to keep out the Rains. It is also our Pleasure, that a Church dedicated to S. Thomas shall be built in the Street of Noroa, and that the Church of St. Cruz, lately begun to be built at Calapor, shall be brought to perfection. In the Isle of Cioran, you shall order a Church and some Meeting-Houses to be built, for the convenience of the new Converts to be catechized in, and to be instructed in the Word of God. We could also wish with all our Heart, that Idolatry might be banished out of Salsese and Bardes; but in this matter you must proceed with Caution, for fear of exasperating the Minds of the People; which End may be most conveniently obtained, by shewing them with all imaginable Mildness, their gross Errors, and how instead of the true God they pay their Devotion to insensible Images and Idols. For the same reason you shall not neglect to confer with their Principal Men upon this Head, and to encourage such as embrace Christianity by your Favour, Presents, and otherwise. It is our Will, that a peculiar regard shall be had to this our Letter, and the Contents thereof punctually observed.

## C H A P. XXII.

*A Description of Tutecoryn and the Pearl fishery. That City taken by the Hollanders. The Isle of Rammanakoyel, Adams-Bridge; the Shape of his Foot imprinted in a Stone. Tindi. The taking of Negapatan, which is besieged by the Naikes, reduced to great Extremity by Famine; once more attacked and maintained.*

The Paruas are now very distinguished in the Romish Superstitions.

THE Paruas ever since this Union with the Romish Church, are such Zealots in that Religion, that there are scarce any hopes of ever bringing them over to our side; their Ignorance in Religious Concerns being such, that besides the use of their Beads, and making the Sign of the Cross, they know no-

thing of the true Fundamentals of the Christian Religion they pretend to profess. In the Year 1661. I was ordered to take a Journey from Tutecoryn to Coulang, to visit the Churches along the Sea-shore, and endeavour to introduce a Reformation there; but my endeavours proved ineffectual by reason of the great number



**Waldew.** of Popish Priests yet remaining in that Country; and supposing a Reformation could have been introduced, there were no Ministers to maintain it in so large a Tract of Land, where the *Paruas* were for the most part great Favourers of the *Portugueses*, and blind Zealots in their Religion, of which I had sufficient Proofs before at *Tutecoryn*. For the *Dutch* being become Masters of that Place, 1658. I was soon after employed in the business of Reformation, but without Success; for when I preach'd in *Portuguese*, scarce any one of the *Paruas* durst enter into the Church, but remained in the Porch, for fear of the *Romish* Priests living among them; for tho these Priests did not then live in the City, nevertheless the Inhabitants would carry their Children a great way into the Country, to be baptized by the Priests.

**Blind Zeal of the Paruas.**

I remember that passing one time thro the Market-place of *Tutecoryn*, a great number of People, at the accidental ringing of a Bell, prostrated themselves upon the Ground, whom I ask'd whether they thought this a fit place for their Devotion, when the Church was so near at hand, desiring them to follow me thither; they answered, that since the Church was despoil'd of the Images and other Ornaments by us, they must look upon us as Enemies to their Religion. I replied, that we were no Enemies of Images, but only of the worshipping of them, as appeared by several Histories of the Baptism of our Saviour, the Conversion of *S. Paul* and others, remaining in the Churches: To be short, I found that the whole knowledg of the *Paruas* (both young and old) consisted in being able to say by Heart the *Creed*, *Our Father*, the *Ten Commandments*, and the *Ave Mary*.

**Ferreira employed in reforming the Paruas.**

After my Departure the Reverend Mr. *John Ferreira Almeyda* a Native of *Lisbon*, was for a whole Year employed in the Reformation of the *Paruas*, but with less Success than my self, they having conceived an *Odium* against him, as one who had quitted that Religion, and whose *Effigies* upon that score was burnt at *Goa*.

**Tutecoryn taken by the Dutch.**

In the Year 1658 in Jan. we set sail from *Negumbo*, and in the beginning of Febr. landed near *Tutecoryn*, after some resistance from the Natives, who set the City and their small Gallies on fire, and so retired deeper into the Country. *Tutecoryn* is properly no more than a large Village without Walls, Ditches, or Gates; it has three spacious Churches, and abundance of goodly Houses built

of Stone, which afford a good Prospect at Sea. Hereabouts they make the best Lime in *India*. The *Dutch* Company has been several times endeavouring to erect some Fortifications here; but the *Naike*, or Lord of the Country, not willing to consent to it, they have hitherto been contented with a Factory in one of the three Churches; where always resides a Factor and Under-Factor, with three Assistants, and six or eight Soldiers.

Near this Place is the famous Pearl-Fishery, whereof there are no more than three in the East, viz. one near *Ormuz*, the second in the Bay of *Ainam* on the *Chinese* Coast, and the third in the Bay betwixt Cape *Comoryn* and the Isle of *Ceylon*, wherein are also comprehended *Manaar* and *Aripou*. The Pearls are found in certain Oyster Shells (which are not good to eat) and are taken by diving 7, 8, 9, or 10 Fathom deep, sometimes not without great danger. The Pearl-Fishery is not allowed every Year, sometimes the Oyster-banks being cover'd with Sand, and sometimes the Oysters not being come to their full Maturity. To make a Trial of the last, they take out a few, and by the quantity and quality of the Pearls taken in them, judg whether it will quit cost to fish or not. If the Fishing be resolved upon, the Inhabitants of the circumjacent Parts come in great Numbers with their Families and Boats, and pitch their Tents near the Seaside, where they remain until the Fishery is over. The *Dutch* Company has a certain share in what is taken for their Protection, the rest being sold publicly in the Markets of *Tutecoryn* and *Calipatnam*. The *Paruas* also dive sometimes for certain hours for a kind of Sea-Snails called *Glaucos*, whereof they make Rings, that bear a good Price at *Bengale*.

The Pearls of *Tutecoryn* and *Manaar* are neither in colour nor brightness comparable to those taken near *Ormuz* on the *Persian* Coast. The Pearls are questionless nourished both by the Sea and River Water, as being often found at the time of low Tides in the Rivers. Abundance of Pearl Dust is from hence transported into *Europe*, where it is used in the Cordial Medicines. The large Pearls are valued according to their bigness, shape and whiteness. Much Cloth is made at *Tutecoryn*, the Weaving-Trade being very considerable here, which together with the plenty of Estates, Rice, Sugar, &c. makes this Place to be much regarded by the Company.

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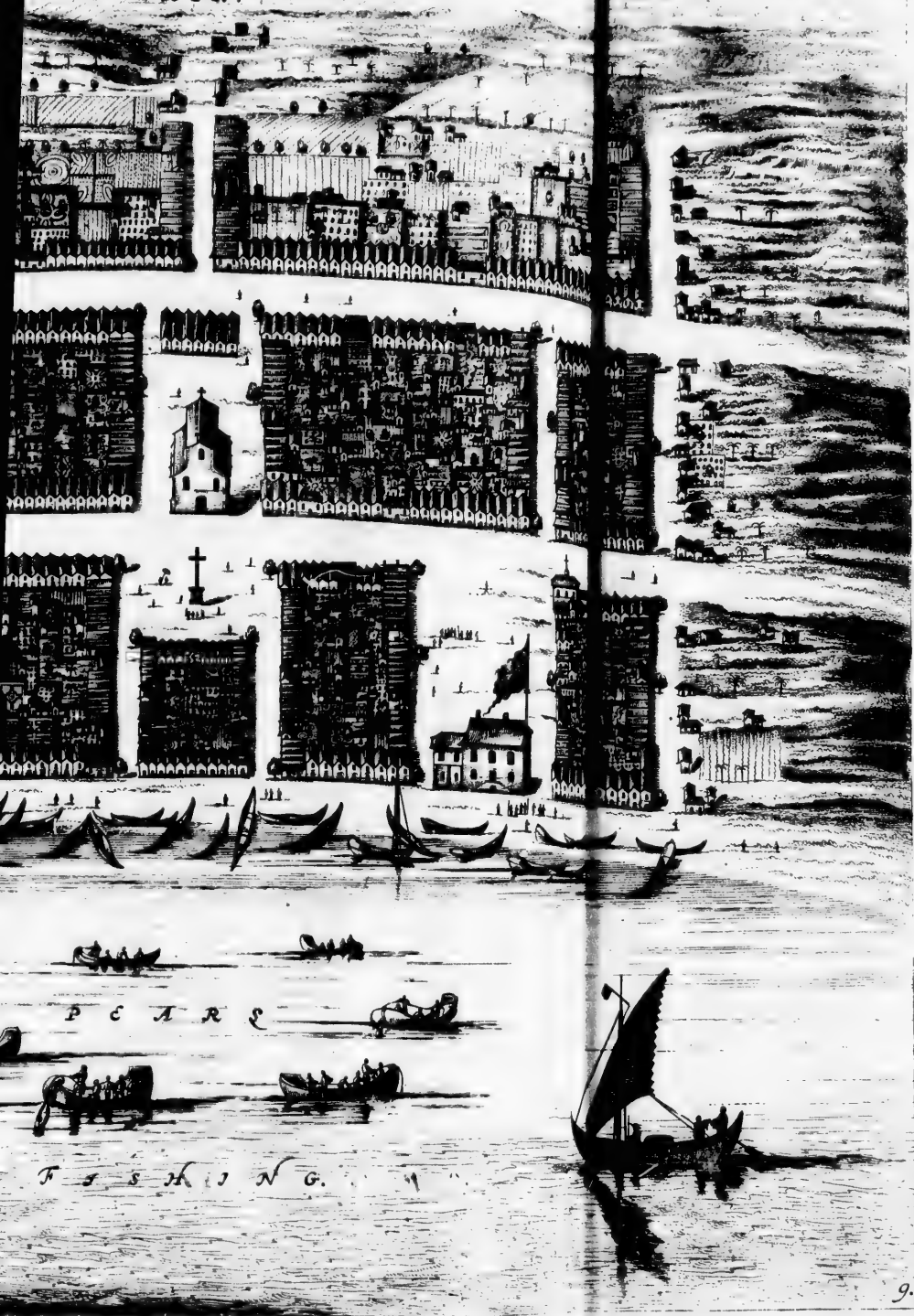
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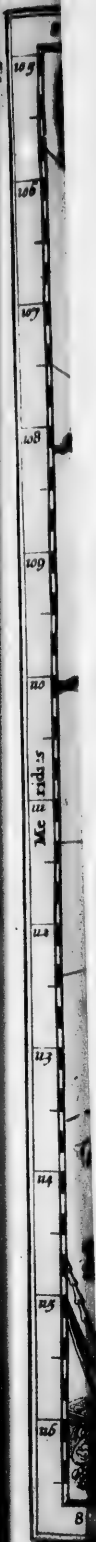
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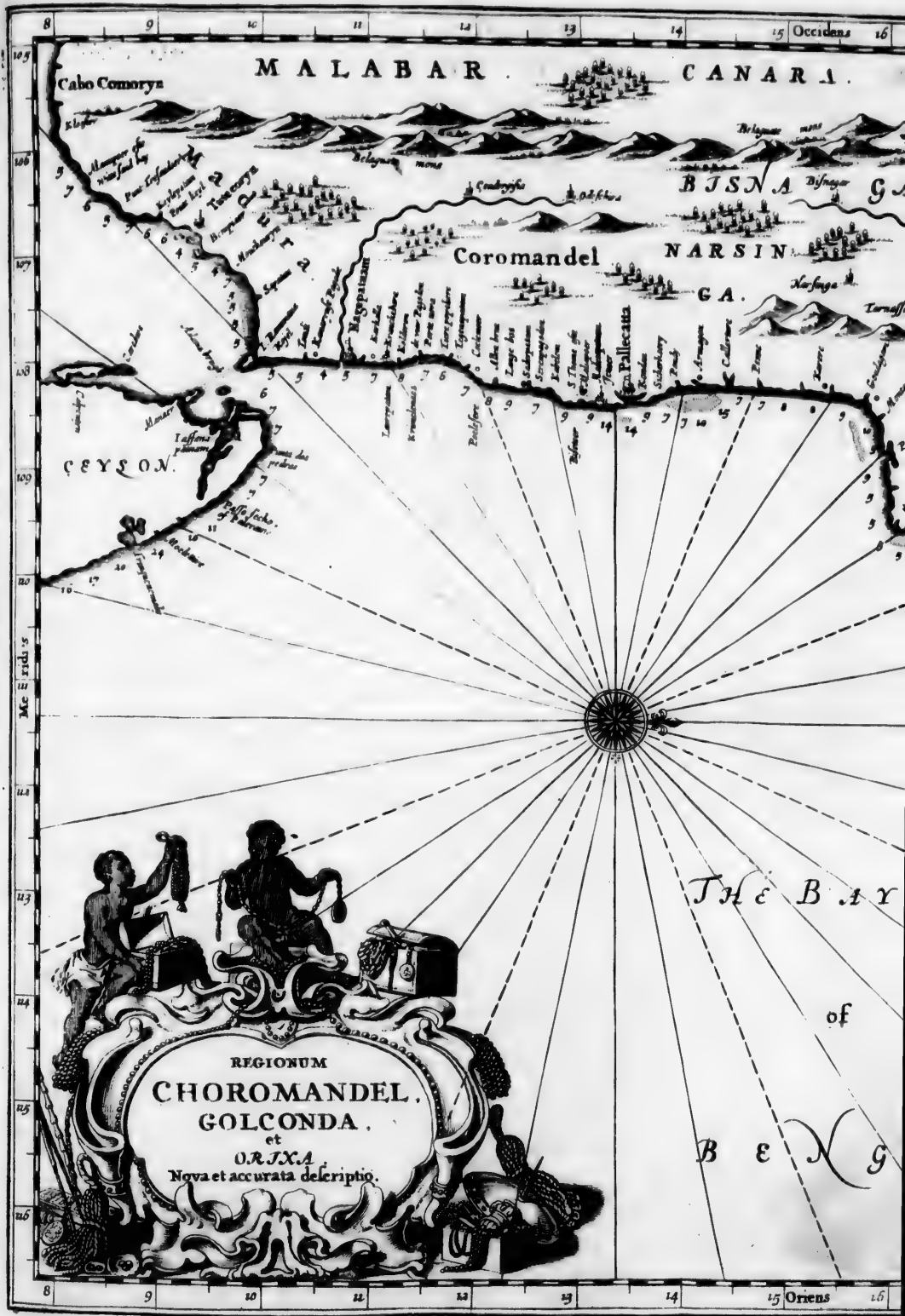






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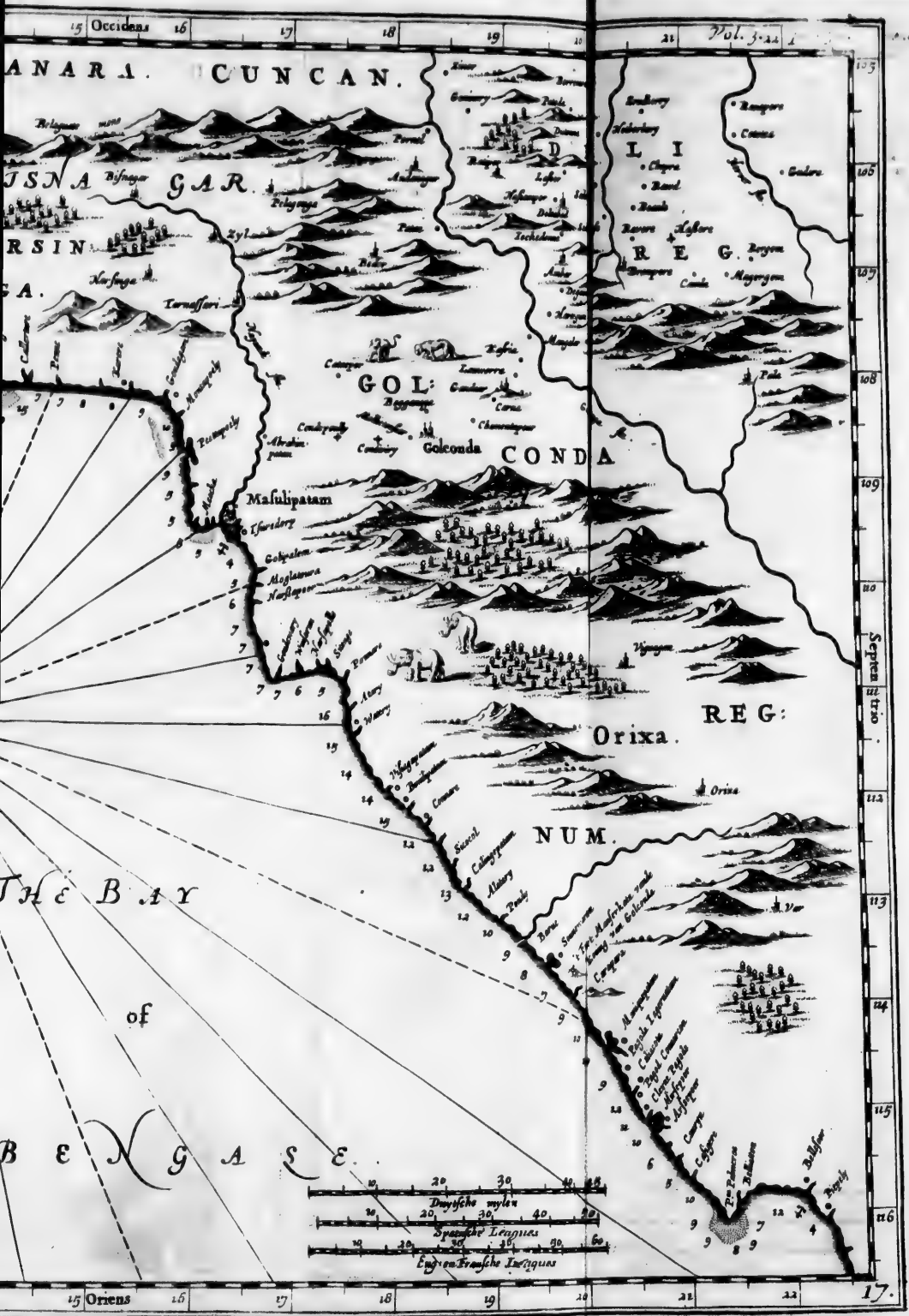
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This Tract of Land is subject to most furious Winds in *October, November* and *December*; and in the Winter Seasons to sudden and heavy Rains. It is very sandy near the Sea-shore, and has nothing but Salt-water, which produces Scabs and other cutaneous Distempers, as I can testify by my own Experience. During the Months of *January, February* and *March*, the Nights are extremely cold, by reason of the thick Fogs which fall constantly at that time, the Days being at the same time so excessive hot, that there is no touching of the Ground without their Shoes, called *Seripous* by the Inhabitants.

And upon this occasion I can't pass by without making this Observation, that notwithstanding the nearness of *Tutecoryn* and *Comoryn*, they at the same time have very different Seasons: For in *April, May, June, July, August* and *September*, those inhabiting on the *South-side* of the said Cape, enjoy all the Blessings of the Summer Season, whilst those living on the *North-side* are at the same time subject to all the inconveniences of the Winter: This side being then constantly pestered with tempestuous Winds, whilst on the other side the Air is serene and calm; the difference of which must needs be look'd for among the Mountains, the receptacles of Winds, Rains and Snow, the same being observed in other Parts of the *Indies*, as well as in *Africa*. For if *Africa* were not mountainous, it would be altogether barren and uninhabitable, no more than the Countries under the *Torrid Zone*, which if they were destitute of Mountains, would also want Rivers (the sources of them being all in the Mountains) nor hard Rains. Thus it is observable, that about *Columbo, Gale*, and *Matwe*, abundance of Rains fall at different times, because that part of the Isle of *Ceylon* is mountainous; whereas near *Manaar, Jafnapatnam* and the other Places, where there is a flat Country, it rains only in *October, November*, and a little in *December*, all the rest of the Year being without the least Rains, the defect whereof is however supplied in some measure by the Fogs or Dew; the South Winds, which blow then from the Cape of *Comoryn*, prevent the Rains on that side. The Inhabitants of *Peru* are very sensible of this difference; for whilst the Inhabitants of the Mountains are often rejoiced with sudden Showers of Rain, those of the flat Country, and especially near the Seaside, never feel any Rain, but only a thick Fog or Dew.

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Whence it is evident, that according as the Mountains send forth the Winds and Rains on one side or the other, they produce the difference of Seasons in these Parts; this is very perspicuous on the Cape of South Point of *Africa*, where such violent gushes of Wind are sometimes sent forth out of the Concavities of the Mountains, that they are able to overturn all that meets in their way. I remember that travelling, once that way, I had enough to do to keep my self and my Horse upright; and at another time a Coach belonging to the *Dutch Company* there, was overturn'd by such a gush of Wind. They take it for an infallible Sign of an approaching Tempest on the Cape of *Good Hope*, when they see thick Clouds appear on the top of *Tablemountain*. The same is observed in most other Mountains under the *Torrid Zone*; for the Inhabitants near the *Equinoctial Line* have their due rainy Seasons twice a Year, viz. in Spring and Autumn, occasioned by the gathering of the Clouds in the Mountains, the Pinacles of which reaching very high, stop the course of the Air (which in those Parts moves constantly from East to West) which thereby being condensed into Clouds, these produce of necessity either sudden Winds or Rains on one side, and blesses the other side at the same time with a serene Air and happy Climate; the tops of these Mountains being in these Parts like a Partition Wall to Summer and Winter. For the further Elucidation whereof, I will refer my self to the most ingenious Lord *Bacon*, and *des Cartes*.

From *Tutecoryn* towards the Isle of *Rammanakoyel*, are to be seen divers Churches of the *Paruas*, as at *Baipaar, Manapaar*, &c. where *Xaverius* planted the Christian Doctrine. The Isle of *Rammanakoyel* abounds in Cattel, having got its Name from *Bramma* or *Ramma*, and the *Malabar* Word *Koyel*, i. e. *The Temple of Ramma*; for near the Sea-side is to be seen the *Pagode* of the *Teuver*, or Lord of the Isle, which they say contains an incredible Treasure. The Foundation is strengthened and supported with Stones of a vast bigness towards the Sea-side, to break the Force of the raging Waves, when the South Winds blow. The Isle is however but indifferently fertile, being in some Parts very sandy, which is very troublesome to the Eyes, when the Winds blow very hard. The Lord of the Isle has built a strong Castle opposite to the Coast of *Coromandel*, and the Country under the

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Jurif-

The Mountains occasion the difference of Seasons.

The Climate of Tutecoryn.

Different Seasons in the North and South side of the Mountains.



*Baldæus.*

**Jurisdiction of the Naik.** In the Year 1662. I and Lieutenant *Herman Egbertsz* travelling that way, were seized upon by the Inhabitants and committed Prisoners, being forced to live without Victuals or Drink for a considerable time; till a certain Inhabitant of *Manaar* coming that way, and knowing me, released us out of our Captivity. The Cannon of the Cattle commands a certain strait Passage, which leading to *Manaar*, *Jafnapatnam* and *Negapatnam*, the same may be stopt at pleasure by the Lord of the Isle, by linking only a few Stones in the Channel, whereby the Navigation that way is at his absolute disposal.

*Strait  
Passage  
under the  
Cattle of  
the Isle.*

*Adams  
Bridge.*

Not far from hence is that they call *Adams-Bridge*, being a Ridge of Sands and Rocks extending as far as *Manaar*, being sometimes passable in small Boats. In the description of *Ceylon*, we shall have occasion to speak something more of this *Adams-Bridge*, and the *Adams-Mount*. Certain it is, that the *Cingalese* as well as the *Siamese* have some knowledge of *Adam*; for the last shew you the print of a Foot (said to belong to the first Man) in a rocky Mountain of a yard and a half in length, three quarters broad, and a quarter deep, edged round about with Silver, near which is built a most magnificent Temple, much frequented by the *Siamese* Priests, and other Inhabitants of the circumjacent Country; it being their Opinion, that the least drop of the Water gathered in this Print of the Foot, and dropp'd upon their Heads, cleanses them from their Sins: for which reason they never use it without a great deal of Reverence, no body daring to enter the Temple without 10, 12, or more Wax Candles lighted, according to their respective Abilities; and when they return, they take some of this Holy Water along with them in *Bamboc-Canes*, for the use of their Friends, that have not the Opportunity of coming thither in Person. The King himself goes once every Year on Pilgrimage with all his *Atandans* (or great Courtiers) to this Temple, where they use this Water at the time of the Full Moon, and conclude the Night with dancing and drinking. Some of the *Siamese* Priests did by special leave from his Majesty, shew to certain *Hollanders*, 1654, in *March*, a Plate of Gold, of the same length and breadth as the before-mentioned *Adam's Foot*, with 68 Figures engraven upon it, which they said were formerly to be seen in the print of *Adam's Foot* in the Rock, but vanished as soon as they were engraven in

*Adam's  
Foot shewn  
by the  
ancients.*

*The Holy  
Water.*

this Plate, and were the following: *A Tarsus, a Queen with a Ring on her Finger, divers Rings, a Chain, an Arm, a Bed of Gold, a Chair of the same Metal, an Elephant's Tooth, a Royal Palace, a Golden Sword-belt, an Umbrello, a Royal Hanger or Scimitar, a Fan made of the Leaves of the Tree, a Fan made of a Peacock's Tail, a Royal Crown, a Priest with his mendicant Pot of Iron, a Chain of Precious Stones, a red Cowslip Flower, a double one of the same kind, a white one and a double white one of the same kind, a Cup full of Water, a Pot full of Water, the Sea, the World, a rest beyond the World, the Purgatory of the Siamese, the highest Mountain of the World, the Sun, the Moon, the Evening Star, the Great God of the Heavens, the God of the four Winds, 2000 Servants of the four Winds, a Sea-hail, two Fishes of Gold, the seven chief Rivers, seven Mountains with Precious Stones, seven Royal Ladies, the King of Beasts, the King of the Caimans or Crocodiles, an Ensign, another of Paper, a Chair or Litter, a Fan with a long Handle, a Mountain in an Island, the King of Serpents, the King of Tygers, a leaping Horse, a large Elephant, a white one of the same kind, a Water-Serpent, a Calvarius (a Bird like an Ostrich) the King of the white Cows, an Elephant with three Heads and as many Tails, a Serpent, a Stag of Gold, an Angel, a Cow with a sucking Calf, a certain Bird half a Man and half a Bird, a Female of the same sort, a singing Bird, the King of the Peacocks, the King of the Cranes, a Bird called Krapat, a Bird called Kuyshit, six Heavens, sixteen fets of Heavens.*

Concerning all which the Priests give you their Interpretations. The before-mentioned *Adam's-Bridge* extends to *Telleanaar*, the furthermost point of the Isle of *Manaar*, of which more anon in the Description of *Ceylon*.

We will now take our turn in the Southern Parts of *Coromandel*, subject for the most part to the *Naik of Madure and Tanjower*. *Tondy* is the first place next to the Territories of *Jafnapatnam*, and I remember my self, that setting Sail one Morning about 11 a Clock from *Jafnapatnam*, we were within sight of the Shore by 4 in the Afternoon, and the same Night at 9 a Clock cast Anchor before *Negapatnam*. From *Tondy* they transport yearly many hundred Heads of Cattel to *Jafnapatnam*; near the first stands a certain Pagode, called *Kailicmeer*, a very high Structure, in the Road to *Negapatnam* or *Negapatnam*, i. e. The City of Serpents, *Naga* signifying in the *Malabar* Lan-

*Tondy is  
situated  
in the  
Gulf of  
Mandee.*

the following: *A Tiger*,  
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*Red of Gold, a* *Adia*  
*, an Elephant*  
*Golden Sword-belt,*  
*anger or Scimitar,*  
*of the Terry-tree,*  
*is Tail, a Royal*  
*mendicant Put of*  
*is Stones, a red*  
*one of the fam*  
*double white one of*  
*of Water, a Put*  
*be World, a*  
*Purgatory of the*  
*Mountain of the*  
*n, the Evening,*  
*the Heavens, the*  
*2000 Servants of*  
*ail, two Fishes of*  
*ers, seven Mount*  
*seven Royal La*  
*the King of the*  
*n Ensign, another*  
*er, a Fan with a*  
*in an Island, the*  
*ing of Tygres, a*  
*phant, a white one*  
*er-Serpent, a Ca-*  
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*phant with three*  
*a Serpent, a Ship*  
*ow with a sucking*  
*a Man and half a*  
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*cocks, the King of*  
*Krapat, a Bird*  
*ens, sixteen furs*

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Language a Serpent, and Patnama City; because the Country hereabouts abounds with a certain sort of venomous Serpents, called by the *Cobres Capellos*, which are in such reverence among the *Pagans*, that if they should happen to kill one of them, they will look upon it as an expiable Crime, and to forebode some great Misfortune.

This City was taken by composition without striking a Stroke, by *John van der Laan*, and *Lucas van der Dussen*, Commanders of the Dutch Forces, 1658. the last of the two being since made Governor of *Cochin*, and the other Forts on the *Malabar Coast*, subject to the *Hollanders*. The *Portugueses* were permitted to depart with their Goods, Families, Church-Ornaments, &c. in certain Ships appointed for that purpose by the Dutch Company. The City is seated near the Shoar, has no convenient Harbour, as indeed the whole Coast of *Coromandel* is destitute of them. Its Buildings are very stately, especially the Church, which affords a very goodly Prospect towards the Sea-side: The Land-Winds are excessive hot and stifling here, as on the other hand the Sea-Winds are refreshing both to Men and Beasts. It is observable that whilst the Land-Wind blows, they gather Water in Stone Vessels, which keeps very cool; the worst is, that these Winds prevent People from sweating, which makes the Heat the more insupportable. The same is to be observed at *Majulipatan*, where they are so stifling that many People are killed by them.

In the Year 1660. 14 July, I set sail from *Jafnapatnam* to *Negapatnam*, to introduce the Reformed Religion there, and accordingly preached the first time the 18th, both in Dutch and Portuguese, and administered the Holy Sacrament to 20 Persons, and Baptism to several Children. After Mr. *Frederick Frontenius* and my self had spent sometime there in settling the Protestant Religion, Mr. *John Kruijs*, formerly Minister in the Castle,

called the *Seelandia* in the Isle of *Tajowan*, was constituted Minister at *Negapatnam*, who after his Death was succeeded by Mr. *Nathaniel de Pape*, a Person of indefatigable care, who in a very small time has made considerable Advancements in the Portuguese and Malabar Languages, who by the encouragement, and under the Protection of Mr. *Cornelius Speelman* Governour of the Coast of *Coromandel*, and famous for his late Victories obtain'd against the *Macassars*, and the King of the Isle of *Celebes*, has settled and spread the Doctrine of the Gospel in the circumjacent Villages.

At the time of our first Arrival, we found the Affairs of *Negapatnam* in no small Confusion; the City having been just before besieged by the *Naik*, who after a vigorous Sally made by the Besieged, had been forced to retreat with the Loss of 300 or 400 Men. Besides this, the King of *Vishapour* had not long before the Siege made an Inroad into the Country, and by destroying all the Fruits of the Earth, and whatever else he met with, occasion'd such a Famine, that the poor Country Wretches being forc'd to fly to the City for want of Rice and other Eatables, you saw the Streets cover'd with emaciated and half-starv'd Persons, who offer'd themselves to Slavery for a small quantity of Bread, and you might have bought as many as you pleas'd at the rate of 10 Shillings a Head; above 5000 of them were there bought and carried to *Jafnapatnam*, as many to *Columbo*, besides several thousands that were transported to *Batavia*.

In the Year 1669. the *Naik* was again embroil'd with the Dutch Company, but being bravely repuls'd was glad to be at quiet. Without the Gates on the North-side of the City stands a very lofty Pagode, called *China*, near which is a Summer-Seat, with very pleasant Gardens and Orchards, formerly belonging to *Francisco d'Almeida*, an antient rich Portuguese, now living at *Trangebar*.

*Baldæus.*

*Miscellaneous about Negapatnam.*

The Protestant Religion introduced in Negapatnam.







Baldew.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*A Description of Carcal, Trangebar, Trimilivaas, Colderon, Porto Novo, Tegnatan, Tirepoplier, Chengier, Sadraspatan, Madraspatan, St. Thomas, Paliacatte, Carnatica, Penna, Calcutre, Perapouli, and Masulipatan.*

Carcas.

TWO Leagues from *Negapatan* lies *Carcas*, where, as well as in most other Southern Places, *Adrian van der Meyden* Head Factor of our Company, did erect a Factory some years ago; but since we have been Masters of *Negapatan*, the Factory of *Carcas* is not regarded. The chief Commodities here are certain Stuffs, especially those call'd *Rambotyns*, much in request among the *Japoneses*.

Trangebar.

From *Carcas* to the *Danish* Fort call'd *Trangebar* are about three Leagues: It has four Bulworks, and the Garison consists for the most part of *Tepasses* and *Negros*, under the Command of one *Eskel Andres*. The Inhabitants consist of *Portugueses*, *Pagans* and *Mahometans*: Their Traffick is very inconsiderable, their chiefest Advantage arising from the Excursions they make upon the neighbouring *Mahometans*, with whom they are in constant Enmity, by reason of the ill usage they have ever received from them. About two Years before our departure thence, one *Simon van Medenblick* had got a Commission from the *Danes*, and took a rich *Moorish* Vessel, and kill'd the whole Ships Crew. I have often wonder'd why the *Danes* should not more encourage their Trade in the *Indies* than they do, since they have the same or rather a better opportunity for so doing than the *English*.

Colderon.

From *Trangebar* you go by the way of *Trimilivaas* to *Colderon*, where there is a very dangerous Sand-Bank. From thence you come to the Place call'd the *Four Pagodis*, and so to *Porto Novo* or *Newhaven*, about 4 or 5 Leagues from *Trangebar*. At *Porto Novo* inhabit some *Portugueses*; their Trade consists chiefly in a certain hard Wood call'd *Hunters-wood*, *Coco-nuts*, *Arch*, *Cair*, &c.

Porto Novo.

Tegnatan.

Tirepoplier.

About a League from *Porto Novo* stands *Tegnatan*, where the *Hollanders* have likewise a Factory. Next to this lies *Tirepoplier*, upon a River which is navigable, within half a League of the *Dutch* Factory. The Road lies at  $11\frac{1}{2}$  Degrees of Northern Latitude, having 77 Fathom Water, with a grey sandy Ground, very fit for Anchorage not above a Mile from the Shore. There is safe riding at An-

chor here (as all along the Coast of *Cornmandel*) during the South *Mousson*, but very dangerous in the North *Mousson*. The Castle of *Tirepoplier* is tolerably strong, according to the fashion of the *Genoises*. The Factory formerly belonging to the *Dutch* was within the Castle, where is also a stately large *Pagode*, with a high Stone Tower flat at top, which serves the Mariners for a Guide. The Mines of the old Castle, belonging formerly to the *Portugueses*, upon an Ascent near the Sea-Shore on the North Side of the River, are also seen a good way at Sea. The Country hereabouts is generally sandy, and sometimes rocky. *Tirepoplier* is under the Jurisdiction of the *Cristappaneyk*, whose Residence is at *Chengier*, about two days Journey to the South of *Tirepoplier*.

The City of *Chengier* is very populous, *Chengier* and three times as big as *Rotterdam*, seated in a most pleasant Valley, near a delightful River, to the South of it: It is fortify'd with double Stone Walls, and has four high Rocks without, upon three of which are built as many strong Forts, and upon the fourth a *Pagode*. The first of these Rocks is enclos'd with a very strong Wall, the second with four Walls, and the third with no less than seven, with as many Gates all of Stone, and kept by a considerable Garison; the Ascents to the Forts being cut out of the Rock, and scarce accessible by reason of their Steepness and Straitness. On the top of these Rocks are most delicious Springs, Fresh-water Ponds and Gardens. Besides which there is another Fortress upon an unaccessible Rock without the City, commanding the Avenues towards it on that side. The *Naik's* Palace stands betwixt two of the before-mention'd Rocks, most pleasantly situate, and well fortify'd. Great Cannon are a kind of rarity here, and those few they have (like those in the Siege of *Negapatan*, 1658.) are made of long and broad Bars of Iron, join'd together with Iron Hoops; their Bullets are of Stone, and cut round.

The *Naik* was at our first arrival in these Parts, very obliging to our Deputys, whom

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whom he treated very splendidly for 14 Days together; and after he had given them a full view of his prodigious Wealth, consisting in most sumptuous Apparel, Silver, Gold, and Jewels, as also of his Wives, Concubines, and Forces, both Horse and Foot, he dismiss'd them very honourably, upon the news of *Iteragio* being on his march against us.

The *Naik* being almost arriv'd to the Age of Dotage, one *Trinvingelaya* (who had emaculated himself) was Administrator of the Kingdom, a cruel and bloody-minded Person, very covetous and implacable in his Hatred, who by his Severity against Criminals had rendered the Country free from Robberies and Pillages. This *Aya* or Administrator General was very urgent with our Deputies to agree with him once for all for the yearly Sum of 1800 Rixdollars in lieu of the Customs, offering to us the Government of *Tegnapatan*, the free Exercise of the Christian Religion, and full Power to rebuild the ruin'd Castle of the *Portugueses*.

The Country hereabouts abounds in Rice, Salt, Fruits, and other Eatables; notwithstanding which, by reason of the vast number of the Inhabitants, they must be supply'd with Provisions from abroad. Their chief Commodities to be exported are Linen and Woollen Stuffs, much in request among those of the *Molouques*, *Amboyna*, *Banda*, and other *Malayan* Places. But great care must be taken these Stuffs agree with their Patterns, especially in the goodness of the Colour, wherein they are very deceitful. The Commodities imported and exchanged here are *Nutmegs*, *Mace*, *Pepper*, *Sandal-wood*, *Chinese Silks*, *Velvets*, *Sattins*, *embroider'd and wrought Carpets* of all sorts of Colours, *raw Silks*, *Patana Girdles*, *Musk*, *Cinnamon*, *Quick-silver*, (but no *Porcelain* or *Chinese Campher*) *Brazain*, *Tin*, *Lead*, *Copper*, &c.

From *Tirepopliar* you go over *Poelezere*, *Poelmoer* & *Alembroe* to *Sadraspatan*, where the *Dutch* have a Factory, and from thence to *Madraspatan*, otherwise *Chinnepatan*, where the *English* have the Fort of *S. George*, garison'd with *Topazes* and *Mistices*, and from whence they send their Ships every Year, as well as from *Surat*. *S. Thomas* is a City belonging to the *Portugueses*, situate in *Maliapour*, at  $23\frac{1}{2}$  Degrees Northern Latitude, about a days Journey from *Paliacatta*; but taken from them about 8 or 9 Years ago by the *Moors*. It is an antient trading City, their chief Traffick consisting in colour'd Stuffs, their Weavers here being famous throughout the *Indies*,

as well as their Dyers: They are transported to *Malaga*, *Java*, the *Molouques*, *Baldaw*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, &c. The Excellency and Lustingness of their Dying are attributed to a peculiar Quality in their Water, the Springs whereof arise out of very white sandy Ground, without the least mixture of Clay.

*Paliacatta*, i. e. the Old Fort in the *Malabar* Language, is seated at 13 Degr. 22 Min. of Northern Latitude,  $\frac{1}{2}$  long Leagues from *St. Thomas*. About 6 Leagues into the Country, in a direct Line from the Harbour of *Paliacatta*, you see a ridg of high Mountains extending from South to North: On the Southern part you see an Interstice or Valley, where in antient Times stood the Castle of *Rama Geridorgon*; in lieu whereof was afterwards built the Fort *Geldria*, where the *Dutch* Governour keeps his Residence. *Fort Geldria*. It is not very large, yet fortified with some Bulworks, sufficient to resist the Power of the neighbouring *Moors*. Mr. *Anthony Pavilion*, Counsellor of the *Indies*, had at that time his Residence there, as Governour, after Mr. *Cornelius Speelman*; and the Garison consisted of about 80 or 90 men. The Road is very good at half a League from the Shore, where you may ride safely at Anchor at 7 or 8 Fathom Depth during the Southern *Mousson*; but not in the Northern *Mousson*, when the Waves breaking forth with great violence out of the Bay of *Bengal* and the *Ganges* against this Shore, render Anchorage very dangerous.

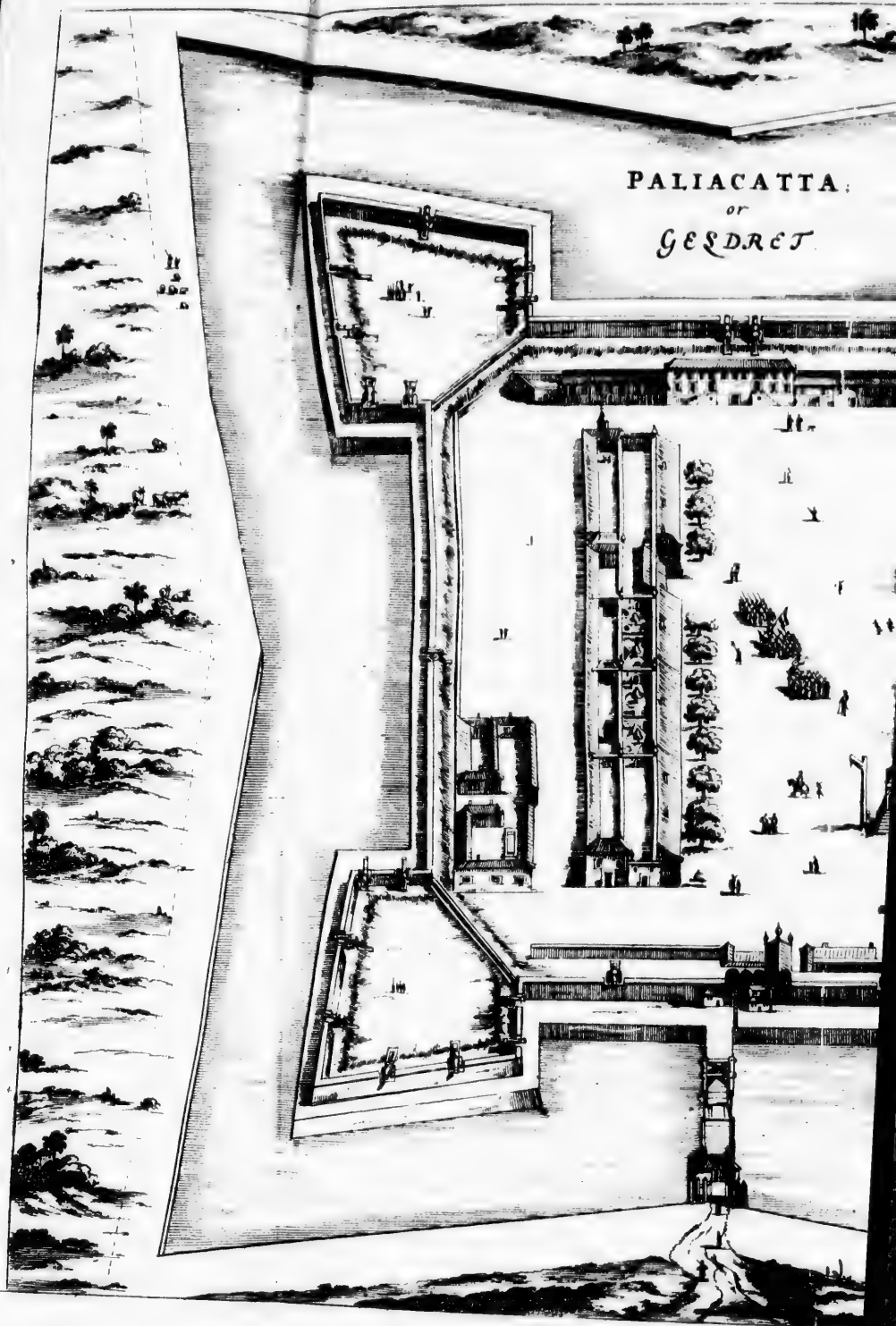
About  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Leagues from the Road is a certain Sand-bank, extending from the River into the Sea for a League together, where there is no Anchorage within 4 or 5 fathoms Water. Two Leagues to the North is the Point of *Sicerecourdi*, from whence jets out into the Sea a Sand-Ridg for above two Leagues and half, near which there is no safe Anchorage within 6 or 7 fathoms Water. Near the Bar there is from 6 to 10 fathoms Water in the South *Mousson* at high Tide; but the Boats or Lighters that carry the Merchandizes must keep under the Southern Shoar, there being abundance of Shelves under the Northern Shoar. About a good Cannon-shot within the mouth of the River, within reach of the Castle, is a good Winter-Road for the *Indian* Ships. This River lies at least 5 Leagues to the North-West into the Country, by the City of *Armagon* and the Forest of *Sicerecourdi*, from whence *Paliacatta* is furnished with Wood for Building and Fuel, whereof there is great

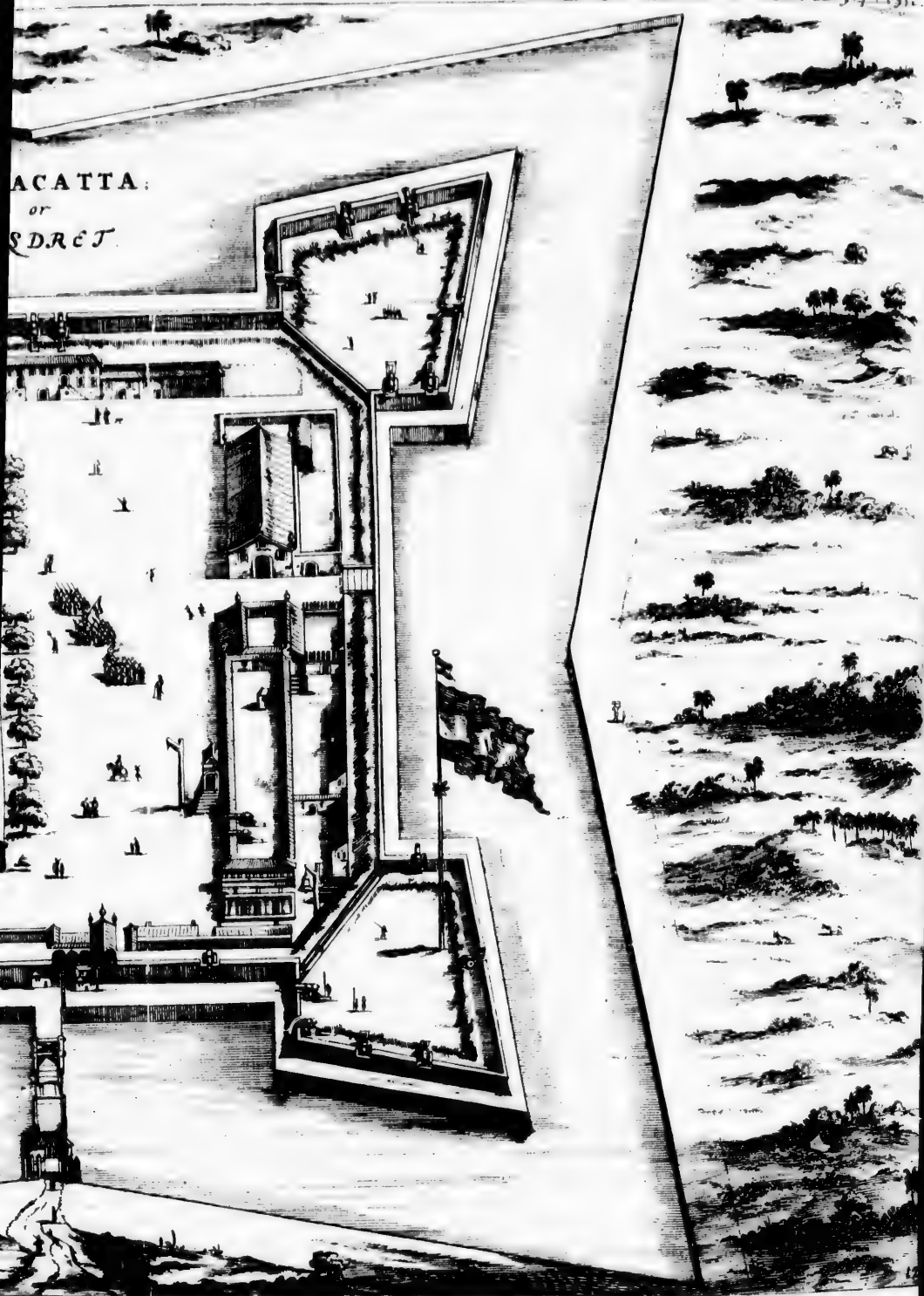
The Dutch  
Fort Geldria.

The Road  
of Paliacatta.



PALACATTA:  
or  
GEDRET.





great scarcity in the barren Grounds round that City. A small Brook runs also by the Fort, where we used often to divert our selves in Boats.

The Canal leading to *Paliacatta* is almost dry during the South *Mousson*, but overflows the Country for two Leagues round in the Northern *Mousson*. The Grounds about *Paliacatta* are very nitrous, sandy, and unfit to produce any thing in great quantity; which is the reason that they must be supply'd with most sorts of Provisions (except Fish, whereof they have plenty) from other places. The Fortifications being built upon Fenny Grounds, which reach for four or five Leagues round, have been often in danger of being swallow'd up by the Waters in the rainy season, and were therefore not maintain'd without vast Charges. Under the Cannon of the Fort of *Geldria* lie two Villages, one to the South call'd *Diramamy*, built upon a small Isle, the other on the North-side within reach of a Musquet, call'd *Coupon*, and inhabited by Christian Fishermen, being converted to the Christian Faith in the time of the *Portugueses*.

We will now proceed to the Kingdom of *Carnatica*, extending 60 *Badagarian* Leagues (one whereof is equivalent to three Dutch Miles) from South to North, and 40 from *Paliacatta* to the Coast of *Malabar*. In this Country it was that the three *Nais*, or chief Lords of the Crown of *Velour*, keep their Residence, who pay a certain yearly Tribute to that Crown, viz. the *Vitapanak* of *Madure*, the King's *Bafon-Bearer*, 200 *Pagodes* (each of which is worth six *Holland Guilders*) *per annum*; the *Christapanak* of *Chengier* the King's *Betel Box-bearer*, as many; and the *Naik* of *Tanjouwer* his *Umbrello-bearer* (who is Lord of *Negapatan*) 400 *per annum*. These Dignities being hereditary time out of mind, the Countries of *Madure*, *Chengier* and *Tanjouwer* have been annexed to them, under condition of a yearly Tribute, and are besides this oblig'd to give their personal Attendance at the Coronation of the lawful Successor of the before-mentioned Kingdom.

Further to the North (about a days Voyage) from *Paliacatta*, lie *Penna* and *Caleture*, betwixt which places is found the best *Effaye* Roots, which are also to be found in the Isles near *Tasnapatan*: It is a small Root no bigger than a little sprig of about a span in length, used by the *Dyers*. The way to try its goodness, is to break it to pieces, and to see whether

it be very red within, or else to chew a piece of it, and if you perceive a nitrous taste in it, it is very good. To try the true Dye thereof upon *Callico's*, you may squeeze some *Lemmon Juice* upon it, and let it dry in the Sun; if it be not true it will change pale. There is also a live corner'd Fruit call'd *Carantelle*, the Juice whereof being sharper than that of *Lemmons*, is likewise made use of in trying the true Dye of the *Effaye* Colour. For this Nation being very cunning in their way of dealing, they make use of a Dye call'd *Soracco* instead of the *Effaye*, and of the Bark of a certain Tree growing in *Orissa*, but may easily be distinguish'd by the colour, being somewhat darker than the true *Effaye*, and if rub'd with Water, will tinge it. They have a nice way of refining and trying the Gold here, and the Dutch Company coin abundance of Golden *Pagodes* here, with the King's Stamp upon them. Abundance of *Nely*, Rice, *Gingely-seeds*, Oil, Butter, coarse Cloths, Iron, Honey and yellow Wax, is brought hither from *Orissa* and *Majulipatan*, the whole Voyage thither and back again being commonly perform'd in four Months. From hence to *Aracan*, *Pegu* and *Tanassery* you pay 8 or 10 *per Cent*. for Freight of Pepper, Sandalwood, Stuff and Iron, and make your returns in Gold, Rubies of *Ava*, *Gummi-Lacca*, long white Pepper, Lead, &c. Betwixt *Tanassery* and *Orinda* towards *Malacca* are the Harbours of *Tanangar*, *Sencaza*, and *Peraib*, opposite to *Achem*, whither they trade with vast Profit, and bring back abundance of Tin, a Commodity much in request with the *Moors*, wherewith they tin their Copper Vessels.

*Petapoutis* is situate at 16 deg. of North Latitude: As you sail East and East to the North towards this Road, you see an Isle at a League and a half distance made by the North Branch of the River cover'd with *Coco-Trees*, an infallible Guide to the Road, where at a League's distance from the Shoar, there is good Anchorage at 6 fathoms Water in a Sandy Bottom. This is the securest Harbour on all this Coast, during the North *Mousson*, by reason of a Point of Land jetting out for three Leagues in the Sea to the North of the Isle, and enclosing as it were the Road by a *Demi-Circle*, whereas in the South *Mousson* the Sea is very boisterous, and the Waves very turbulent here. The Bar of *Petapoutis* has some Shallows scarce passable but by small Vessels. The City lies a League within the

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the River, which is pretty large, and runs up into the Country till it joins its Waters with the River *Meca*.

*Petapouli* is of no great extent, inhabited by some *Moors* and *Persians* of Note, but for the most part by *Gentives*, Subjects of the King of *Golgonda*. As hereabouts grows a kind of *Essaye* Colour, exceeding all the rest, call'd *Tambrevelle*, so the painted and dy'd Stuffs of *Petapouli* exceed even those of *Masulipatan*. The Root grows like a small sprig of a foot long, the Colour whereof is so deep that they are oblig'd to mix it with the *Essaye* of *Avrical* and *Ortaour*, to make it the more lively. This *Essaye* Root grows in the Isle made by the River over against the City, whereof the Governour has the Monopoly, and pays a certain yearly Sum for it to the King, which as it is paid most commonly in dy'd Stuffs and Cloths, so he employs the Weavers himself, and for that reason will not easily permit them to be sold to the Merchants (at least not without his Consent) who transport them from thence into *Persia*. Here good Indigo is to be bought, but much dearer than at *Masulipatan*: From hence we also transport Cotton-Yarn, white Stuffs, and several other Commodities to *Holland*.

*Masulipatan* is a City seated near a large River, where the *English* and *Dutch* have their Factories: It is very populous, and the Residence of a Governour, who pays a certain yearly Tribute to the King of *Golgonda*, which he squeezes out of the

Inhabitants, especially the *Gentives*, who are sorely oppress'd by the *Persians* and *Moors* here, who farm all the Weaving Trade from the Great Persons; wherefore there is scarce any trafficking here without Profit, unless you have a Patent from the King, which is not easy to be obtain'd, because the Governours (who pay 140000 *Pagodes* of annual Tribute to the King) constantly oppose it: and it is no difficult matter to approach the King (who keeps his Court at a great distance thence) without purchasing their Favour, or some other Great Mens at Court. For the rest, this City is a Place of great Traffick, where most of our Commodities, as also those transported hither from the *Moliques*, *China*, &c. are sold at a very good rate. Here is also a great Concourse of Merchants from *Cambaja*, *Suratte*, and other Places under the Jurisdiction of the Great *Mogul*, as also from *Goa*, *Orisa*, *Bengale* and *Pegu*. Here is likewise a considerable Traffick in Diamonds and Rubies: The first are digged in the Kingdoms of *Golgonda* and *Decan*, near the City of *Bysilaga* beyond *Suratte*: Each Stone weighing above 25 *Mangely's*, or *Carats*, belonging to the King of *Bysilaga*, the rest to those that have farm'd the Mines. There is a certain Mountain call'd *Cotja Puyithia*, in the Country of *Decan*, which affords the choicest Diamonds. *Borneo*, but especially the City of *Succadana*, are likewise very famous for Diamonds.

## C H A P. XXIV.

An Account of most sorts of precious Stones, as Diamonds, Rubies, Smaragds, Saphirs, Amethysts, Jaspers, Sardonicks, Achats, Granates, &c.

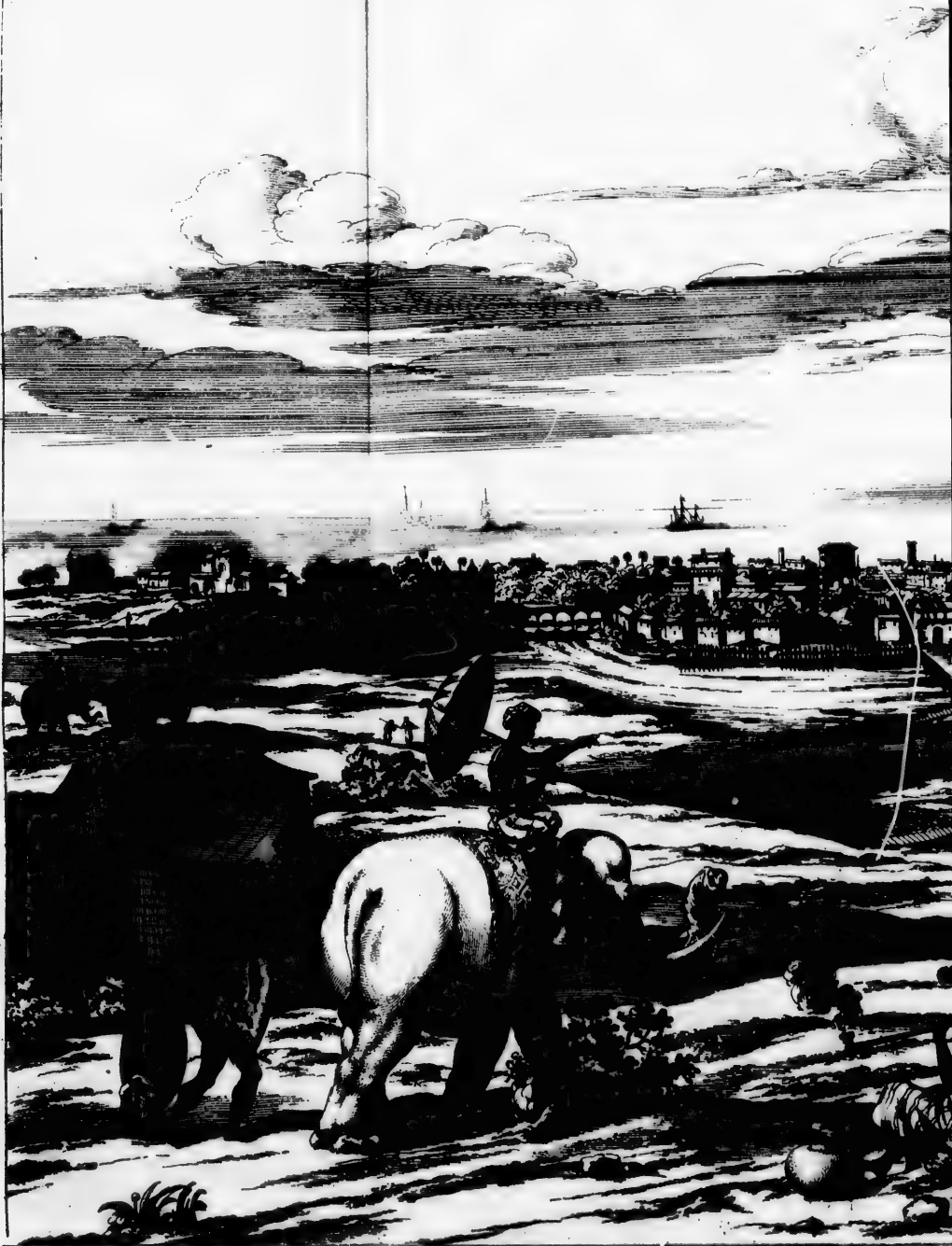
THE most noble of all precious Stones is the Diamond, call'd *Adamas* by the *Greeks*, from *ἀδύνατος*, i. e. impregnable. *Pliny*, and others of the ancient Naturalists being of opinion, that it is neither to be broken by the force of the Hammer, nor penetrable by the violence of the Fire; which however has since been sufficiently contradicted by Experience; tho the same is several times used in the same sense in the Scripture\*. It is likewise call'd *Adamas* by the *Latins*, *Deamant* by the *Germans*, *Adamanto* by the *Spaniards*, *Almaes* by the *Arabians*, *Jutan* by the *Malajars*, and *Hiera* and *Jua* by the *Indothians*. The Beauty of a

Diamond consists in its Hardness, Transparency and Lustre; tho to speak the truth, there are but few Diamonds without some Defects, which however pass current among those who are no nice Judges of it. Lead is reckon'd to be exactly three times as heavy as a polish'd Diamond.

There is a certain kind of Diamonds call'd *Boschiers*, which are not by a third part so valuable as the rest, tho sometimes they exceed for Brightness all the other sorts; but if they incline to a reddish or yellow Colour, they are not worth half so much, they being only valued according to the weight of the *Carats* with-

our

# The City of MASULIPATA



The City of  
SULIPATAM.



out any Multiplication. To try the goodnes of a Diamond you must cut one Diamond with another, and if the Powder thereof be of an Ash-colour, it is right, but if white, otherwise; for all other precious Stones except the Diamond afford a white Powder, and the more the Powder of the Diamond approaches to a Grey, the more precious it is. They have another way of trying the Diamonds, by making them red hot, and afterwards quenching them in cold fresh Water, and if they don't crack they are true and good. The true Value of the best Diamonds (provided they are clean and of a just thickness) is computed thus: The just Value of a good Diamond weighing a Carat (each whereof is equivalent to four Grains) is 80 *Gilders*, or 32 *Rix-dollars*. Now to know the just Value of one or two Carats, you must multiply two with two, the Product whereof being four, this must be multiplied with the value of a Diamond of one Carat, viz. 80 *Gilders*, the Product whereof amounts to 320 *Gilders*; so that according to this Computation, a Diamond of 20 Carats is worth 32000 *Gilders*, and according to the same proportion, one of 100 Carats no less than 800000 *Gilders*.

The Ruby, call'd *Rubinus* or *Carbunculus* by the *Latins*, *Mamwikam* by the *Malayans*, *Battamora* by the *Siameses*, and *Laal* by the *Indosthans*; it will endure the Fire for a considerable time. There are three several sorts of Rubies, some are of a high red and brilliant colour; those of a dark red colour, tho they carry a very fine Lustre, yet are not so much valued as the former. The Oriental Rubies are call'd *Espinelles*, those of Germany are very hard, but inclining to a dark brown, and therefore of less Value; notwithstanding which they are true Rubies: they seldom exceed the bigness of a good Pea, and are very thin, and the Stone-Polishers make them thinner, still to increase their Lustre. The *Espinelles* are of much brighter Colour, but not so hard, and consequently of less or more Value in proportion to their Hardness, some being as hard as a Sapphire.

The Carbuncles are adulterated with *Sandaracha*, but these false Colours are soon discovered in the Corners of the polished Stones, which don't receive these Colours. The Oriental Carbuncles are likewise of two different kinds, some are of a dark brown Colour, the others are bright and carry Lustre like Fire, and these are the most precious. The Rubies

are apprais'd like the Diamonds by Carats, one, two, three, or more, with this difference, that the Rubies tho of the same Weight, are somewhat bigger in proportion than the Diamonds, and without the least Clouds or other Defects.

The *Smaragd* or *Emerault*, called *Tamarul* by the *Arabians*, and *Jasche* by the *Indians*, is one of the precious Stones called *Σμαράγδος* by the *Greeks*, and *Emeraude* by the *French*. They are of three different kinds. *Scythia* and *Egypt* produce these Stones, as well as the *East-Indies*. They endeavour to imitate them at *Paliacatta* and *Bisnagar* in *Glas*. Those of *Scythia* are accounted the best, those of *Peru* are the next in Goodness, or a dark green Colour, very hard, and more transparent than those of the *East-Indies*. These last are harder than those of *Peru*, but much less regarded. Those of *Peru* are of a pale Colour and brittle. The general Opinion is, that in case an Emerault should be found excellent in all its Parts, viz. in Colour, Shape and Transparency, it would be comparable to a Diamond of the same bigness, nay this would even surpass it in value, by reason of its rarity.

The *Saphir* is called *Mila* by the *Arabians*, and *Millam* by the *Malayans*. They are of two sorts, those of a dark blue Colour are the best, those of a pale Colour resembling the Diamonds, the worst. They are found in *Malabar*, *Calecut*, *Cannanor*, in the Kingdom of *Bisnagar*, in the Isle of *Ceylon*, but *Siam* and *Pegu* produce the best.

The *Hyacinth* called *Υάκινθος* by the *Greeks*, is a red Stone, not unlike the Carbuncle, but does not endure the Fire. It is found in *Spain*: the Jewellers sell sometimes the Stone called *Ethiopsis*, for a Hyacinth: they are of two kinds, one red, the other inclining to a yellow.

The *Ametist*, called *Ἀμέτιςτος* by the *Greeks*, is of a purple Colour; those that are found in the *East-Indies* are preferred before the rest.

The *Jaspir* so called by the *Latins*, and *Υάσπρις* by the *Greeks*, is of two different kinds, some being of a lovely green Colour, like the *Emeraults*, and of such a bigness, as to serve for Materials for Drinking-cups; some have the green mix'd with white; some are of purple, others of a rose Colour with variety of Flowers in them; others are dark brown and blew, with white Veins; some are Marble on one, and *Jasper* on the other side.

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The *Sardis* has got its Name from *Sardinia*, where it is frequently found, as well as in *Epirus*. There are three several kinds, and were by the Antients distinguished into the Male and Female. That the *Sardis* is different from the *Sardonick*, is evident out of the Holy Scripture\*.

The *Sardonick*, called *Σαρδόνιξ* by the Greeks, has got its Name from *Sarda* and *Onyx*, or its resemblance to a human Navel.

The *Achat* is found about *Suratte*, but is of no great value, unless it be curiously chequered with Figures.

*Amber* called *Succinum* by the Latins, *ἡλεκτρον* by the Greeks, and *Alambre* by the Portuguese, is a kind of a Gum or resinous Substance, found near *Koningsberg*, and some other Places in *Prussia*; in great esteem among the *Japoneses* and the *Indians* in general. It is often chequered with various Figures, and has the virtue of attracting Straw, Paper, and such like light Matters.

The *Granate* resembles in Colour to the Coral. There are two sorts, the *Indian* and *Spanish*, the last are very red and bright; those found in *Ethiopia* are scarce to be distinguished from the *Hyacinth*, except that their Lustre is somewhat less than that of the *Hyacinth*.

The Stone called *Olbos de Gatos*, i. e. *Cats eyes*, by the Portuguese, is in much greater esteem among the *Indians* than the Portuguese; who are of Opinion, that if you rub Linen-Cloth with them, it will be fire-proof: but this I have found contrary to Truth by my own experience.

The *Hematites* or *Bloodstone* (*ἡματιτὴς* by the Greeks) has got its Name from its dark red Colour, and its virtue in quenching of Blood. It is found in *New-Spain*, and reputed by them a kind of *Jasper*; the *Indians* make Beads of them, and wear them about their Necks: They also lay them in Water, and afterwards hold them close in their Hands, and look upon this as an excellent Remedy to stop the superfluous Monthly times of the Women, or any other Flux of Blood. This Stone is also found in *Ceylon* and *Cambaja*, where it is called *Silakenea*.

The *Nephritis* or *Kidneystone*, has got its Name from the word *νεφρός*, i. e. a Kidney, because it is worn by the *Indians* against the Pain of the Kidneys, and therefore in great esteem among them. It is found in *New-Spain*, and the greener it is, the better it is.

The Naturalists tell us, that the Stag,

when tormented in his Bowels by certain poisonous Worms, runs up to the Neck in Water, at which time the slimy Tears which adhere to the Corners of his Eyes are coagulated to the bigness of a Wall-nut, which thence have got the Name of *Hurtstones*; which taken in Wine, are look'd upon as a Sovereign Antidote against all manner of Poisons and Infections.

The *Serpentstone* is found in the *Indies*, of a dark brown Colour, with a white Spot like an Eye in the middle. Some will have them to grow in the Heads of the Serpents; others are of opinion, that the Water-Serpent hung up by the Tail, with her Head hanging downwards, so near to a Vessel full of Water, that she may lick it, does spew out this Stone, which tied to the Belly, is accounted an excellent Remedy against the Dropsy. The *Spaniards* call this Stone *Piedro della Cobra*, and the Portuguese *Pedra de Cobra*, being commonly of the bigness of a Shilling, less or more. The true *Serpentstone* is found in that kind of Serpents, call'd *Cobra de Cabelo* by the Portuguese, and *Serpens Pilosus* by the Latinists, being the most virulent of all Serpents. They try the Goodness of this Stone, by putting it into fair Water, which if it bubbles, it is accounted true; another Trial is, when it sticks close to the Lips, or to the Wound, unto which it will adhere till it has drawn out all the Poison, when it falls off like a Leech, and is thrown into Milk: Of this I saw the effect my self with good Success in a Negro Slave stung by a Serpent, belonging to our Head Factor at *Jafnapatnam*, Sir *Jorephas Vofch*. The *Brahmans* make a certain Composition (which they keep very secret) in imitation of the natural *Serpentstone*, the chief Ingredients whereof are suppos'd to be the Head, Heart, Liver and Teeth mix'd with the *Terra sigillata*. Concerning the true Virtues of the *Serpentstones*, you may consult *Michael Boimus*\*, and *Athanafius Kircher*†.

The Stone called *Pedra de Porco*, i. e. *Hogs-stone*, by the Portuguese, grows in the *Vesica Bilearea* of the Hogs about *Malacca*. It is of a ruddy Colour, and sometimes grey, greasy or oily at the touch like Venice-soap, and of a bitterish Taste. When they will use this Stone, they put it in Water, till it acquires a bitterish Taste, and so give the Water to the Patient, for the cure of Pestilential and other Fevers. They are highly esteemed in the *Indies*.

Baldava.


The Serpentstone.


A Composition of the Serpentstone.

\* In Flora Chinenfi.  
† Lib. 9. Mundi subterranean.

Hogs-stone.



 The *Toad-stone* is found in the Head of *Baldaw*, a certain kind of *Toads* of the bigness of a good Bean, of various Colours, but most inclining to a green, smooth and shining on the outside, which is bony, but the inside of a stony Substance: They are reputed an excellent Remedy against the Stone in the Kidneys, Poison and Infirmary of the Stomach. To get this Stone, they take a very old Toad, put it in a Vessel full of Holes, and so bury it in a Dunghil near a Pismires Nest, till the Pismires have consumed the whole Substance of the Toad, except the Stone. They try the Goodness of this Stone, by laying it before a Tortoise, which if it is ready to swallow it, it is accounted a true Stone.

 Of the *Bezoar-stone* something has been said before in the Description of *Cananor*, being accounted a great Antidote, but esteemed much more in former times than of late Years. The *Bezoar-Stone* is found in the Stomach of certain Goats in *Persia*, and the Isle of *Borneo* called *Pazan*. It is of a very solid ruddy Substance, growing in different Partitions, like our Onions, which are easily discernable when the Stone is broken: They are of divers Colours, some inclining to an Olive-Colour, others to a dark green, some round, some of an oval Figure; the smoothest and largest are accounted the best. They are also found in the Isle, called *Illa de Vacas*, i. e. *Cow-Island*, about 6 Leagues from *Jafnapatnam*, but in no great Quantities; for I remember that Mr. *Anthony Pavilion* told me, that out of 70 or 80 Goats, which he ordered to be killed, he had but a few Stones, and these but indifferent ones and very brittle. The *Malayans* try this Stone thus; they rub it five or six times with Mortar, and if it changes the Mortar into a yellow Colour, it is accounted true. Those of *Banda* tell us, that they find the *Bezoar-stone* in the Heads of certain Apes. The *Indians* and *Chineses* mix it with Rose-water, and use it against Poison, melancholy Humours, and Quartan Agues. They also make use of it as a Preservative; for they purge twice a year, viz. in *March* and *September*, and for five days after take from 10 to 30 Grains of *Bezoar* in Rose-water. They sell this Stone by weight; one of 300, 250, 150, or 140 *Carats*, is accounted equivalent to three times the weight in Gold; each *Carat* reckon'd at 8 *Dutch* Stivers. One of 100, 90 or 80 *Carats*, to 1; the quantity of Gold, or at 6 Stivers the *Carat*. One of 70, 60, 50, or 40 *Carats*, to 1  $\frac{1}{2}$

of Gold, or at 4 Stivers the *Carat*. The lesser ones in proportion of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Gold, or 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  Stivers the *Carats*.

There are Oriental and Occidental *Bezoar-stones*; those of the East, especially of *Persia*, much exceed those of the *West-Indies*. *Arabia*, *Malabar*, *Japan*, and *China* produce these Stones, and the Mountains of *Peru* in the *West-Indies*. The *Persians* call this Stone *Belzoar*, i. e. the Lord of Poison; and the *Arabians*, *Higiar Corrahone*. Formerly it us'd to be sold in *Holland* at the rate of 8 Guilders per Ounce. If the outward Rind or Skin be taken off, the next appears smoother and brighter than the first. The *Bezoar-stone* has no Pit, but a Concavity containing a certain mealy Substance, the Virtue whereof is said to excel the Stone itself. Those taken out of the Goats living in the Mountains, are accounted better than of those feeding in the Valleys. These Stones are found in certain Bags of a hairy Substance, growing within the Concavity of the Stomach, of a Span in length, wherein the Stones lie in a row like Buttons on a Waistcoat, as a certain *Portuguese* tells us. They have also another way of trying the goodness of this Stone: They take a Needle with a Thred, and having dip'd the same in the Juice of a venomous Herb call'd *Ballestra*, they draw the Needle and Thred thro the Leg of a Dog or some other living Creature, leaving the Thred in the Wound till the Dog faints away. This done, they give him a certain quantity of *Bezoar* Powder, which if it recovers him, the *Bezoar* is good; if not, it is look'd upon as adulterated. Of several other Trials we have spoken in the Description of *Cananor*.

Among those Commodities which are transported from *Masulipatan*, the *Indigo* being none of the least, it will be requisite we should say something also of this precious Merchandize. The *Indigo* is of different kinds, and grows in divers Places: The broad *Indigo* grows about two Leagues from *Amadabath* the Capital City of *Gusuratte*, especially in the Village of *Circhees*, from whence that kind of *Indigo* has got its Name. The *Indigo* is a Shrub growing up to a Man's height, with small hard Twigs like the Blackberry-Trees: Its Blossom resembles that of the Briars, and the Seed that of the *Fennon Gracum*, call'd *Dusenegre* by the *French*. They sow it in *June* and *July*, and cut it in *November* and *December*.

The *Indigo* of *Circhees* grows three years successively after its first Sowing. The first Year they cut the Leaves about

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a Foot above the Ground; which being dry'd in the Sun for 24 Hours, they are put into Barrels full of Salt-water, of a Man's height, and kept down to the bottom, by laying great Stones upon them, the better to squeeze out the Tincture. The Water being stir'd often for 4 or 5 days, it is let out into great Casks, where it is stir'd and trod continually by certain Persons, till the Water thickens, and the Indigo settles to the bottom, in the same manner as they manage the Butter in Holland. The Sediment being separated from the Water, and strain'd thro thin Cloths, is spread upon the Ground (first cover'd with white Ashes) to dry. The Country People adulterate the Indigo with a certain Earth of the same colour, or with Oil, to make it seem the better upon the Water. The second Year the Indigo grows again on the Stalks that were left in the Fields, which is accounted better than the *Gingy* or wild Indigo. If you intend to preserve the Seed, you must let the Stalks dry the second time, and afterwards gather the Seed. The Indigo of the third Year's growth is of little value, and consumed for the most part by the Inhabitants of *Gujurate* in dyeing their Linen and Woollen Cloths.

The chief Signs of the goodness of the Indigo are, its Lightness and feeling dry betwixt the Fingers, its swimming upon the Water, and, if thrown upon burning Coals, its emitting a Violet-colour'd Smoke, and leaving but little Ashes behind. The Ground which has born the Indigo must lie fallow the fourth Year, unless you would sow it with some Kitchen Herbs.

Hereabouts also grows the Indigo call'd *Aniel de Biant*, by those of *Gujurate*. They sow it in June in light and sandy Grounds, and it grows chiefly in June, July, August and September, the ordinary rainy Months here; which together with the Heat of the Sun-beams brings it to Maturity, it being certain, that too much Rain is pernicious to this Shrub. Great care is to be taken that the Grounds be well cleared from Thorns and Thistles. The Buyers of Indigo ought to be cautious how they buy it; for if it happen to be not very dry, they may lose three Pound weight in ten in 8 days time.

The *Indigo Laura*, or *Indigo de Bayana*, is of three different sorts: The first Crop is call'd *Pouthy* by those of *Gujurate*, the

second *Gerry*, and the third *Cateel*. The first is cut in October, the second about the middle of November, and the third in January. The first is of a light blue Colour, and held against the Sun, and squeez'd with the Nail of the Thumb, shews a Violet Colour. The second, call'd *Gerry*, the nearer it approaches to a Violet Colour, the more valuable it is. The third, call'd *Cateel*, is the worst of all, of a ruddy colour, and so hard, as scarce to be broken to pieces.

The goodness of the Indigo is try'd in the following manner: About 9 or 10 a Clock in a clear Sun-shiny Morning they take a Piece or two, and after they have broken it in pieces, hold it against the Sun, to see whether they can discover any Sand in it: They also squeeze with their Nails some of the Colour out, which the nearer it comes to a Violet, the better it is. They also try it with Water and Fire: They throw a Piece of Indigo 40 or 50 times successively into a Cask fill'd with Water, and the longer it swims upon the Surface, the better it is deem'd. They also cast a Piece of Indigo upon burning Coals, and if the Smoke or Flame appear of a high Violet Colour, the Indigo is good.

It is sowed in several Places: The *Indigo Laura* about *Agra*; in *Fettapour*, 12 Cos from *Agra*; near the City of *Byana*, 30 Cos from *Agra* (where is the best); near the City of *Bassaune*, 38 Cos from *Agra*; near the City of *Kindowen*, 40 Cos from *Agra*. The Country People are oblig'd to carry their Indigo into the next adjacent City.

Next to *Majulipatan* we must also say something of *Bimilipatan*, where the Dutch have had a Factory a considerable time ago, and from thence, as well as most other Parts of *Oyixa*, transport abundance of Rice, Pease, and other Provisions, into other Parts. The whole Country hereabouts enjoys a wholesome Air, tho in one Place more than in the other: For tho the Heats are excessive, nay almost intolerable, yet are the same in a great measure qualified by the cool Sea-Winds; so that the reason of the many Distempers and pale Countenances, which often attend the Europeans in those Parts, is not so much to be attributed to the Unhappiness of the Climate, as to their own Intemperance and Debaucheries.

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## C H A P. XXV.

*The Manner of Living of the Hollanders in the East-Indies. Their use of Tea and Chocolate: Their ordinary Drink; Manner of Sleeping. A Description of the two Rivers, the Ganges and the Nile.*

*Manner of  
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the Dutch.*

AS the manner of Living of the vulgar sort among the Dutch in the East-Indies, is none of the best, so we will be satisfy'd with giving an account of those of the better sort. They commonly rise with the Sun, Sleep after Sun-rising being accounted very unwholsom here in the Morning. Some have a Custom of washing their Heads, nay the whole Body with cold Water, immediately after their coming out of bed; others do it with luke-warm Water three or four times a week; the last of which I have found the best by experience. They commonly shift their Linen every day. Brandy or any other strong Liquors are not much used by the wiser sort in the Morning, unless it be a Spoonful just before Dinner, and a little at night before they go to bed.

*The use of  
Tea.*

The Tea (always used fasting by the Chinese) has got a mighty Ascendant over the Hollanders of late Years. The best grows in China, being a Shrub rising not very high above-ground, especially in the Province of Kiangnan, near the City of Hocien. The Leaves are dry'd, roll'd up and preserv'd for use. Father Martinus Martini, in his Chinese Atlas, gives us the following account of the Tea. The Leaves are very like those of the *Rhus Coriaria*, call'd *Sumach* by the Arabians, and *Σύμαχ* by the Greeks, of which it seems to be a Species; tho it does not grow wild, but is planted, being a Shrub with small Twigs. In the beginning of the Summer it buds out a light-colour'd Blossom of an agreeable Scent, after which come green Buds that turn black at last. They take a Leaf, and after they have warm'd it in an Iron Pot with a gentle Heat, they lay it upon a clean Mat, and having well roll'd it, put it again over the Fire, till it be thoroughly dry'd, and twist'd together; when they put it up in Tin or Leaden Vessels, to preserve it from the moist Air, which would soon corrupt it. The Tea being of different sorts, consequently bears a lower or higher Price, according to its goodness. Its chief Virtues are to disperse the gross Vapours of the Head and Stomach, and consequently to exhilarate our Spirits. The Chinese, as they are never troubled with the Gout,

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pared.*

so they attribute the same to the Tea, and Kircher ascribes to it a Diuretick Quality. Its Taste is somewhat bitterish, and not very agreeable at first, but well enough afterwards. The Turks tell us Wonders of their *Cawwa* or Coffee, and the Spaniards of their Chocolate; but it has been found by experience, that the first encreases the Gall, and the last enflames the Blood, and nourishes too fast; whereas the Tea is much more moderate in its Nature, notwithstanding which its immoderate use hinders the Concoction of the Stomach (especially if taken after Dinner) and too much dries up the Moistures of the Body, which is the reason the Chinese never take it after Meals. The Chinese Tea is both in Goodness and Price much superior to the Japanese. I have found by experience that four or five Cups of the Extraction of the fresh Leaves of the Tea makes one light-headed; and I remember, when the best Tea was sold at the rate of 24 Gilders per Pound in Holland.

The ordinary Drink of the Hollanders is a Mixture of Water and Sugar boil'd together. Some fill certain Earthen Vessels over night with Water, and add to it 3 or 4 Glasses of Spanish Wine, which expos'd together all night in the Dew, turns white, and affords a pleasant Liquor; but is a little too cool, for which reason some put a certain quantity of Mum in the Vessel. The Brunswick Mum is both more pleasant and wholsom here than in Europe; the worst is, that it is excessive dear, a Cask being sometimes sold from 40 to 100 Rixdollars. Among the Wines, those of Spain are most in request: It's true they sometimes inflame the Gall; but against that they make use of *Rhubarb* and *Cremor of Tartar*. The French and Rhenish Wines are not strong enough in these hot Countrys, where the Stomach requires more lively Cordials, as a little Brandy, or a moderate share of Canary. Their ordinary Food is Goats, Sheep, Fowl, Hares, Peacocks, and such like.

The Hollanders most generally take their Afternoons Sleep here, as the Italians and some other Europeans do in hot Countries; a thing sufficiently commendable in

in the *Indies*, where the Heat of the Sun beams invites the Inhabitants to pass away the middle of the Day (when they are unfit for Business) at their ease. They have also a constant Custom of washing their Mouths after Dinner. About three or four a Clock in the Afternoon they take their Tea, and after that a Walk; the Evenings and Nights being pretty cool and very pleasant here, especially when the Moon shines. They sup commonly about 7 or 8 a Clock, but very moderately, and go to sleep about 10 or 11 upon Quilts, Feather-beds being not us'd in the *Indies*: But care must be taken to cover well your Belly, Hips and Legs, for fear of the Cramp, especially if you lie expos'd to the open Air in Moon-shiny Nights, the neglect of which often proves fatal to the Soldiers and Seamen, after they have heated themselves with *Arak*, or other strong Liquors.

Thus much of the manner of Living of the *Hollanders* in the *East-Indies*. Concerning the different Clans or Families of the *Indians*, the manner of Living, Austerity and Prerogatives of the *Brahmans*, their *Vedam* Fasts, Marriages, Feasts, Burials, Mr. *Abraham Rogerius* has given so exact an account, that it would be needless to repeat them here. The Foundation, Strength and Magnificence of their *Pagodas*, especially of those dedicated to *Wijnou* and *Eswara*, with their Revenues and Idols, are likewise most exactly describ'd by the same Author; and among other things, that their *Pagodas* have no other Light but what they receive thro a Hole on the top; that they are divided into three several Vaults, supported by Stone Pillars: The first whereof stands open to all Goers and Comers: The second has two strong Doors, which are kept open in the day time, and guarded by a certain number of *Brahmans*: The third part is always kept close, being the Residence of the Idol, before which hang Lamps, which never cease to burn. But of the religious Worship of the Inhabitants of *Coromandel*, *Malabar* and *Ceylon*, we shall treat more at large in the third Part of this Treatise.

And since we have had occasion to speak so much of the Places between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganget*, commonly known by the Name of *India* on this side the *Ganges*, we must also say something concerning these two Rivers. The *Ganges* exonerates it self into the Sea of *Bengale*, call'd otherwise *Sinus Gangeticus* and *Sinus Argavicus* by *Ptolomey*, dividing the most Easterly Part of the *Indies* from the

Western Parts; the first whereof comprehend *Bengai*, *Aracan*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, &c. According to the opinion of *St. Austin*, *St. Jerom*, *Ambrose*, and many others of the ancient Fathers, the *Ganges* is the same which is in the Holy Scripture call'd *Pison*; but *Cornelius a Lapide* has sufficiently demonstrated that *Pison* cannot be the River *Ganges*, no more than *Gihon* the *Nilus*. The general Opinion is that the Source of the *Ganges* is in the Mount *Caucasus*, as those of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are in the *Armenian* Mountains, and that of the *Nile* among the Mountains of the *Moos*, near the Cape of Good Hope on the *African* Coast; tho *Father Kircher* puts the original Rise of the *Nile* in the Country of *Agiis* near *Sagela* bordering upon the Kingdom of *Goyam*. The Source arises in a Plain on the very top of the Mountain, surrounded with delightful Trees; but does not gather into a Rivulet till at the Foot of the said Mountain; and being augmented by the accession of divers other Brooks, gathers into a Lake of 30 Leagues in length, and 14 in breadth. From hence it pursues its Course, and by various Turnings and Windings returns near the Place of its Source, whence passing thro the Rocks and Precipices, it continues its Course into the middle of *Ethiopia*. \* *Isaac Vossius* derives the Rise of the *Nile* out of *Goyome*, a Province of the *Abyssines*, and says, that among other Titles that King makes use of this: *King of Goyome, where the Nile has its Rise*. The ancient *Egyptians* had so great a Veneration for the *Nile*, that they bestow'd the Title of the Arm of *Osiris* upon it: For as the Pagans numbred the rest of the Elements among the Gods, so they had no less opinion of the Waters, especially in the Great Rivers. Hence it is that the Inhabitants near the *Ganges* call it the Heavenly River, and are of opinion, that the Waters of that River cleanse them from their Sins; nay those of *Bengale* are so superstitious in this Point, as to carry their sick and dying Friends to this River, where they lay them up to the middle in Water: And for such as have no Opportunity or Strength to be carry'd thither, they are persuaded, that if they wash themselves with any other Water, and at the same time think upon the said River, saying, *Ganges, purify me*, they shall be cleansed from their Sins. † *Servius* observes, that it was the general Opinion of the Heathens, that the Water would cleanse them from their Sins: Which seems to agree with what is related of *Pilate*,

Waldau.

The Source of the Nile.

\* L. 2. c. 7. 1. *Egyptii* habent *Ostia Nilii*, *Ethiopes* autem *ejus Fontes*.

† *Annot. in lib. 5. Lucii.*

The River Ganges.

*Baldæus*, *Pilate* \*, and of the *Pharisees* and *Jews* in general. The *Mahometans* are to this day not free from that Superstition, the Water of the *Ganges* being sold among them in Bottles at a very good Price, as we do our Spaw-Waters; and they pay a considerable Custom for it.

\* Mat. 27.  
24. ch. 25.  
26.  
Mark 7. 3.

Hence it is, that the *Persians* look upon it as a Crime to do ones need into the River, or to throw Carrion into it, nay even to spit into it; and that they have attributed such surprizing Qualities to the Waters of many Rivers. When the Water of the *Nile* is carried in order to be sacrific'd upon the Altar, the People pay their Reverence to the Vessel that contains it, by prostrating themselves upon the Ground in the same manner as the *Malabars* do to the Water of *Rameswara*, near the *Pagode* call'd *Ramanakool*, to which they attribute likewise a peculiar Virtue of purging them from their Sins.

*Kircher* puts the Source of the River *Ganges* in the Mount *Thebeth*, where he says is a large Sea, whence arise the four Capital Rivers of *India*, viz. the *Indus*, *Ganges*, *Kavi*, and *Athac*. The *Indian* Pagans deduce its Origin from *Dewendre*, or the Heavens, from whence it descends into the *Dewendre Locon*, or sublunary World; and thence into the Earth, as may be seen in the before-said *Abraham Rogerius*. They farther

believe, that if they cast the Bones of their deceas'd Friends into the *Ganges*, their Souls will enjoy the Bliss of *Dewendre* for as many thousand Years as the Bones remain single Years in that River; it being their Opinion, that tho this Water has not the Power to introduce them to future Bliss, yet it is a Guide to Heaven thro the seven sublunary Worlds, which they believe every one must pass thro before he can enter the Heavens. They have each its proper Name, but are comprehended under one general Name, viz. *Dewendre Locon*; and among them that of *Bramma Locon*, or the Place where *Bramma* governs, is next to Heaven; and none are suffer'd to enter there, except such as are pass'd from Heaven to the Earth, and thence again thro the before-mention'd sublunary Worlds. It is beyond all doubt that many both among the *Jews* and *Gentiles* have assign'd certain Places for the Souls to dwell in, besides Heaven and Hell; in which they are imitated by the Purgatory-mongers, and such as believe a separate Place for the Antient Fathers and Innocent Children.

Before the River *Ganges* puts a stop to our Voyage, and the Description of the Places mention'd in this Treatise, we must add something concerning the *Malabar* Language. \*

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The main reason Language has reme to us, is, because conquered by the the Years 1661, *Portugueses*; and send any Ministr where they are 'Tis true, I assist lang, *Cranzanor*, at the Sieges of *napatnam* and *Ne* diately after ord Kingdom of *Jaf* the overlight ove the space of nea herealone, I was the Ignorance of was to my good ny of the *Christ* nough versed in Languages, yet more remote C but slenderly inf of the Christian

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## A short Introduction to the Malabar Language.

THE Malabars write upon the Leaves of the wild Palm-Trees with Iron Pencils; their Letters are very antient, and distinguish'd into (1.) Short or running Letters, (2.) Long ones, (3.) Vowels, (4.) Consonants, (5.) Diphthongs, (6.) Letters us'd only in the beginning of a Word, (7.) Such as are us'd only in the Middle, and (8.) Such as are us'd only in the End, as will more clearly appear out of the annexed Cuts. And seeing that the Malabar Letters have hitherto not appeared in publick Print, either in Holland or Germany, it will not be amiss to alledg the Reasons thereof, and to shew that this Language is no less worth our care now-a-days, than the Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabian, Persian, Samaritan and other Languages.

The main reason why the Malabar Language has remained so long unknown to us, is, because that Country was not conquered by the Dutch Company till in the Years 1661, 1662, 1663. from the Portuguese; and it is not their Custom to send any Ministers into those Places, where they are not Sovereign Masters. 'Tis true, I assisted at the Sieges of *Coulang, Cranganor, Cochim, &c.* and 1658. at the Sieges of *Tutecoryn, Manaar, Jafnapatnam* and *Negapatnam*; but was immediately after order'd to *Psephima* in the Kingdom of *Jafnapatnam*, where I had the oversight over 24 Churches. During the space of near four Years that I staid here alone, I was sensible what Obstacle the Ignorance of the Native Language was to my good Intentions: For tho many of the Christians here were well enough versed in the Dutch and Portuguese Languages, yet some belonging to the more remote Churches, who had been but slenderly instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion by the Roman

Missionaries, were strangely at a loss till I got a good Interpreter, who being well skill'd both in his Mother Tongue the Malabar, and the Portuguese Languages, did me great Services for eight Years together. His Name was *Francis*, and it was chiefly with his Assistance, that the fundamental Points of our Religion, being comprehended in a small Treatise, were translated out of the Portuguese into the Malabar Language, which has been since printed, 1671. at *Rotterdam*, by *John Berstius*. The multiplicity of Business in so weighty a concern as the Salvation of Souls, having been no small hindrance in encompassing so difficult a Language as the Malabar; I was forced to be contented with what part thereof I could attain, and those few Intervals of time I had left, whereof I have given some Specimen in the following Pages and Cuts. I can't upon this Occasion pass by in Silence the Considerations which might induce us to propagate the Malabar Language with more care, than has been done hitherto; it being certain, that if our Religious Worship could be firmly established in those Parts (whereof the Knowledge of the Language is one of the chief means) it would be very instrumental to reconcile not only many of the Inhabitants, but also even of the Indian Princes themselves to our Interest; a piece of Policy well understood by *Emanuel King of Portugal*, when he introduced the Roman Catholic Religion by the help of the Jesuits in the Indies.

I rest your Servant and Friend  
in Jesus Christ,

Geervliet, 21 Jul.  
1671.

Philip Baldew.

Some

## Some Rules for the attaining the knowledge of the Malabar Language.

**T**HE first Declension among the Malabars comprehends the Nouns only of the Masculine Gender, which terminate in the Singular Number in *n*, and in the Plural in *r*. They have their Singular and Plural Numbers like us, and name their Cases as follows.

|                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| The Nominative | <i>Pradamei,</i> |
| Genitive       | <i>Dutiei,</i>   |
| Dative         | <i>Tritei,</i>   |
| Accusative     | <i>Chadurti,</i> |
| Vocative       | <i>Panchami,</i> |
| Ablative       | <i>Xasti.</i>    |

*An Example of the first Declension.*

|            |                     |                       |
|------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Sing. Nom. | <i>Vanar Fullo,</i> | the Fuller (of Cloth) |
| Gen.       | <i>Vananureja</i>   | the Fuller,           |
| Dat.       | <i>Vananucu</i>     | to the Fuller,        |
| Accus.     | <i>Vanarur</i>      | the Fuller,           |
| Vocat.     | <i>Vanano</i>       | O you Fuller,         |
| Ablat.     | <i>Vananiratil</i>  | of the Fuller.        |

It is to be observ'd that they have four sorts of Ablative Cases.

- (1.) The *Localis*, as the last mention'd.
- (2.) *Causalis*, *Vananale*, because of the Fuller.
- (3.) *Socialis*, *Vananore*, with the Fuller.
- (4.) *Comparationis*, *Vananil*, in comparison with the Fuller.

|            |                                     |                 |
|------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Plur. Nom. | <i>Vanar Fullones,</i>              | the Fullers,    |
| Gen.       | <i>Vananareja,</i>                  | the Fullers,    |
| Dat.       | <i>Vanarucul, Vanaruccu,</i>        | to the F.       |
| Accus.     | <i>Vanarej,</i>                     | the Fullers,    |
| Voc.       | <i>Vanare,</i>                      | O you Fullers,  |
| Abl. (1.)  | <i>Vanar iratil, vanar iratile,</i> | of the Fullers, |

- (2.) *Vanaral, vanarale*, because of the Fullers,
- (3.) *Vanarore, vanarorum*, with the Fullers,
- (4.) *Vanaril, Vanarilum*, in comparison of the Fullers.

*An Example of Conjugation in the Affirmative.*

The Present Singular Tense.

|     |             |                           |               |
|-----|-------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| I   | <i>nan</i>  | <i>Vichuvadigirren,</i>   | I believe,    |
| you | <i>ni</i>   | <i>Vichuvadigirray,</i>   | you believe,  |
| he  |             | <i>Vichuvadiguirran,</i>  | he believes,  |
| she | <i>avan</i> | <i>Vichuvadiguirral,</i>  | she believes, |
| it  |             | <i>Vichuvadiguirradu,</i> | it believes,  |
|     |             | or <i>Vichuvadiguidu.</i> |               |

The Plural.

|      |               |                             |                           |
|------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| We   | <i>nangal</i> | <i>Vichuvadigirron,</i>     | we believe,               |
| you  | <i>nungal</i> | <i>Vichuvadigirral,</i>     | you believe,              |
| they | <i>adugal</i> | <i>M.F. Vichuvadigaral,</i> | you                       |
|      |               | (Men or Women) believe,     |                           |
|      |               | <i>N. Vichuvadigiradu,</i>  | or <i>Vichuvadiguidu,</i> |
|      |               | the things believe.         |                           |

In the Negative.

The Present Singular Tense.

|            |             |                              |                 |
|------------|-------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| I          | <i>nan,</i> | <i>Vichuvadicbren illei,</i> | I don't         |
| &c.        |             |                              | believe it.     |
| as before. |             | <i>Vichuvadicres illei,</i>  | you don't       |
|            |             |                              | believe it.     |
|            |             | <i>Vichuvadiezal illei,</i>  | he does         |
|            |             |                              | not believe it. |
|            |             | <i>Vichuvadiezal illei,</i>  | they don't      |
|            |             |                              | believe it.     |
|            |             | <i>Vichuvadicrad illei,</i>  | it don't        |
|            |             |                              | believe it.     |

The Plural

|     |                |                                  |                   |
|-----|----------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| We  | <i>nangal,</i> | <i>Vichuvadicbren illei,</i>     | we don't          |
| &c. |                |                                  | believe it.       |
|     |                | <i>Vichuvadicres illei,</i>      | you don't         |
|     |                |                                  | believe it.       |
|     |                | <i>Vichuvadiezal illei,</i>      | they              |
|     |                | (Masc. & Fem.) don't believe it. |                   |
|     |                | <i>Vichuvadicrad illei,</i>      | they (Next.)      |
|     |                | <i>Vichuvadiguid illei,</i>      | don't believe it. |

The Present Tense of Honour, i.e. when you speak to Persons of Quality, in the Affirmative.

\*

*Vichu-*

knowledg

e.

jugation in the  
ve.

ular Tense.

en, I believe,  
rray, you believe,  
ran, he believes,  
ral, she believes,  
radu, it believes,  
du.

al.

urron, we believe,  
virgal, you believe,  
waduragal, you  
(Women) believe,  
adieradu, or Vi-  
the things believe.

ative.

ular Tense.

hren illes, I don't  
believe it,  
res illei, you don't  
believe it,  
zan illei, he does  
not believe it,  
zal illes, they don't  
believe it,  
vad' illei, it don't  
believe it.

al

os illes, we don't  
believe it,  
gal illes, you don't  
believe it,  
illes, they  
don't believe it.  
illes, they (Neut.)  
illes, don't be-  
lieve it.

of Honour, i.e.  
ns of Quality, in

Vicu-

The  
(1)  
life &  
others  
in the

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# A Short Orthography of the MALAB

The Malaŋars Commonly write upon the Leaves of Palm trees with  
 (1) some are accounted short (2) others long. (3) some are Vowells  
 life to the Consonants. (4) some Consonants which they call Bodily lett  
 others they call Mixed Letters, the same with our Diphthongs, composed  
 in the beginning of a word (7) some only in the middle. (8) and some

The following are the Vowells

|   |        |              |    |
|---|--------|--------------|----|
| അ | ana    | a short      | a  |
| ആ | avana  | a long       | ā  |
| ഇ | ina    | a short      | i  |
| ഈ | yana   | a long       | ī  |
| ഉ | una    | a short      | u  |
| ഊ | urana  | a long       | ū  |
| എ | ena    | a short      | e  |
| ഈ | cana   | a long       | ē  |
| ഐ | avana  | av diphthong | av |
| ഒ | ona    | a short      | o  |
| ഔ | ovana  | a long       | ō  |
| ഓ | aurana | au diphthong | au |
| ഔ | aquana | ae           | ae |
| ഐ | ei     | ei diphthong | ei |

Consonants united with the Vowells, make a Syllable short.

|    |          |                |         |
|----|----------|----------------|---------|
| ക  | cana     | ca short       | ca, ka  |
| കാ | carana   | ca, ka, long   | ca, ka  |
| കി | quina    | qui short      | qui     |
| കീ | quiana   | qui long       | qui     |
| കു | cuna     | cu short       | cu      |
| കു | curana   | cu long        | cū      |
| കേ | quena    | ke short       | que     |
| കേ | quēana   | ke, long       | que, kē |
| കൈ | carana   | cay diphthong  | cay     |
| കോ | cena     | co short       | co      |
| കോ | corana   | co, long       | cō      |
| കോ | caurana  | cau diphthong  | cau     |
| ക  | iguana   | g              |         |
| ച  | ngana    | ngna short     | ngna    |
| ചാ | ngarana  | ngna long      | ngnā    |
| ചി | ngina    | ngni short     | ngni    |
| ചീ | ngiāna   | ngni long      | ngnī    |
| ചു | nguna    | ngnu short     | ngnu    |
| ചൂ | ngurana  | ngnu long      | ngnū    |
| ചേ | ngena    | ngne short     | ngne    |
| ചേ | ngēana   | ngne long      | ngnē    |
| ചൈ | ngāyana  | ngna diphthong | ngna    |
| ചോ | ngona    | ngno short     | ngno    |
| ചോ | ngorana  | ngno long      | ngnō    |
| ചോ | ngaurana | ngna diphthong | ngna    |
| ച  | inguana  | ngu            |         |

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കാ  
കി  
കീ  
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കു  
കേ  
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ചേ  
ചൈ  
ചോ  
ചോ  
ച

These are Initial Letters called by them Taleyelutu.

These are Consonants.

|   |       |    |      |    |
|---|-------|----|------|----|
| ക | cana  | c  | mana | m  |
| ച | ngana | ng | yana | y  |
| ജ | chana | ch | rana | rr |
| ട | nhana | nh | lana | l  |
| ഡ | řana  | ř  | řana | u  |
| ബ | hna   | h  | řana | ř  |
| പ | tana  | t  | fana | f  |
| വ | nana  | n  | rana | r  |
| ശ | řana  | ř  | nana | n  |

# MALABAR LANGUAGE.

Vol. 3. p. 662.

Palm trees with Iron Pencils, Their Letters are distinguished thus  
 are Vowells which they call Letters of life, because they give  
 all Bodily letters, because the vowels are their sound and life. (5)  
 ongs, composed of two Vowells, (6) some are called Initial letters, used  
 e, (8) and some in the end of a word.

|            |    |          |                 |      |    |         |               |     |
|------------|----|----------|-----------------|------|----|---------|---------------|-----|
| the        | ച  | chana    | chashort        | cha  | ര  | ravana  | ra diphthong  | rar |
| short.     | ചാ | chirana  | cha lang        | cha  | രൊ | rona    | ro short      | ro  |
| ca, lla    | ചു | china    | chishort        | chi  | രൊ | rorana  | ro lang       | ro  |
| ca, lla    | ചു | chirana  | chi lang        | chi  | രൊ | raurana | rau diphthong | rau |
| qui        | ചു | chuna    | chushort        | chu  | രൊ | irana   | i             |     |
| qui        | ചു | churana  | chu lang        | chu  |    |         |               |     |
| cu         | ചെ | chena    | cheshort        | che  |    |         |               |     |
| cu         | ചെ | chana    | che lang        | che  |    |         |               |     |
| que        | ചെ | chirana  | cher diphthong  | cher |    |         |               |     |
| que, l, le | ചെ | chona    | choshort        | cho  |    |         |               |     |
|            | ചെ | chirana  | cho lang        | cho  |    |         |               |     |
|            | ചെ | chaurana | chau diphthong  | chau |    |         |               |     |
|            | ച  | ichana   | ch.             |      |    |         |               |     |
| car        | ന  | nhana    | nhashort        | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| co         | നാ | nhirana  | nhalang         | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| co         | ന  | nhina    | nhishort        | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| cau        | ന  | nhirana  | nhilang         | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
|            | ന  | nhirana  | nhushort        | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
|            | ന  | nhurana  | nhu lang        | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| ngna       | ന  | nhena    | nheshort        | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| ngna       | ന  | nhana    | nhelang         | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| ngni       | ന  | nhirana  | nhier diphthong | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| ngni       | ന  | nhona    | nhoshort        | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| ngnu       | ന  | nhirana  | nholang         | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| ngna       | ന  | nhaurana | nhau diphthong  | nhu  |    |         |               |     |
| ngne       | ന  | inhana   | nh.             |      |    |         |               |     |
| ngne       | റ  | rana     | ra short        | ra   |    |         |               |     |
| ong: ngna  | റാ | rarana   | ra lang         | ra   |    |         |               |     |
| ngno       | റി | rina     | ri short        | ri   |    |         |               |     |
| ngno       | റി | riyana   | ri lang         | ri   |    |         |               |     |
| ong: ngna  | റു | runa     | ru short        | ru   |    |         |               |     |
|            | റു | rarana   | ru lang         | ru   |    |         |               |     |
|            | ര  | rena     | re short        | re   |    |         |               |     |
|            | ര  | reana    | re lang         | re   |    |         |               |     |
|            | ത  | tana     | tashort         | ta   |    |         |               |     |
|            | താ | tarana   | ta lang         | ta   |    |         |               |     |
|            | തി | tina     | tishort         | ti   |    |         |               |     |
|            | തി | tirana   | ti lang         | ti   |    |         |               |     |
|            | തു | tuna     | tushort         | tu   |    |         |               |     |
|            | താ | turana   | tu lang         | tu   |    |         |               |     |
|            | തെ | tena     | teshort         | te   |    |         |               |     |
|            | തെ | teana    | te lang         | te   |    |         |               |     |
|            | തെ | teyana   | tey diphthong   | tey  |    |         |               |     |
|            | തൊ | tona     | to short        | to   |    |         |               |     |
|            | തൊ | torana   | to lang         | to   |    |         |               |     |
|            | തെ | taurana  | tau diphthong   | tau  |    |         |               |     |
|            | ത  | itana    | t.              |      |    |         |               |     |



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# Our Father in y Malabar language & Characters

பாணநுகளிலிருக

*Pater noster*

கிறநுகளபிதாமெ

*qui es in caelis*

2 ண னு டையநாமம்

*Sanctificetur nomen*

ளலொகுருகததம்

*tuum Veniat*

ரக2 ண னு டையடு

*tuam regnam tua*

ராசச்யம் பா. 2 ண ம

*Fiat in terra*

ணதினபட பா ண 2

*voluntas ut*

ரகள பா ண தத செ

*in caelis*

யயமாபபொலெபு

*hodie Panem*

மயி ஜ ம ண லொரு

*da nostrum*

ருசெயய. 2 ண 2 ண

*nobis quotidianum*

2 ண ள ள நுகளப

*et debita nostra*

பமளநுகருககுடு

*nobis remitte*

ண 2 தா ள நுகளபி

*ut et nos*

பைக ட ண கா 2 ருக

*remittimus nobis*

குநாநுகளபொ 2

*debitores et non*

ககுமபபொலெ

*inducas nos*

புமெநுகளபா 2 க

*in tentationem*

க ட ண க ள ப ட ட ட

*perum tu*

2 ண நுகளததொ

*libera nos*

2 ி த நுகருக 2 பா க

*in malo*

டெடா கெளநுகரு

*nam*

*est*

ககுபபொலொருக

*fiat*

2 பா ள ம ல 2 லெகு

*et tuum*

2 தெ ண னு ம மு ண

*regnum*

பயடு ராசசமும 2

*et quaque*

லெழமமொககிழம

*potentia*

*et*

யபபொதுமுண

*gloria in secula*

டா 2 தாச. 2 டெ ண

*saeculorum*

*Amen.*

## the Creed in the Malabar

2 பா ண மு ம ப ம ய ம

*in Deum*

ப டை த த ச 2 2 த த

*Patrem*

*omnipotentem*

ககும 2 லெபிதா 2

*caeli*

*et terra*

ரா ண க ம டி ரா ண ய

*creatorem*

*Crede*

*ego*

2 ி ச க 2 திககி 2 ண 2

*et*

*in*

*jesum*

2 ண னு டையமகண

*Christum*

*Filium*

ரு 2 ண ன ம மு டைய

*ejus*

*unigenitum*

நா ய

*Domini*

சீ த ண

த க கி

*concep*

த த ம

*Spir*

த த 2

த க க

*Maria*

2 யி 2

பா ண

*sub*

பி லா

*Pilato*

பா டு

*est*

லெ

*et*

ச 2 2

டா ண

*des*

ளில

*terti*

நா ள

*a*

டு டை

*ad*

யிா த

களி

*Patris*

ககும

*unde*

கியத

*ju*

பா நாயன 3 செசுககிரி  
*Dominum nostrum*  
 நா ச்ததைதெயிசசுவி  
*qui est*  
 பாக தககிெண 3 உணக  
*conceptus ex*  
 கரு ததமாண 3 சிபபிரி  
*Spiritu Sancto*  
 நகு ததுவினா லசசனாத  
*natus ex*  
 கு துககனா னிமரிபநள  
*Maria virgine*  
 மனை உயி99லநன உபி99நத  
*Passus est*  
 ம உாணபொருசுயொப  
*sub Pontio*  
 மமடு பிலாததினகிளப  
*Pilato crucifixus*  
 நா டுபட்டுகருசு  
*est et mortuus*  
 மன லெஉயை9யணாடு  
*et sepultus est*  
 ச9உபுடககபபப  
*ad inferna*  
 பாணபாதாள நுக  
*descendit die*  
 பும னிலி99நுகிமுணரு  
*tertia resurrexit*  
 தது நாளச செ99 உாகள  
*a mortuis ad caelos*  
 ரா உ3டையிலநன உ2  
*ascendit ad dextram*  
 யெ யிராததா னா னாந  
*sedet Dei*  
 ன உ களிலநிசச உபதது  
*Patris omnipotentis*  
 ன9 கரும உலலபிகாபா  
*unde ille*  
 ய கியதமபிரா னா உலப  
*judicatum veniet*

பாகததல 3 ருககிரி  
*et vivos et*  
 னா உயிடததலநன உ  
*mortuos in*  
 3 ருககி9 உாகளுக  
*Spiritum Sanctum*  
 கு ருகசெதத உாகளு  
*Credo ego*  
 கருமந டுதத9க உரு  
*Sanctam et*  
 உாணசுததமாண 3  
*Catholicam*  
 சிபபிரிதது உப  
*ego et Credo*  
 யுயிசசு உதிகெணக  
*Ecclesiam et*  
 ததொலிகக உாகிய  
*Sanctorum quique*  
 சுததமாண 3 கடுண  
*ego Credo*  
 சுயருசுததமாண உ  
*communione*  
 ராகளகூடபபம2  
*peccatorum*  
 ண்டென உயிசசு உத  
*et remissionem*  
 ககிெணபிதைதளடு  
*carnis hujus*  
 பா உதத வுருசெத  
*et quous*  
 த உாகள உயிராதத  
*resurrectionem*  
 வுமனா ணெணரைக  
*et vitam*  
 கும2 னா லுயி9 உ  
*in secula*  
 ம2 ண்டென உயிக  
*seculorum*  
 சு உதிககிெண உமென  
*eternam Amen*

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
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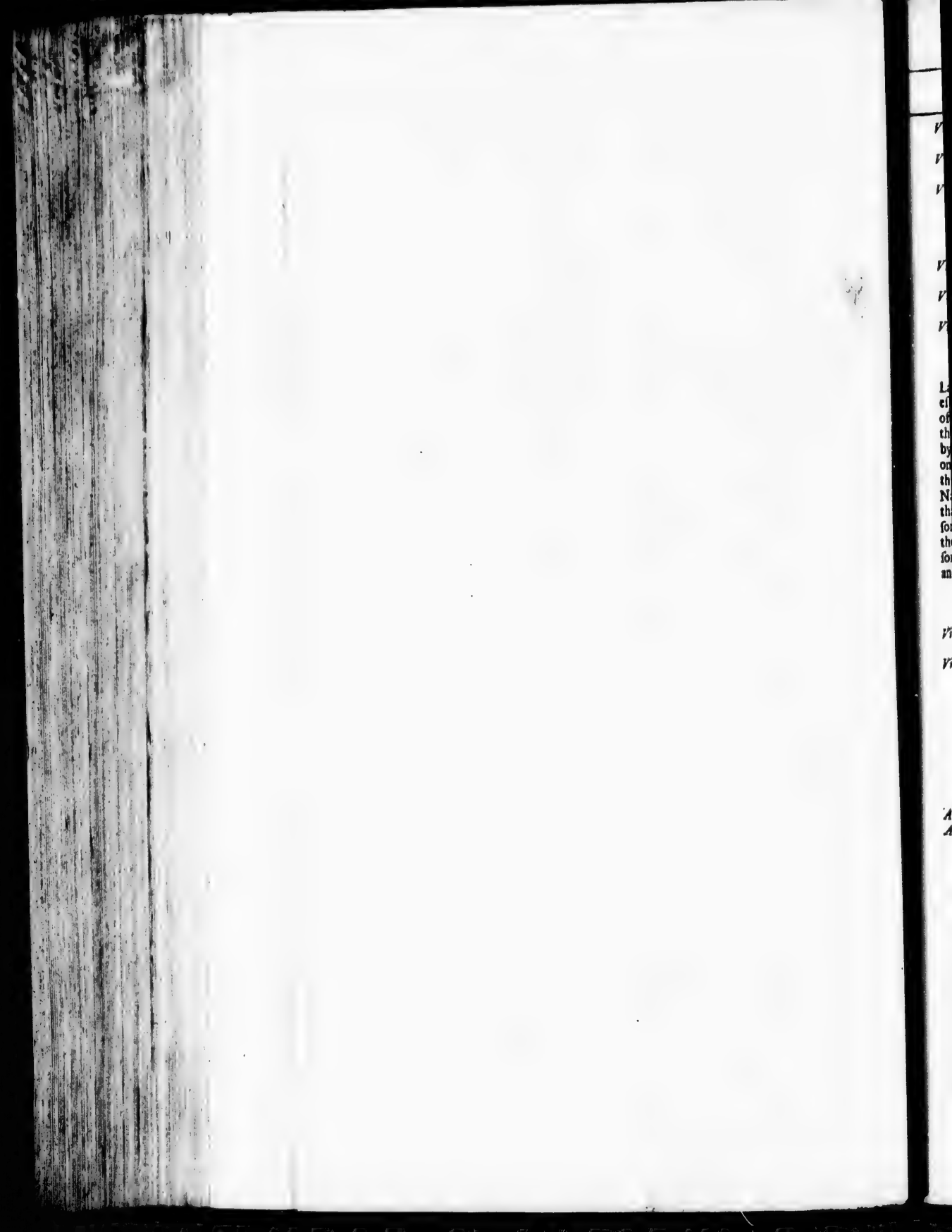
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| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lōvana  | lō lang        | lō  | ᳵ᳚ | nena     | neshort          | ne   |
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| ru | ᳵ᳚ |         |                |     | ᳵ᳚ | nōna     | no short         | no   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lanā    | lashort        | la  | ᳵ᳚ | nōvana   | no lang          | nō   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lāvana  | lū lang        | lū  | ᳵ᳚ | navana   | nau dipht: na    | nav  |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lina    | lishort        | li  | ᳵ᳚ | inana    | i:               | i:   |
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| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lūvana  | lū lang        | lū  | ᳵ᳚ | māvana   | mā lang          | mā   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lena    | leshort        | le  | ᳵ᳚ | mina     | mī short         | mī   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lēana   | lē lang        | lē  | ᳵ᳚ | mīvana   | mī lang          | mī   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | layana  | lay dipht: lāy | lay | ᳵ᳚ | muna     | mū short         | mū   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lona    | lo short       | lo  | ᳵ᳚ | mūvana   | mū lang          | mū   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lōvana  | lō lang        | lō  | ᳵ᳚ | mena     | me short         | me   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | lauvana | lau dipht: lau | lau | ᳵ᳚ | mēana    | mē lang          | mē   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ | ilana   | i:             | i:  | ᳵ᳚ | māyana   | māy dipht: māy   | māy  |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ |         |                |     | ᳵ᳚ | mona     | mō short         | mō   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ |         |                |     | ᳵ᳚ | mōvana   | mō lang          | mō   |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ |         |                |     | ᳵ᳚ | mauvana  | mau dipht: mau   | mau  |
| ru | ᳵ᳚ |         |                |     | ᳵ᳚ | umana    | u:               | u:   |



*Vichuvadicrona*, We (our Majesty, Highness, &c.) don't believe it.  
*Vichuvadicrir*, You (your Majesty, &c.) don't believe it.  
*Vichuvadicrare*, They (their Majestys) don't believe it.

In the Negative.

*Vichuvadicron illei*, We (our Majesty) don't believe it.  
*Vichuvadicrir illei*, We ——— don't believe it.  
*Vichuvadicrar illei*, They ——— don't believe it.

Whence it is evident that the Malabar Language is very difficult to be learn'd; especially by reason of the vast number of words whereof it consists, one and the same thing being frequently express'd by divers Words or Names. Thus not only every Day in the Week, but also throughout the Year, has its peculiar Name. It is further manifest from hence, that the Indians are not so unpolish'd as some Europeans represent them, and that they treat one another (especially Persons of Quality) with singular Civility and Respect.

The Imperfect Tense.

*Vichuvadicrane apo Vichuvadieren*, I believed.  
*Vichuvadicreye apo Vichuvadicrom*, we did believe it.

The Perfect Tense.

*Vichuvadien*, I have believed.  
*Vichuvadison*, we have believed.

The Preterperfect Tense.

*Aducu mune vichuvadisay*, I had believed.  
*Aducu mune vichuvadison*, we had believed.

The Future Tense.

*Vichuvadipen*, I will believe.  
*Vichuvadisipen*, we will believe.

Our Father in the Malabar Language.

Baldam.

*V*Anan galil yruvâ engal pidâve,  
 In Heaven who art our Father,  
*unureya namam ellatcum chutanga*; unu-  
 thy Name be sanctified; thy  
*reya irakjam vara*; un manadin paryel  
 Kingdom come; thy Will be done  
*â navargal vanatil*; cheyuma pelepumy-  
 in Earth as in Heaven; give our Bread  
*lum clarum cheya*; andandulla engal piley-  
 to us daily; pardon us our  
*caran*, *carracucu nângal pava caran*-  
 Trespassers, as our Trespassers for-  
*galey perru*; *engaley tolxaricû è duvagu*,  
 give we; lead not into Temptation us,  
*ottâde engaluck polâgn varâmal*. *Vilâgn*.  
 but of the Evil deliver thou us. So it be.

The Creed.

*V*Ananum pumium paveya  
 Of the Heavens and the Earth Crea-  
*charvatucum vala pidavagmia*, tamby-  
 tor, Omnipotent Father,  
*vaneye vichuvadicren*: *Avanureya maguan*  
 God, I believe. And in Son  
*oruven namureya nâyen Xezu Christeye*  
 his only Jesus Christ  
*vichuvadicren*. *Tven chetamana espirit*  
 I believe. Who was conceiv'd from  
*mâl*, *chanitû* *kanni*  
 the Holy Ghost, born from the Virgin  
*Marial*: *vaitil nindû pirranda Ponxio*  
*Mary*, &c.  
*Pilatin kil parulattu cruxile arraiandû chetû*  
*aracapata padalangalil erri charruvatucum*  
*valla pidagua tambiram balagapatil irucran*  
*avaratil nindu irucra vagalacum chetavarga-*  
*lucum narutytha varuvan*. *Chutamana*  
*espiritû veye vichuvadicren*. *Chutamana*  
*vargal cûstamum undanu vichuvadicren*.  
*Pileyal porrutalu chetavargal buisalam*  
*endendeycum ulla ayum vindanum vichu-*  
*vadicren*.



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# DESCRIPTION

Of the Great and most Famous Isle of

# CEYLON.

## CHAP. I.

### *The Situation, Extent and Discovery of Ceylon*

**T**HE Isle of Ceylon (the *Ta-probana* of the Antients according to *John de Barros*) has got its Name among the Portuguese, as well as the other Europeans, from its Capital City call'd Ceylon, known among the Natives by the Name of *Lankawon*.

This Isle extends from the 6th to the 10th degree of Northern Latitude. Formerly its Circumference was reckon'd to be about 400 Leagues, tho since that time the Sea has wash'd away about 40 Leagues on the North-side of it. In ancient times it was questionless (as we shall see anon in the Description of *Manaar*) annexed to the Continent. The Figure of this Isle represents (according to *Maffius*) an Egg, but in my opinion resembles rather a *Westphalia* Ham, whence without doubt the Dutch Fort near *Jafnapatnam* has got the Name of *Hams-beel*.

The beforementioned *Maffius* affirms, that its Circumference is at this time not above 240 Leagues, its Length 78, and the Breadth 44. But the Dutch, since they have been Masters of it, after the taking of *Columbo* 1656. and of *Manaar* and *Jafnapatnam* 1658. have more exactly computed its Compass to be 360 Leagues. It has many excellent Harbours, Cities and Fortresses, and is divided into several Provinces, as may be seen by the Title of the King of that Island, who styles himself, *Raja Singa*, Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candea, Cota, *Ceytawaca*, *Dambadan*, *Amorayapore*, *Jafnapat-*  
Vol. III.

*nam*; Prince of *Ouvva*, *Mature*, *Dinawaca*, and the four *Corles*; Great Duke of the seven *Corles*, *Matale*, Earl of *Cottar*, *Trinquenemale*, *Batecalo*, *Velase*, *Vintana*, *Drembra*, *Panciapato*, *Veto*, *Putelaon*, *Vallare*, *Gale*, *Belligaon*; Marquels of *Duranura*, *Ratienura*, *Tripane*, *Acciapato*; Lord of the Sea-ports of *Alican*, *Columbo*, *Negombo*, *Chilau*, *Madampe*, *Caipentyn*, *Aripiture*, *Manaar*, and of the Fishery of precious Stones and Pearls; Lord of the Golden Sun. All which Places, Cities, and Fortresses we shall have occasion to treat of hereafter.

The Isle of Ceylon abounds also in excellent Rivers, such as *Chilau*, *Matual*, *Alican*, *Mature*, *Batecalo*, *Trinquenemale*, and others. It produces various sorts of precious Stones, and is extremely fertile, especially in Cinnamon: Here are also found the best Elephants of the whole Indies.

This Isle was first discover'd by the Chinese in the following manner: Certain Chinese having suffer'd Shipwreck, were forc'd ashore on that Island, where they profess'd their King to be the Son of the Sun. The Inhabitants of Ceylon adoring at that time the Sun, as the *Malabars* do to this day their *Eswara*, i. e. the Sun, they were so well pleas'd with their new Guests, that they elected the Captain of the Chinese Jonke, or Vessel, their King; whence the present Kings of Ceylon trace their Origin, and have taken upon them the Title of Lord of the Golden Sun, this first Chinese King  
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INSULA  
**CEYLAN**  
olim  
**IAPROBANA**  
nunc moola  
**LANKAWN**

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Oriens

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COCHIN  
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REGNUM

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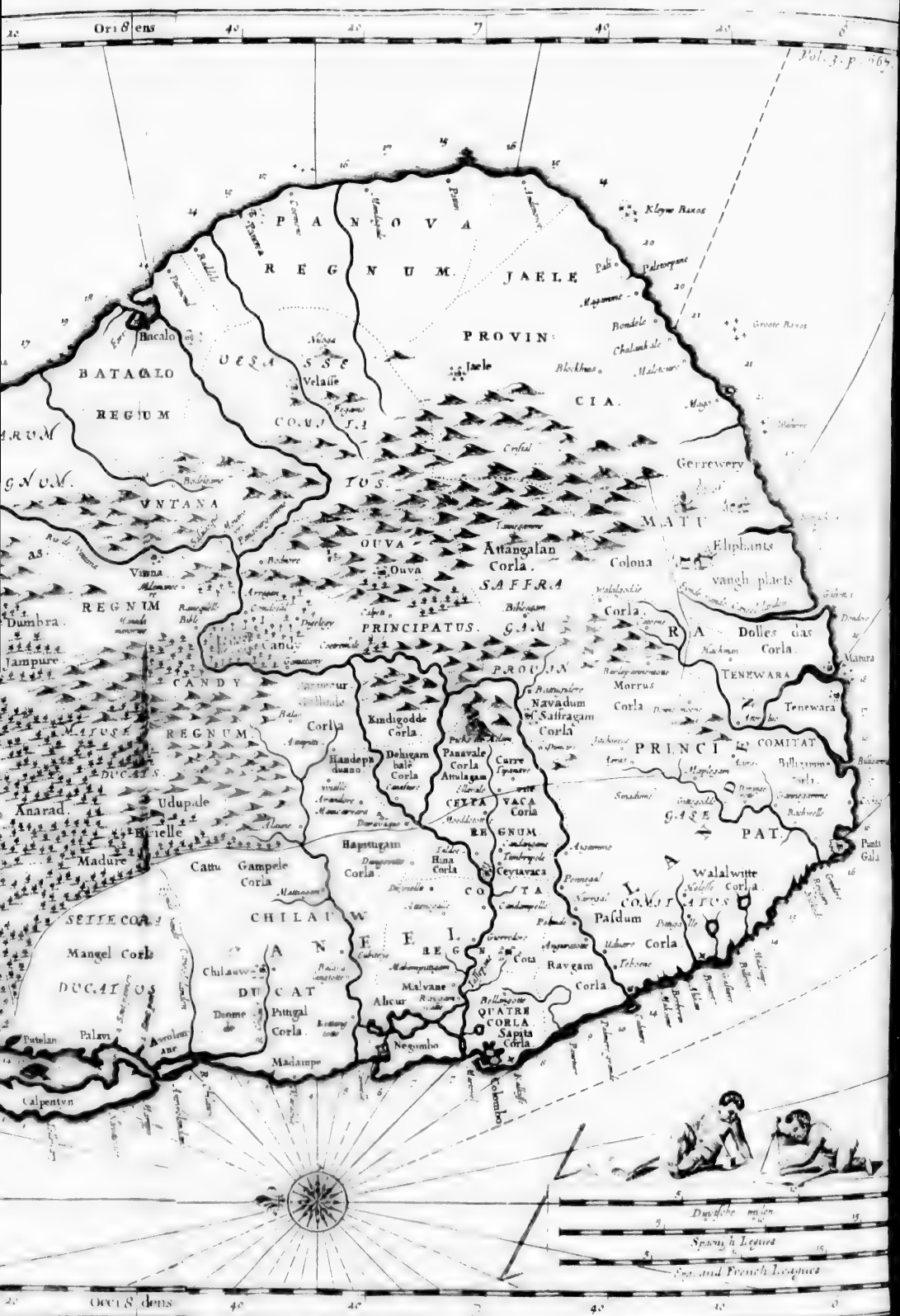
SETTE CORA

DUCATUS

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REGNUM





having still'd himself, *The much beloved Baldans, Son of the always moving Sun.* From this King *Lankaw Patti Mahadafsyn* deduced his Origin, who took upon him the Name of *Well-beloved Lord of the whole Isle.* His Son was *Lankaw Singe Madabafsyn, i. e. The well-beloved Lion of the Isle,* and after him his Son, *Marafinge Mahadafsyn, i. e. The well-beloved Conqueror of the Lion.* This King left behind him two Sons, the first named *Lankaw Patti Mahastane,* or, *The Eye-apple of the Country;* the second *Radgora Adafsyn,* or, *The well-beloved King.* These two quarrelling about the Succession, at last divided Kingdoms, that of *Candy* falling to the share of *Radgora Adafsyn,* and all the rest to the eldest. The Posterity of these two Kings rul'd for a considerable time after, the eldest Son always succeeding before the others. Among these *Lankaw Patti Mahastane* dying in the 70th year of his Age, left a Son named *Marandonna Mad-*

*gora, i. e. The Conqueror of the Eye-apple,* who came no sooner to the Crown, but he engag'd in a heavy War against his Uncle by the Father's side, which was ended at last by a Marriage betwixt *Marandonna Mahastane,* the Son of *Madgora,* and *Malabande Wandige.* They left a numerous Issue of Sons and Daughters, and among the rest one named *Fimala Darma Soria Adafsyn, i. e. The Conqueror of the whole Kingdom,* (born after his Father's Death) who no sooner came to Age of maturity, but he attack'd all the Neighbouring Princes that refused to submit to his Jurisdiction; and having by degrees subdu'd them all, and establish'd himself in the Throne, by the Death of all such as had oppos'd him, he married at last *Rokech Wandige, i. e. The Beautiful Queen,* his Sister's Daughter, by whom he had a numerous Issue of Sons and Daughters, from whom the present Kings are descended.

## CHAP. II.

*The first Arrival of the Portugueses in the Isle of Ceylon, under the Command of Laurence d'Almeida.*

*Arrival of the Portugueses in Ceylon.*

WHILE these intestine Wars were carrying on in Ceylon, *Laurence d'Almeida* by the Command of his Father was employ'd in cruising upon the *Malabometans,* who were then transporting their Effects from *Malacca* and *Sumatra* over the *Maldivie* Islands into *Arabia.* The Portugueses being inform'd of the Condition of the Island, and knowing that it was best fishing in troubled Waters, did turn their Arms against it, and after many bloody Engagements, made themselves Masters of all the Places which produce the best Cinnamon, which they used to transport in vast quantities into Europe.

*Raja Singa Adafsyn an Enemy of the Portugueses.*

At that time *Raja Singa Adafsyn* reign'd in Ceylon. The general opinion is, that he was a King's Son, and Nephew to the King of *Cora,* tho' I have often heard the Portugueses and some of the *Hollanders* say that he was no more than a Barber, who being well skill'd in divers Languages, and of a Warlike Inclination, aim'd at the Crown, and at last was so fortunate as to reduce the whole Island (after he had kill'd all the Great Men) to his Obedience. This King being a declar'd Enemy of the Portugueses, he besieg'd *Columbo* with a powerful Army, and reduc'd them in a short time to

such extremity for want of Provisions, that the Garrison knowing the Governour to be averse to come to a Capitulation, they at first broke out into injurious words, and at last resolv'd (unless they receiv'd Relief from *Goa* in a week's time) to kill their Officers, and to surrender at Discretion. But the Governour being advertis'd of their Design by one of his Pages, did all that lay in his power to keep the Soldiers in Obedience with fair Promises, till the arrival of the so long wish'd for Succours from *Goa,* which having defeated the *Indian Fleet,* they forced them to raise the Siege.

This *Raja Singa Adafsyn* having made himself Master of the whole Kingdom, except *Gale* and *Columbo,* forced the Emperor *Mahadafsyn* to fly the Country, who in his pursuit scattered his Treasure of Gold and Jewels upon the Road, thereby to stop the pursuit of his Enemies. *Raja Singa* being thus become Master of the Empire, constituted *Vinne Lamantia* one of the late Emperor's Favourites, Governor over the Highland Countries, whose Son, named *Don Jon,* afterwards obtain'd the Sovereignty. *Ti Vinne Lamantia* finding himself in a condition to cope with his new Master, took up Arms against him, and

of the Eye-appli-  
the Crown, but  
War againſt his  
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Marriage betwixt  
the Son of Mad-  
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having brought over the greateſt part of the Country (grown weary of the Tyrant) to his ſide, was proclaimed Emperor, under the Title of *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, i. e. *The Deliverer of the Empire*.

This War being carried on with various Succeſs for a conſiderable time, the *Portugueſes* got time to breath, and induced *Raja Singa* to come to a Compoſition with *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, offering him the whole Treafure he had taken of *Mahadajyn* the late Emperor, provided he would reſign the whole Sovereignty into his Hands.

Whilſt they were treating of the Peace, *Vinne Ladarma* had a Son born him (who bearing his Father's Name, ſuc-

ceeded him in the Empire) but he was ſcarce a Year old, when *Raja Singa*, not thinking himſelf ſecure in the late Treaty concluded with *Vinne Ladarma*, he at laſt found means to cajole him to his Court (notwithſtanding thoſe of *Candy* ſtrongly oppoſed it) where he was no ſooner arrived, but being ſeized upon with all his Attendance, *Raja Singa* order'd him to be buried in the Ground up to his Breſt, and ſo to be kill'd by the means of certain Wooden Balls, which were thrown at his Head, till his Brains were daſh'd out, the chiefſt of his Attendants being likewiſe put to death by the Tyrant's Orders.

*Baldew*

*Is betray'd to Court*

*And murder'd.*

An Uſurper Stoned to Death



*Candy*  
conquer'd  
by *Bala*.

This done, he bent all his Force againſt *Candy*, and having made himſelf Maſter of the whole Country, ſold many of the Inhabitants for Slaves, and diſarm'd the reſt, making the Empreſs his Priſoner. The *Zingaleſes* being much oppreſs'd by the Tyrant, who forc'd them to carry Earth and other Materials upon their Heads for the building of Fortifications all the way betwixt *Candy* and *Settavaca*, ſought for Relief by the *Portugueſes*, who

glad of ſo favourable an opportunity of ſtrengthening their Intereſt in that Iſland, ſent *Andrew Furtado* a great Warrior with a conſiderable Force to *Yapampnam*, which he ſurprized, and having got the King of that Place in his power, requir'd his Content and Aſſiſtance to paſs through his Country for the Relief of *Candy*. The Inhabitants of that Kingdom being not yet enter'd into any Treaty with the *Portugueſes*, were not

*The*  
*Portugueſes*  
*enter'd into*  
*the*  
*Zingaleſes*

a little surpriz'd at the sudden arrival of the *Parangys* (so they call Foreigners) fearing (which prov'd true afterwards) that instead of their pretended Delivery they should only change their Slavery; which the cunning *Portuguese* Generals having well foreseen, had brought *Don John* and *Don Philip*, the last Uncle of *Donna Catharina*, and both educated in the *Romish* Religion, to *Candy*, the last of which he constituted King, and *Don John* Generalissimo; leaving *Donna Catharina* the Daughter of the late Emperor *Mahadajyn*, and the sole Heiress of the Empire, at *Manaar*. He also took care to give notice of his coming to those of *Candy*, with full Assurances that he was come for no other end than to deliver them from the Usurper's Yoke, which had so good an effect upon them, that they enter'd with him into an Offensive and Defensive Alliance against *Raja Singa Adajyn*.

Enter on  
to an Alli-  
ance with  
them.

The Usurper got soon scent of this Treaty, which made him advance with a Potent Army towards *Jafnapatnam*,

to prevent the *Portuguese* from marching to *Candy*; but these were too nimble for him, and coming to *Candy* before he was arriv'd in that Kingdom, immediately crown'd *Don Philip* King, and declar'd *Don John* Generalissimo, under condition that both should marry *Portuguese* Ladies, and the Inhabitants take an Oath of Allegiance to the King of *Portugal*.

*Don John* in the mean time seeing *Don Philip* prefer'd before him by the *Portuguese*, conceiv'd a mortal hatred against them, but thought fit to dissemble it, till he should meet with a favourable opportunity of shewing his Resentment. With this intention he took care to have *Candy* fortified so, as not to fear any thing from *Raja Singa*, and the Royal Palace (lately demolish'd by that Usurper) to be rebuilt with more Splendor than before, for the Reception of the new King, tho at the same time he consulted with a certain famous Sorcerer how to remove the said King by Poison, which he effected afterwards.

### CHAP. III.

*Don Philip* poison'd. *Don John* succeeds him. He routs *Raja Singa*, who dies soon after. His Secretary *Janiere* takes up Arms against *Don John*.

THE *Portuguese* fearing not without reason the approach of *Raja Singa*, had fortified *Gommoor*, and sent *John de Melo* in Company of certain Religious Men to *Manaar*, to bring them fresh supplies of Men, Arms, and Ammunition to *Candy*, the Inhabitants whereof were all disarm'd by the Usurper, having first introduc'd *Don Philip* in great Pomp, and plac'd him in the Royal Palace with the general Applause of the Inhabitants.

Don Philip  
entirely at  
Candy.

But he scarce tasted the first Fruits of his Greatness, when *Don John* (taking the opportunity of the absence of the chief of the *Portuguese*) got some Poison administred to him, which not having the desir'd effect, he gave him another Dose, which put an end to his Life; and by promises of great Rewards and other Enticements, brought most of the Inhabitants of *Candy* over to his side, who declar'd him their Emperor, and gave him the Title of *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, after his Father, mention'd before to have been murder'd by the Command of *Raja Singa*.

Is poison'd  
by Don  
John.

Is made  
Emperor  
by him.

The *Portuguese* fore-boding them-

selves no good from *Don John*, whom they knew to be their Enemy, sent Messengers after Messengers to *John de Melo* at *Manaar*, to represent to him their dangerous State, wherein they found themselves not mistaken: For no sooner was *Don John* seated in the Throne, but he sent a Herald to the *Portuguese* in Garison at *Gommoor*, who upbraiding them with Perjury and perfidious Designs, order'd them in the Emperor's Name to quit their Posts within five or six days, which if they refused, they must expect no Quarter. The *Portuguese* finding themselves unable to resist his Power, and despairing of the desir'd Relief, thought it their safest way to come to a Capitulation with *Don John*, who granted them a free Passage with their Swords only, being forc'd not only to leave all their Booty, but also their Bag and Baggage behind them.

The very next day *John de Melo* arriv'd with the Succours from *Manaar*, but too late, whilst *Raja Singa* was advancing towards *Candy*, threatening a most severe Revenge to the Inhabitants of that Country. *Don John* finding himself now desti-

tute

tute of the assistance of the *Portugueses*, and understanding that his Enemy had pitched his Tents near *Walane*, was forely put to it how to cope with so great a Force; but being oblig'd either to fight or quit his Advantage, he resolv'd to engage the Enemy, cost what it would: for which reason having afresh taken the Oath of Allegiance from the Inhabitants, and furnish'd them with Arms (such as they could get in haste) he advanced towards them in order of Battel. *Raja Singa* being not a little surprized at his Boldness, sent him word, that *He had best take warning by his Father Vinne Ladarma Soria's Death, and that in case he refused to submit to his Mercy before it was too late, he must expect no other Treatment than to be cut in pieces.* Unto whom *Don John* smiling, sent for answer, *That he would take care to put it out of his Power, and if his Father had been as cautious of him as he was resolv'd to be, he need not have come to so lamentable an end, to revenge which he was come to this Place;* exhorting him at the same time to implore his Mercy before it was too late. *Raja Singa* was so exasperated at this Message, and the Aversion he found in the Inhabitants of the Country, that he declar'd, *He would punish with Death all that should oppose him;* and so order'd his whole Army to march to *Donlan*, with an Intention to surprize that Place, before *Don John* could come to its Relief. *Don John*, tho he knew himself much inferior in number, yet resolv'd to follow him close at the Heels; and to put the better Countenance on the matter, march'd in great Pomp, with most splendid Umbrellos born before him, and such other Royal Ensigns, as the Kings in those Countries use in their Wars. *Raja Singa* seeing *Don John* thus bravely advancing towards him, resolv'd either to vanquish or to die gloriously in the Enterprize, could not forbear to break out into these Words, *Verily Don John is a courageous Warrior, and I presage that one day or other he will ascend the Throne. O Raja Singa! Where is thy noble Boldness, where are all thy great and ambitious Designs, where thy Fortune which no body could resist! I am afraid of a sudden Change; O changeable Fortune, why hast thou turn'd thy Back towards Raja Singa, who was once thy Favourite!*

Thus the Signal being given, the Battel began, wherein *Don John* and his Forces gave way at first, the better to bear the first Assault of the Enemy; but afterwards *Don John* at the Head of his Guards, charg'd them so furiously, that

(notwithstanding *Raja Singa* did all that could be expected from a Great Captain) *Baldau.* they were forc'd to give way, and at last to seek for their Safety in their Heels: And so he return'd victorious to *Candy*, having lost no more than 700 Men in the whole Engagement; whereas the loss of *Raja Singa* amounted to above 3000, who was so dejected at this Defeat, that he struck voluntarily a Thorn into his Foot, and refusing to have his Wound dress'd, it gangren'd, and put an end to his days at *Settevaoca.* *Dies.*

He shew'd not the least remorse upon his death-bed for his Cruelties, except those committed against the Priests of *Daldowanse*, whom he caus'd to be burnt alive; for being ask'd by the Tyrant, whether the Murder he had committed upon his Uncle, Mother-in-law and Brothers, could not be forgiven, they answered, No; *Well then* (said the Usurper) *I am now at Liberty to do what I please,* and so committed them all to the Fury of the Flames, except the High Priest, called *Tireanco*, i. e. *God's Vicegerent*, by the *Cingaleses*. The Priests of *Paraneydeyo*, being ask'd the same question, forewarn'd by the Disaster of the others, gave for Answer, *That a Person guilty of such a Sin could not enter into Heaven, but if truly repenting, he might by their Intercession be brought to remain betwixt Heaven and Earth, without being sensible of the Torments of Hell.* This Answer was so pleasing to *Raja*, that he dismissed them unmolested, telling them, *That he had order'd the Priests of Daldowanse to be burnt, because they would make God delight in Evil; but you who make him a merciful God, I will always look upon as my Friends.* Just before his Death, he sent for the before-mentioned *Tireanco* or High Priest, desiring him to forgive the Death of his Brethren, offering him considerable Presents at the same time; he refused the last, but pardon'd the Crime, and so return'd to *Candy*, where he died in the 120th Year of his Age.

*Don John* had no sooner received Intelligence of *Raja's* Death, but he put himself at the Head of his Army, to take possession of the whole Kingdom. But the Chief Secretary of *Raja Singa* having got all his Master's Treasure into his Hands, and thinking himself in a capacity to cope with *Don John*, got himself proclaimed King, under the Name of *Janiere Wandaar*, and at the same time solicited for Succours by the *Portugueses*. Neither was it long before *Pedro Lopes de Sousa* arriv'd from *Goa*, at the Head

The Priests of Daldowanse burnt.

Raja's remorse for that Action.

Janiere usurps the Crown.



*Baldam.*  
Sends for  
Assistance  
by the Por-  
tugueses.

Head of 12500 *Portugueses*, besides a good number of *Assijees* and *Indians*, which occasion'd no small Conternation in *Don John's* Army, who had been lately Spectators of the Ravages committed by those of *Gale* and *Columbo* (with the assistance of the new King) in the *Low-Lands*, and therefore had all the reason to fear so strong a Force of the *Portugueses* ready to join with his Enemies. However *Pedro Lopes* finding the *Low-Lands* laid desolate (the best of the Country) and consequently promising himself but small Advantages by his Stay, was for returning to *Cota*, had he not been opposed by the rest of the Officers, who alledged, that the best part of the late King's Treasure remain'd as yet entire at *Candy*; and that in order to make themselves Masters of the whole Isle, they must take this Opportunity of conquering the Petty Princes one after another, which they put in execution accordingly. For having partly by Force, partly by Promises, brought the Kings of the *Low-Lands* over to their Party, it was agreed to assemble a strong Army against *Don John*. The Quota's of the several Princes to be furnish'd for this Expedition was regulated in the following manner.

The King of *Cota* 6800 Men, four War-Elephants, 50 other Elephants, 1800

Oxen for Carriage, and 1000 *Cols* or *Pioneers*. King *Janiere Wandaar Ragora* 28980 Men, 24 War-Elephants, 200 others, 5000 Oxen for Carriage, 3000 *Pioneers*. The Kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* 19900 Men, 10 War-Elephants, 40 of the common sort, 3000 Oxen, and 2000 *Pioneers*. The King of *Cotiar* 7980 Men, 600 *Pioneers*, 1000 Oxen, 30 War-Elephants, 25 others. The K. of *Palagan*, 5890 Men, 1000 *Pioneers*, 3 War-Elephants, and 25 others. The King of *Bateklo* 9800 Men, 2000 *Pioneers*, 2500 Oxen, 4 War-Elephants, and 30 others. The King of *Pannu* in conjunction with some other Princes, 59896 Men, 2140 *Pioneers*, 630 Elephants, and 16000 Oxen. So that the whole Number of these Forces amounted to 151086 Heads, among whom were 139246 fighting Men, and 11740 *Pioneers*, 75 War-Elephants, 1000 other Elephants, and 20500 Oxen for Carriage. The Quota of the *Portugueses* under *Pedro Lopes* amounted to 1474 *Portugueses*, 1200 *Mistees*, and 1224 *Indians*, 47 War-Elephants, 945 others, and 19900 Oxen.

The first thing they took care of was to secure their Retreat, by erecting 3 Forts, call'd *Manikeroweri*, *Mapati* and *Gannatari*; which done, they directed their March with their joint Forces towards *Candy*.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Don John draws out his Forces against Janiere and the Portugueses, attacks them with Success, but is routed at last. Donna Catherina declared Empress, Janiere murdered.*

*Don John routed.*

**D**ON John having received Intelligence of their March, was put to a great Nonplus what course to take in this Exigency of his Affairs, his whole Army consisting of no more than betwixt 30 and 40000 Men: but knowing them to be resolute and entirely devoted to his Interest, he kept as close to the Enemy as possibly he could, and in several Engagements got the better of them, till at last being attack'd with incredible fury by the *Portugueses*, they put him to the rout, and took the City of *Malone*, with the Loss of 49 Men only on their side, killing above 1500 of the Inhabitants, which struck such a Terror into the rest, that the whole Country submitted without the least Opposition, except *Dallejagge*, which they were not able to take.

*Don John* not being able to rally his scattered Forces, retired with his Em- press into the Woods and Deserts, where they were forced to feed upon Herbage for some time; and the *Portugueses* being now Masters of the Country, required the *Cingaleses* to own the King of *Portugal* for their Sovereign Lord. These on the other hand desired that *Donna Catherina*, the Daughter of *Mahadsajyn* their Legal Emperor, might be brought from *Mansar*, and declar'd their Empress: *Don Pedro Lopes* being well enough pleas'd with this Proposition, yet willing to consult with *Janiere* about the matter, he found him not averse to it, his Intention being to marry her with the consent of the *Portugueses*, who had underhand promised the same as a Reward of his Services done to them.

1000 Colys or Pi.  
Wandaar Ragas  
elephants, 2000  
riage, 3000 Pi.  
of Jafnapainam  
elephants, 40 of  
Oxen, and 2000  
Cottar 7980 Men,  
30 War-Ele-  
K. of Palugan,  
rs, 3 War-Ele-  
The King of Ba-  
Pioneers, 2500  
and 30 others,  
conjunction with  
96 Men, 2140  
and 16000 Ox-  
lumber of these  
086 Heads, a-  
fighting Men,  
War-Elephants,  
2500 Oxen  
ta of the Portu-  
amounted to  
Mistries, and  
Elephants, 943

ok care of was to  
recking 3 Forts,  
ti and Gama-  
ted their March  
wards Candy.

deses, attacks  
and Empress,

e to rally his  
with his Em-  
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These on the  
nna Caterina,  
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g to consult  
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ention being  
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His Services

Accordingly a numerous Train and splendid Equipage was sent to bring the new Empreſs to Candy; but one of the Ships foundring at Sea in a Storm, 150 Soldiers, a great Number of Slaves, and two Cheſts with Money were loſt with her: one Portuguese and two Negroes only had the good Fortune to eſcape of the whole Ship's Crew, who heard the Captain of the Ship, whoſe Name was Perere, take his laſt Farewel in theſe Words, *O brave Perere, Is it thus thy Fate to be ſwallow'd up by the Sea! but ſince it is God's Will, Patience; Chriſt receive my Soul.*

In the mean while all imaginable Preparations being made for the Reception of Donna Caterina, ſhe was preparing for her Departure from Manaar: As ſhe was carry'd along in her Litter or Chair, one of the Poles of Cane happen'd to break, which the new Empreſs looking upon as an ill Omen, ſhe cry'd out aloud, *Stop, ſtop, don't carry me any further, for this portends ſome great Miſfortune.* Un- to which the Governor of Manaar, who attended her Perſon, reply'd, *May it pleaſe your Maieſty, we ought to conſider*

*that we are no Heathens but Chriſtians, and muſt therefore deſpiſe ſuch Superſtitions; God will be the Supporter of you and your Cauſe.* Then the Empreſs bid them take another Pole, and ſoon after embark'd with a fair Wind, which carry'd her in 8 days to Candy.

Here ſhe was met by Pedro Lopes the Portuguese General, and ſeveral of the Cingaleſe Kings and Princes, attended by a great Number of Nobles, who paid their Reverence (according to the Cuſtom of the Country) by lying their Faces flat upon the Ground, this they call Sambaja. The Empreſs ariſing out of her Litter, return'd them hearty Thanks, and returning to her Litter was accompanied into the City by Lopes and the before-mention'd Princes with incredible Pomp, and under the general Acclamations of the People, who were infinitely pleas'd with the Gold and Silver that was thrown among them, as the Cavalcade march'd along, which was ſo ſplendid, that the whole Charge thereof amount- ed to 1900000 Livres, the Remnants of the Treafure of the late deceaſed Ufurper, Raja Singa Adaſeyn. Donna Cater-

Baldous.  
Leaves  
Manar.

Her Recep-  
tion at  
Candy.



*Catherina* after having rested herself from the Fatigues of the Voyage for three days, was crown'd with the usual Solemnities, and put into possession of the Empire.

About that time *Don John* came in the disguise of a Beggar into *Candy*, where he set several Houses on fire, in hopes of firing the whole City, but was frustrated in his Design, the Fire being always quenched in good time, tho it often broke out in divers Places at once.

The *Portugueses* suspecting the Matter, offer'd a Reward of 10000 *Pagodes* (20000 Crowns) to any that could take him dead or alive, which made *Don John* desert from his Enterprize, and to return to his Desert.

The *Portugueses* finding themselves now in the quiet possession of the Country, were no longer able to disguise their natural Vices, their Pride, Avarice and Insolence, which occasion'd frequent Complaints to the Empress, but without Redress; which oblig'd the Inhabitants to enter into an Association to deprive 'em of all Subsistence, by cutting off their Supplies of Provisions: This oblig'd the *Portuguese* General to send in conjunction with King *Janiere* *Wandaar*, 2000 *Cingalese* and 1000 *Portugueses*, to the *Dukedom of Ouree*, and 2000 *Indians* and 200 *Portugueses* to *Halalmia* beyond *Candy*, to fetch in Rice and other Provisions.

The *Portuguese* Soldiers, tho they were very well received by the Inhabitants, yet did they commit all manner of Insolences in their Quarters, even to the ravishing of their Wives, killing their Children, and setting their Houses on fire; so that the *Cingalese* finding themselves in a worse condition now than they were under their tyrannical Emperors, entered into a Conjuraton to kill the *Portugueses* at a certain appointed time.

In the mean while *Janiere* solicited the *Portuguese* General *Lopes*, for leave to marry the Empress *Catherina*; which he handsomely deny'd, alledging, that he could not consent to it, without special Order from the King of *Portugal*, but that he would write to the King about it. *Janiere* looking upon this only as an Excuse, desir'd to let him marry his Sister's Daughter; which being likewise refused by the General, *Janiere* conceived from that Moment a mortal Hatred against the *Portugueses*, and could not forbear to tell the General, that He did not expect to have met with such a Reward for the Services he had done them, swearing that they should have occasion to repent it. The *Portuguese*

being somewhat exasperated at this unexpected Reply, told him that he ought not to take it amiss, if he denied him what was not in his Power to give, viz. *Donna Catherina* the legal Heiress of the Empire, to him who had usurped the Title of a King, merely by being got into the possession of the Treasure of *Raja Singa Adajeyn*, but that he should be very ready to serve him upon any other occasion. *Janiere* being put out of all Patience by these insulting Words, replied smartly, *I am sensible of your Design; you that came here as Strangers, now you have got your Ends thro my means, are the first who would tyrannize over me.* Then recollecting himself, he began to turn the Discourse, dissembling his Resentment; but the same Night dispatched a Letter to *Don John* in the Desert, wherein he advertis'd him of what had pass'd betwixt him and the *Portuguese* General, offering him the Empire, provided he would receive him as King of the *Low Lands*; which *Don John* approving of, they enter'd into a confederacy to rid their hands of the *Portugueses*.

Things being thus settled, *Don John* began to appear among the *Cingalese* (already much exasperated against the *Portugueses*) representing to them the Danger they were in, and how he was resolv'd in conjunction with *Janiere* to drive 'em out of the Island; which they readily accepted of, promising all the assistance they were able to give. But as *Janiere* sent frequent Letters to *Don John*, it happened that some of them fell into the hands of the *Portugueses*, who being thereby fully convinc'd of the Design carried on against them, begun, not without great reason, to fear, that unless they consented to the Marriage of *Janiere* with *Donna Catherina*, they would scarce be able to maintain themselves in the Isle.

A Council being called for this purpose, they were much divided in their Opinions, some being for consenting to the Marriage to prevent farther Mischief, and to have *Don John* murder'd; whilst others were for hazarding all, rather than to consent to the Match, and to have *Janiere* murdered, under pretence that he had laid a Design to murder the Empress and the General; for which purpose some forged Letters were to be produced, to justify their Conduct.

To encompass this Design, they took the Opportunity, when *Janiere* was one day in conference with the *Portuguese* General and some other Officers: The General seeing him have a Scymeter on his

Difference betwixt the *Portugueses* and *Janiere*.

Refused to be Dead.

perated at this un-  
him that he ought  
if he denied him  
ower to give, viz.  
al Heirs of the  
ad usurped the Ti-  
by being got into  
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g Words, replied  
of your Design; you  
angers, now you have  
means, are the first  
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an to turn the Dif-  
Repentment; but  
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ettled, Don John  
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Don John, it hap-  
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all, rather than  
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erence that he  
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aniere was one  
Portuguese Ge-  
ers: The Ge-  
cymeter on his  
side

side beset with precious Stones, he de-  
red to let him see it, feigning that he  
liked it so well, that he would take it for  
a Pattern to have such another made after  
it. Janiere not suspecting their Design,  
unadvisedly parted with his Scymeter,  
which was no sooner done, but a certain

Portuguese Captain (upon the Signal giv-  
en by the General) did run him thro the  
Body with his Sword, his Attendants  
undergoing soon after the same Fate.  
His Guards being advertis'd thereof:  
cry'd out, *Haddy, Haddy, Treason, Treason,*  
*Radgore Janiere Maruque, King Jani-*

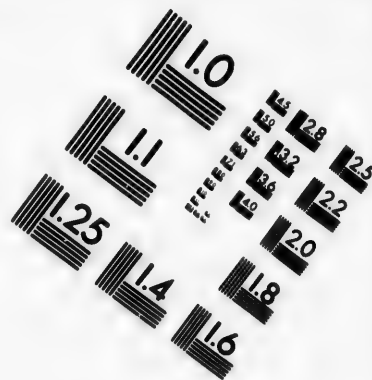
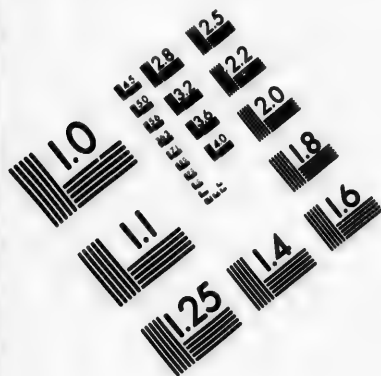
*Baldau.*



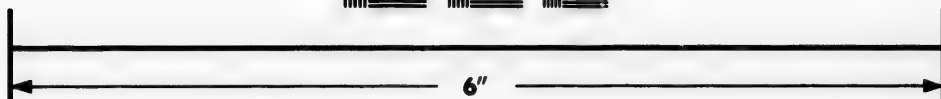
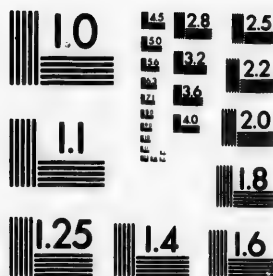
ere is murder'd; wacn being a Signal to  
the rest, all the Indians left the Portuguese  
Camp, except the King of Cota with his  
Forces, who had not immediate notice  
of this most detestable Murder.

The Portugueses did all they could to  
justify their Proceedings upon this account  
to the Empress, who (tho but young)  
being highly displeased thereat, told  
them, *That supposing he was a Traytor, he*  
*ought not to have been thus barbarously mur-*  
*der'd, but either kept a Prisoner, or at least*  
*had the benefit of a Legal Trial.* Rest as-  
sured, added she, *that this treacherous Fall*  
*will turn to your Ruin; for who is it that*

*bears of it, but will curse you, and*  
*never trust you in whatever you pretend to?*  
*And alas, said she, how ill have you served*  
*your King and me, who am likely to be in-*  
*volued in your Ruin? Be therefore upon your*  
*Guard, for you will pay dearly for having*  
*rewarded thus a Man who had done you such*  
*signal Services.* These Words, tho com-  
ing from a young Woman, and scarce  
well initiated in the Fundamentals of  
Christianity, were actually fulfill'd af-  
terwards, when the Portugueses were dri-  
ven by our Forces out of *Batecalo, Gale,*  
*Columbo, Negumbo,* and last of all out  
of *Jafnapatnam.*



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## CHAP. V.

*The Portugueses leave Candy, are routed by the Cingalefes. The Empreſs taken Priſoner. Don John becomes Maſter of the Empire; Marries Donna Catherine. Jeronimo Oriedo defeated.*

Don John improves the Fall to his advantage.

**D**ON John was not wanting to turn the Hatred of the People (which muſt needs enſue upon ſo barbarous a Fact) to his advantage, and to repreſent the perfidious Deſigns of the *Portugueſes* in the worſt colours, offering them his Aſſiſtance againſt theſe Foreigners, as he had done before againſt *Raja Singa*; which ſucceeded ſo well, that they reſolv'd unaniſmouſly to ſide with him, in order to drive them out of the Country.

The Portugueſes leave Candy.

The *Portugueſes* having receiv'd intelligence of the great Preparations made againſt them, and that *Don John* was advancing with his Army towards *Candy*, began now, but too late, to repent of the Murder of *Janiere*; and ſeeing their Ruin at hand, unleſs they took timely care of their Safety, they retreated from *Candy* to the Fort of *Gannoor*, whence they ſent to *Columbo* for Relief. The *Cingaleſes* having got notice of their Flight, purſu'd them ſo cloſely, that many of them fell into their hands, eſpecially of thoſe Detachments ſent to *Goa* and *Halalmia* for Proviſions, ſo whereof they ſent back with their Ears, Noſes and Privy Parts cut off, in revenge of the Ravifhments committed upon their Wives and Daughters.

Are mercifully treated by the Cingaleſes.

The *Portugueſes* were ſo terrify'd thereat, that finding themſelves deſtitute of all hopes of Relief, they reſolv'd likewiſe to leave *Cannoor*, and to retire to *Walane*, which they put in execution 1509. on a Sunday; and the better to cover their Flight, or at leaſt to divert the *Cingaleſes* from purſuing them, ſet the circumjacent Country on fire. But theſe preferring their Revenge before all other Conſiderations, follow'd them at the heels, and attack'd them moſt furioſly in four ſeveral Parts at once. The *Portugueſes* defended themſelves moſt courageouſly; but being over-power'd in Number, were forc'd to give way with the loſs of many of their beſt Soldiers, either kill'd or taken Priſoners, among whom was the *Portugueſe* General *Lopes* and *Donna Catherine*. The General dy'd within three days after of his Wounds, after he had recommended his Son to *Don John's* care, who was afterwards by him (pursuant to his Promise) ſent to *Columbo*.

Pedro Lopes and Donna Catherine taken Priſoners.

The *Indians* got a conſiderable Booty, beſides a vaſt Quantity of Arms, Cannon and Ammunition, in this Engagement; and *Don John* purſuing his Victory with the utmoſt vigor, made himſelf Maſter of all the Forts belonging to the *Portugueſes*; ſome by Aſſault, the Garriſons whereof he put to the Sword; ſome by Compoſition, which was punctually obſerv'd. All which ſtruck ſuch an Amaze-ment into the circumjacent Kings and Princes, that they appear'd in Perſon before him, and asking Pardon for their having been engag'd with the *Portugueſes*, brought him conſiderable Preſents, and did him Homage with the uſual Solemnity of proſtrating themſelves with their Faces to the Ground.

Don John reſtores the dom.

Being thus ſettled a ſecond time in the Throne, he thought it the ſafeſt way to ſecure himſelf of the Fidelity of his Subjects by marrying *Donna Catherine* (the being then but 12 years old) which was celebrated with great Solemnity for 110 days ſucceſſively; notwithstanding which the Charges thereof did not amount to above 5000 *Pagodes*: But the Preſents beſtow'd upon many of the Nobility (to reconcile them to his Intereſt) to no leſs than 968754 *Pagodes*, or 4859538 *Dutch* Guilders, making the Sum of 194381 Rixdollars. His next Care was to ſtrengthen his Frontiers by three ſtrong Forts; and he built himſelf a Palace, ſurrounded with ſeveral Bulwarks, wherein he employ'd the Captive *Portugueſes*, who, to their great grief, were forc'd to ſee their Enſigns diſplay'd upon the Towers of their Enemies.

Mari D. Catherine.

*Don John* having for ſome time enjoy'd the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Throne, *Don Jeronimo d' Oriedo* was ſent in the quality of *Portugueſe* General to *Ceylon*, with a conſiderable number of Land Forces, compos'd of *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes*, brought thither from *Goa* and other Places on the *Indian* Coaſt. Having by great Preſents brought over to his ſide moſt of the Princes of the *Low-Lands*, he order'd ſeveral Forts to be erected to ſerve him for a Retreat upon occaſion. *Don John* was ſo far from annoying his Men in perſecting theſe Fortifications, that he ſeem'd to deſpiſe it, ſaying, *Let them go on, I will find*

Oriedo Portugueſe General in Ceylon.

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*if a way to pull down as fast as they can build:* But understanding that the *Portugueses* were advancing towards *Walane*, in order to surprize *Candy* (where they intended to erect a strong Fort betwixt *Triquenam* and *Palugan*, to bridle the Country) he attack'd them in their March; so that a most furious Battel ensu'd, which remain'd dubious for some time, the *Portugueses* fighting like Lions; but at last were forc'd to yield to the number of their Enemies, who pursu'd them for five days as far as *Columbo*; they keeping their Ranks close, and making good their Retreat with unspeakable Bravery, tho not without considerable Loss

on their side. Among their Wounded was *Oriedo* the General, who was oblig'd to King *Cota* for his Liberty, he having conceal'd him in some retir'd Place, with-  
at which he had infallibly fallen into the hands of the *Indians*. These, tho not a little tir'd with so long and troublesome a Pursuit, yet in their return made themselves Masters of the new *Portuguese* Forts, and cutting the Garisons in pieces, laid them level with the Ground. This Victory prov'd so considerable to *Don John*, that during his Life *Oriedo* either durst or could not attempt any thing further against him.

Baldew.

## C H A P. VI.

*Dominico Corré goes over to Don John: Besieges Gale, but is repuls'd. Simon Corré returns to Columbo. The Portugueses miserably massacred. Joris van Spilbergen comes to Ceylon.*

**A**Bout that time *Dominico Corré*, a renowned Soldier (known by the name of *Goliath*) being disoblig'd by the *Portugueses*, came over to *Don John*, having first cut off the Noses and Ears of several Monks who had offended him. He also entic'd *Corke Bandaar*, a revolted Prince, into *Don John's* Camp, who caus'd him to be tormented to death, and bestow'd his Principality upon *Dominico Corré*, to whom they gave the Name of *Idel Soria Bandaar*. Whilst he was doing Homage to the Emperor, a very large Tree that stood hard by, split in two pieces, without being touch'd; which the Inhabitants (a superstitious Generation) interpreted as an ill Oomen.

Not long after the Emperor sent a considerable Army under the Command of *Dominico Corré*, and his Brother *Simon Corré*, to besiege *Gale*: But the *Portugueses* defended themselves so well, that the greatest part of this Army was ruin'd, and *Dominico* himself taken Prisoner, whom the *Portugueses* (contrary to their Promise) carry'd to *Columbo*, where he was privately murder'd. This barbarous Action so highly exasperated *Don John*, that he order'd some *Portugueses* to be kill'd by the Elephants, others he cut off their Noses and Ears, and sent them to *Columbo* to tell the General, that in case they did not set all the Prisoners at liberty, the *Portugueses* in his hand should receive the same Treatment.

The Soldiers in Garison at *Columbo* see-

ing this miserable Spectacle in their Companions, broke out into a Mutiny against the General, who by murdering *Corré* against his Parole, had given occasion to this Disaster. There was nothing to be heard among them but, *Kill the Dog, kill him*; whilst *Jerónimo d'Oriedo* cry'd for Mercy. Notwithstanding which, a whole Troop of them were advancing with their drawn Swords against him, and had certainly kill'd him upon the spot, had not some Monks thrown themselves (to their no small danger) betwixt him and them, and speaking to the Soldiers, calling them Gentlemen, and begging them for the Love of Christ, not to act against the Crown of *Portugal* in the Person of their General, appeas'd their Wrath; tho even then the General was forc'd to hide himself in a Convent, till the Tumults could be entirely appeas'd, which was not till 16 days after.

Notwithstanding the barbarous Usage *Simon Corré* had met with from the *Portugueses*, his Brother *Simon Corré* went over to them, pretending to the Emperor that he intended to advance towards *Columbo* to revenge his Brother's Death. He was very honourably receiv'd by the *Portugueses*, who not only bestow'd the Government of a Province upon him, but also marry'd him to a *Portuguese* Lady, whom together with his Son (begotten in this Marriage) they kept as Pledges of his Fidelity, whilst he was employ'd in carrying on the War against *Don John*.  
How-

*Baldens.* However having got intelligence that the Portuguese had form'd a Design against the Life of the said Don John, he gave notice thereof to him, desiring him to be upon his guard.

*Emanuel Dias pre- tends to come over to the Portu- gueses.*

1602.

The Emperor being willing to be fully satisfy'd in a Matter of such moment, apply'd himself to one Emanuel Dias, who being formerly a Foot-boy to the Portuguese General Lopez, was advanc'd by the said Don John to the Dignity of one of his Gentlemen of the first rank, and had receiv'd many other Favours at his hands. Emanuel Dias, willing to contribute what lay in his power to his Master's satisfaction, propos'd to go to Colombo, under pretence of having deserted his Service, but in truth to dive into the real Design of the Portuguese. Accordingly he arriv'd at Colombo on Easter-day 1602. where he propos'd to Don Jeronimo Oriedo several ways of murdering Don John, and that with so much assurance and seeming probability, that he was highly careis'd by that General, who agreed with him concerning the Method how the Design should be put in execution. For this

purpose five Portuguese were pitch'd upon to share the Danger and Glory of so brave an Action (as they stil'd it) among whom were three Captains, viz. Christian Jacobo, Alberto Primero, and Gaspar Perere. Emanuel Dias being promis'd no less a Reward than the Crown of Candy, play'd the Hypocrite so artificially, that he took a solemn Oath upon the Crucifix to be true to his Trust, and so he was dismiss'd to Walane with a good Sum of Money, from whence he return'd to Candy.

There he gave an account to the Emperor how Measures had been concerted betwixt Don Jeronimo and him, that a certain Body of Troops should be posted near the Fort of Walane, to be ready at hand to surprize that Place as soon as they should receive the Signal of the Murder of the Emperor being put in execution; for which purpose those who had undertaken that Task were within a limited time to appear near Candy. Hereupon the Emperor advanc'd secretly in the night time at the head of a good Body of Troops to Walane, where the before-mention'd Accomplices appearing accord- ing

*He de- ceives Portuguese.*

*Betrays them.*



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ing to agreement, well arm'd with *Japaneſe Scymeters*, call'd *Trassados*, they were kindly receiv'd by *Emanuel Dias*, and introduc'd into the Emperor's Preſence; but ſoon after were ſeiz'd by his Guard, and the Signal given at the ſame time from the Fort of *Walane*. So that the *Portugueſes* believing every thing to have ſucceeded according to expectation, advanced with all poſſible ſpeed towards the Fort, where they queſtionleſs would have met with ſo warm a reception, that few of them would have return'd home, had not a certain Servant, who had deſerted from the Enemy, diſcover'd the whole matter to them, which made them retreat with all ſpeed towards *Columbo*, leaving all their Baggage and ſome Arms a Prey to the Enemy. *Emanuel Dias* got a vaſt Reputation by this bold Enterprize, and was rewarded with vaſt Preſents by the Emperor; but the five *Portugueſes*

were after a long Captivity put to a moſt painful Death.

About this time the *Dutch General Joris Spilbergen* coming with two Ships on the Coaſt of *Ceylon*, went to *Candy* on purpoſe to ſalute the Emperor in the Name of the States of the *United Provinces*, and his Excellency Prince *Maurice of Naſſau*; and was favourably receiv'd by *Don John*, and diſmiſs'd with conſiderable Preſents. Having left *Eraſmus Martens* and Mr. *Hans Pempel*, two very good Muſicians, there, he return'd highly ſatisfy'd, 3 Sept. 1603. by the way of *Matecola* to *Acben*. But the *Portugueſes* were not a little diſſatisfy'd at his arrival there, as fearing that in caſe the *Dutch* ſhould enter into a Confederacy with the Emperor, their Stay would not be long in that Iſland, which proved true afterwards, they being quite chafed thence in the Year 1658.

*Baldew.  
Joris Spil-  
bergen  
comes to  
Ceylon.*

1503.

## C H A P. VII.

*Sebald de Weert comes to Ceylon. Great Diſſatisfaction betwixt the Emperor and him. Is murdered. Don John falls ſick, and dies. His Qualifications.*

*Sebald de Weert* and *Vibraads van Warwick* came ſoon after into *Ceylon*, where they entred into agreement with the Emperor. Afterwards they ſail'd to *Acben* to aſſemble more Forces, and landing at *Matecola* with 7 Ships, 26 Apr. 1603. *De Weert* gave notice thereof to the Emperor, who deſir'd him to come and put an end to the Conferences begun before, for the conſummation of the Treaty. *De Weert* coming into the Emperor's Preſence, was ask'd by him why he had ſet the *Portugueſe* Priſoners at liberty; which, as it had been done unadviſedly, ſo he made the beſt Excuse he could upon that ſcore, which being not ſatisfactory to the Emperor, cauſ'd in him no ſmall ſuſpicion; the ſame was much augmented by what his Ambaſſador (who had been with the Vice Admiral *De Weert* at *Acben*) related to him, that during his ſtay with the *Dutch* he could not obſerve but that they were Friends of the *Portugueſes*, whereof they had given ſufficient Proofs, when they ſet the *Portugueſe* Officers that were their Priſoners, above him at the Table. He further added, that he had received information from credible hands, that the Vice-Admiral intended to invite the Emperor and the chiefſt men of his

Court, aboard his Veſſel to a Banquet; but in effect, to detain them Priſoners, and make themſelves Maſters of the Country: That he had thought it his Duty to give this Caution to his Majeſty, that he might not truſt the *Dutch*, and thereby with the reſt of his Princes be drawn into the Snare, to the irreparable ruin of the whole Country.

*Don John* finding the Ambaſſador's Reaſons not to be ill grounded, and having conceiv'd no ſmall jealousy at the Vice-Admiral's diſcharging the *Portugueſe* Priſoners contrary to his Promise, it was debated in Council, whether they ought to treat with him any further, or break off the Treaty already begun. After various Deliberations, it was agreed to endeavour to perſuade the Vice-Admiral to ſail with his Fleet to *Gale*, in order (according to mutual Agreement) to beſiege that Place, whereby they would not want opportunity to judg of his Conduct in reference to the *Portugueſes*.

*Sebald de Weert* ſoon after invited the Emperor aboard his Veſſel, which he re-  
fuſ'd, alledging that the chief Men of the Empire did not approve of a thing never known before. *De Weert* ſeeing the Emperor reſolute in his reſuſal, de-  
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*De Weert  
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*Sebald de  
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comes to  
Ceylon.*

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the Empe-  
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baſſador.*



*Baldew.*

*Which is refused.*

fir'd him to do him the honour of coming only to the Sea-shore to view his Ships, and that he had order'd a Tent to be pitch'd there for his Reception. The Emperor not only refused also this Offer, but his Suspicion was increased, the before-mentioned Ambassador whispering him in the Ear, *Are you now sensible, my most gracious Lord, that I was in the right, and that they intend to catch you in the Snare?* And the Dutch Vice-Admiral *De Weert* being not a little disturb'd at so flat a Denial, told him frankly, that since *His Majesty* did not think fit to come either aboard him, or at least to the Shore, he was resolv'd not to fight for him against the Portugueses. *Don John*, tho not a little exasperated at so bold a Reply, yet dissimbl'd his Anger, telling him only, that he should pursuant to his Promise, sail to *Gale* with his Fleet, whilst he would take a turn to *Candy* to visit the *Empress*, who was alone there, his Bro-

ther-in-law having taken a Journey to the Frontiers; and that from thence they would hasten with all their Forces to the Siege. *Sebald de Weert* being somewhat heated with strong Liquor, reply'd indiscreetly, *That certainly the Empress could not be in distress for a Man, and that he was resolv'd not to sail to Gale, or to fight against the Portugueses, before the Emperor had done him the honour of viewing his Ships.*

*Don John*, who was naturally a choleric Person, was so incens'd at this Answer, that he left the Room, and in going out said, *Bind the Dog*; whereupon four of his Gentlemen advanced to lay hold of him, but he endeavouring to draw his Sword, and making a noise to call his Attendants to his Assistance (who were left near the Sea side by the Emperor's order) they laid hold of him from behind, and one of them splitting his Head with a Scymeter, laid him dead upon the ground.

*De Weert speaks with rage much below himself.*

*Which proves the occasion of his Death.*



The Prince of *Ouwe* being the only Person who durst give an account to the Emperor of what had happen'd, he appear'd somewhat disturb'd thereat, asking him, *why they did not make him a*

*Prisoner, according to his order: whereupon the Prince telling him, that it was impossible to be done, because he stood upon his Defence; Don John reply'd, Nay since he sought for his Death let him have it.* And of this *And of this*

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and let his Attendants follow their Master; which was put in Execution immediately, scarce any one of those that came ashore with him escaping the fury of these Barbarians, except a Boy named Isaac Plevier, a Native of Flissingen, who was still alive, and in the then Emperor's Service, 22 Nov. 1614. Some few also had the good fortune of escaping by swimming to the Ships.

The Emperor soon after went to Candy, from whence he writ these few Lines in Portuguese to the Commanders of the Dutch Vessels; *Que bebem vinho, nao he bon. Deos fes justitia; se quizeres paz, pas; sequires guerra; guerra: i. e. Who drinks Wine is not good; God shews his Justice; If you desire Peace, you shall have Peace; if War, War.*

However Don John did not survive long this barbarous Action, being seiz'd with so violent a burning Fever, that to cool himself he was kept in cold Water without any Relief: He also drunk frequently of the Water of the Brook call'd *Hal gradoje*, betwixt *Ouve* and *Mataveste*; which being so cold, as not to be held in the Mouth without shivering, yet could not in the least quench his Thirst. He often bewail'd the barbarous Murder of the Dutch, but said that *De Weert* had no more than what he deserv'd. Thus languishing for some time in continual Agonies, he was in no condition to dispose of his Affairs, but ended his Life in Misery 1604. He left behind him one Son, named *Mabastenne Adascyn*, and two Daughters, one named *Soria Mahadascyn*, i. e. Beloved Sunlight, the other *Cathan Adascyn*, i. e. Beloved Peace; all three born from *Donna Catherina*, call'd by the *Cingaleses* *Ma-*

*habandige Adascyn*, i. e. Beloved Empress.

*Don John* was a valiant and great Captain, as his whole Life sufficiently testifies; he was tall of Stature, and well limb'd, black, and rustical in his Speech: He had gather'd a vast Treasure of Gold and Jewels, and had founded many Forts, Palaces, and publick Inns, call'd by the *Cingaleses* *Ambolan*, i. e. *Resting Places*. He kept a strict Hand in the Government; and as he never pardon'd Crimes, so he was very liberal to all such as behav'd themselves well in their Civil or Military Stations, on whom he confer'd Honours and Riches. He was a compleat Statesman, and stood firm to his Engagements with all Foreign Princes except the *Portugueses*, upon whom looking with a jealous Eye, he had conceiv'd a mortal hatred. As he despised all Religions, so he allow'd the free exercise thereof to all without distinction.

The Corps of the deceased Emperor was no sooner interr'd with extraordinary Magnificence, but the Great Men of the Kingdom began to divide into several Factions, every one aiming at the Crown: The most potent among them was the Prince of *Ouve*, who publickly set up for the Empire, but was opposed by *Cenuwieraat*, Brother-in-law to the late Emperor, who pretended to be Regent for his Nephew (his Brother's Son) till he should come to Age of Maturity. *Donna Catherina* well foreseeing the ill Consequences that might ensue upon those Pretensions, declar'd her self Regent of her young Son, and by taking off the Heads of some of the most suspected Lords, remov'd the present Danger, and appeased the Troubles that threatned her Ruin for some time.

C H A P. VIII.

*Divisions among the Great Men in Ceylon. The Prince of Ouve murder'd by Cenuwieraat, who marries Donna Catherina the Empress.*

THE *Portugueses* rejoic'd at the Death of *Don John*, sent Messengers after Messengers to *Goa*, to advertise the Viceroy of this welcome News, and to desire his Advice in this juncture. The said Viceroy being of opinion, that they ought to engage in an Alliance with *Donna Catherina* (as a means to make themselves masters by degrees of the whole Isle) the same was proposed accordingly, but rejected by *Donna Catherina*.

Vol. III.

*rina*, who told them, that she would remain Sovereign Mistress in her Territories. However the Princes of the *Lowlands* being sorely oppress'd by the Incursions and Ravages committed in their Territories both by the Prince of *Ouve* and the Emperor's Brother-in-law, hearkened to the Enticements of the *Portugueses*, and enter'd into a Confederacy with them.

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*Baldern.* The Empress being not a little disturbed at these intestine Commotions, fearing she should be sacrificed to the prevailing Party, call'd a General Assembly of all the Lords of the Empire, who all appear'd accordingly in Person, except the Prince of *Ouwe* and *Cenuwieraat* *Adasjyn*, who thereupon were by Proclamation declar'd Rebels by the Empress, and their Estates confiscated. However *Cenuwieraat* having given sufficient Reasons for his Absence, and the Prince of *Ouwe* having at the Intercession of his Friends obtain'd his Pardon, they afterwards appear'd at Court, but well guarded, neither Party trusting one another.

Prince  
*Ouwe* re-  
solves to  
kill *Cenu-*  
*wieraat*.

Things thus passing on for some time, the Prince of *Ouwe* resolv'd, after the Conclusion of the Assembly of the States, to rid his hands of *Cenuwieraat*, and afterwards to secure to himself the Crown by marrying *Donna Catherina*: but *Cenuwieraat* having got scent of this Design, resolv'd to be before-hand with him; to accomplish which, he disturb'd his thoughts, shewing to the Prince of *Ouwe* upon all occasions most singular marks of his Respect and Friendship. But having in the mean while strengthened his Interest by ingaging most of the Great Men to his side, he took his opportunity when they were both going to take their leave of the Empress: For coming at the outward Gate, the Prince of *Ouwe* would have given the Precedency to Prince *Cenuwieraat*, as descended from the Imperial Blood; which he refusing to accept of, told him that it was his due, by reason of his Age: so that, after some time spent in Compliments, Prince *Ouwe* went in first, and was instantly run through the Back, and laid dead upon the ground by *Cenuwieraat*, who said no more than, *Traitor, thou hast thy Reward*; and so retiring to his People, left the City immediately.

Is murder-  
ed by *Cenu-*  
*wieraat*.

Those belonging to the Prince of *Ouwe* hearing of the Murder of their Master, run thro the Streets, crying out, *Treason, Treason*, which put the City into such an Alarm, that the People (believing the Empress was kill'd) cut all to pieces they met with, so that the Streets were every where fill'd with Horror and Slaughter, which would have continued longer, had not *Donna Catherina* by shewing her self to the People, somewhat appeas'd their Fury. However, they not ceasing to exclaim, and uttering most horrid Threats against the Prince of *Cenuwieraat*, for the Murder of Prince *Ouwe*, the Empress, to prevent further Mischief,

Is appeas'd  
by the Em-  
press.

thought it her safest way to prohibit under pain of Death, that any Injury should be done to Prince *Cenuwieraat*, declaring that what had been done was done by her own Orders; which somewhat settled the Minds of the People.

But her thoughts were very different from what she shewed to the People, having conceived such a Horror at the Fact, that she resolv'd not to let it go unrevenge'd upon the Prince *Cenuwieraat*. He being advertised hereof by his Friends, kept constantly upon his guard, not neglecting in the mean while to have it represented to the Empress (not without good reasons) that he had been forced to undertake this Fact for his Self-preservation and the Welfare of the Kingdom, her Majesty and his Brother's Children: which had so good an effect upon the Empress, that by the Mediation of certain Great Men a Match was concluded betwixt the Empress and him, as the most proper means to restore Tranquillity to the Empire. At his Coronation he took upon him the Name *Camapati Mahadajsyn*.

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Married  
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press.

He no sooner saw himself establish'd in the Throne, but he apply'd himself to the *Hollanders*, in order to enter into an Alliance with them against the *Portugueses*, as will appear out of the Sequel of this History.

For their High and Mightinesses the States-General of the *United Provinces* having 1609. made a Truce for twelve years with Arch-Duke *Albert* and *Isabella Clara Eugenia* Infanta of *Spain*, by virtue whereof it was among other matters agreed, that the same should take place also in the *East-Indies*: The then Directors of that Company being willing to improve this Interval for the better settling their Commerce in these parts, did petition their High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Prince, to send their Letters to all the *Indian* Kings and Princes to enter into a Confederacy with them; which being granted accordingly, the said Letters, with certain Articles and Instructions, were by the Directors of the said *Dutch East-India* Company dispatch'd immediately to the *Indies* aboard the *Greyhound* Yacht, Capt. *Wemmer van Berchem* Commander: which done, they equipp'd a Squadron of Ships, which set sail out of *Holland* the 30th of *January* under the Command of *Peter Both*, Governor-General of the *Indies*, and arriv'd safely the 18th of *November* following at *Batam*, with full power from their High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Prince, to enter into such

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Alliances with all the Indian Kings and Princes, as they thought most expedient for the settling of their Commerce, and

ruining that of the Portugueses in those parts.

*Said xix.*

C H A P. IX.

Letters from the States-General of the United Provinces, and Prince Maurice, sent by Marcellus de Boschhouwer to the Emperor of Ceylon.

THE Letters from their High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Prince of Orange, to the Emperor of Ceylon, were as followeth.

Most Potent King !

IT has pleased the Almighty God through his Mercy so to bless our Arms, taken up for the maintaining of the Rights and Privileges of our Native Country against the King of Spain and Portugal, that after a bloody War carried on 42 years successively both by Sea and Land, the said King being convinc'd of our Unanimity, Power and Constancy, supported by the Strength of our Friends and Neighbouring Allies, has thought fit to make us the same Offers, for which we had been oblig'd to commence a War, viz. to declare us a free People, independent from his Power; and that he was inclin'd to enter upon a Treaty of Peace or Truce with us for a considerable number of years. Which Offers (after mature deliberation) having been accepted by us, a Treaty was set on foot accordingly with the said King of Spain and Portugal, which being brought to a Conclusion the 9th of April last past, a Truce was agreed upon for 12 years next ensuing, by virtue whereof all the Subjects of this State are not only at liberty to carry on their Traffick, Commerce or Navigation in all the Kingdoms and Countries where they used to enjoy the same before the War, but also in all other Countries, Kingdoms or Princes, and with all other Nations or Provinces without exception; and with this Proviso, that neither the King of Spain and Portugal, nor his Officers and Subjects, shall in respect of this Traffick hitherto carried on, or to be carried on for the future, molest or be troublesome (either directly or indirectly) to our Subjects, or those belonging to any King, Prince, or

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other Superior Power, with whom we have any Commerce; and that your Majesty, as well as all other Kings, Princes, States and Nations, as well in the Indies as in other parts, shall be comprehended in the said twelve years Truce, and not be molested or attack'd on account of their Friendship and Commerce with us. But if (contrary to our Expectation, and the solemn Promise made by the King of Spain and Portugal, confirm'd by his Hand and Seal) it should happen that your Majesty's Subjects and Countries should be involved in any Troubles with the said King, either by Sea or Land, by reason of their Friendship, Alliance or Commerce with us, your Majesty may rest assur'd, that we shall want neither Will nor Power, neither Ships, Ammunition nor Forces, as well of our own, as of such other Kings and Princes our Allies, as are Guarantees of the said Treaty, and have engag'd to see the same executed in all its particulars, and consequently in respect of your Majesty's Dominions, as well as of all other Countries and Dominions both in the Indies, and elsewhere, to protect and defend your Majesty's Dominions and Subjects against all Aggressors, who upon that account shall molest them. We don't doubt but that some of the King of Spain and Portugal his Creatures and Officers will be apt to insinuate into your Majesty, his Subjects, and other Kings, Princes, Nations and Republicks, a quite different Sentiment of the said Treaty. But we assure your Majesty by these Presents upon our Faith, without any tergiversation, unto which your Majesty and Subjects, and all other Kings, Princes, Nations and States may give entire Credit, and desire that your Majesty will be pleas'd to rely upon it accordingly, to the firm Settlement of a mutual and good Correspondency, Navigation and Traffick betwixt our Subjects; we on our

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*Baldew.* "side will not be wanting to entertain the same with the utmost Sincerity, confiding in the Omnipotent God, the King of Kings, who knows the depth of the Hearts of Men, that he will be pleas'd to take both your and our Subjects into his Protection, and increase their well-being thro his Power and Mercy. Dated in the Hague, Sept. 15. 1609.

Subscribed,

*A. Coenders.*

And somewhat lower,

Your Highnesses most hearty Friends  
the States-General of the United  
Provinces, by their Order and  
Command,

*C. Aertzen.*

"Maurice Prince of Orange, Earl of Nassau, Catzenellebogen, Dieft, Vanden, Meurs, Marquess of Vere and Vlissingen, Governour, Captain and Admiral General of Guelders, Holland, Zealand, West-Friesland, Zutphen, Utrecht, Over-Ijssel, &c.

Most Potent King,

*Pr. Maurice's Letter to the Emperor.*

"GOD protect your Majesty, and give you all the Blessings upon Earth. We have for a considerable time been engaged in a War against the King of Portugal, in order to oppose his ambitious Designs, the same Motive having induced your Majesty to defend your Dominions against his Attempts; the Almighty God has been pleas'd to bless our Arms with such Success, as to oblige our Enemy to a twelve Years Truce, which by the Mediation of several neighbouring Kings has been brought at last to a happy Conclusion: But, finding that the said King did continue his Warlike Preparations, and imagining that the same was intended chiefly, in order to attack your Majesty and some other Princes in the Indies, our Allies (after being bereaved of our Assistance) we thought it absolutely requisite, not to agree to the said Truce, unless your Majesty were included therein, together with the rest of our Friends and Allies. Whereupon the same was concluded at last, under condition, that we and all our Friends and Allies should enjoy full Liberty, to send our Ships into what Countries we pleas'd without any Molestation from the Por-

"tugueses; and that in case your Majesty, or any other of our Confederates, should be attack'd by him, we should deem the same as done to our selves: to accomplish which we shall be ready upon all Occasions to be assistant in revenging any Damages done upon that Score to your Majesty, or any other of our Allies. We have some reason to suppose, that the Intention of the said King is, to separate by this Artifice your Majesty from our Interest, which ought to be a mutual caution to us, to be upon our Guard for the future; for since the occasion of dividing us by Force of Arms is removed, they will not be sparing to attain to their end by Fraud and other Sinister Means. It is therefore, that we have order'd our Governour-General, to treat with your Majesty, and to find out such means, as may be most proper to prevent their Intrigues, and to unite us against those, whose Word and Faith we dare not altogether rely upon. We did not think fit to stipulate in the said Treaty, that his Subjects should be excluded from the Traffick of Ceylon, but left the same to your Majesty's Discretion, not questioning, but that according to your Wisdom and Understanding, you will act in that respect, so as that nothing may be transacted that may tend towards the Dissolution of our Alliance, which we hope the Almighty will maintain by his Blessing, to the Honour of his Holy Name, and the Welfare of your Majesty, and our Beloved Subjects.

Dated in the Hague  
Octob. 5. 1609.

*Maurice de Nassau.*

The Superscription was as follows.

"To the most Illustrious and most Noble  
"Emperour of Ceylon, King of Candy, Trinqueemale, Jafnapatnam, Sette-Corles, Manaar, Chilaw, Coia, Battecalo, Punte-Gale, our Beloved Brother in the Wars.

These Letters were no sooner brought in the Greyhound Yacht to Coromandel, but the Director of our East-India Company there, named John van Wesick, ordered immediately Marcellus de Boschhouwer our Under-Factor, aboard the Ship called the Black Lyon, to Ceylon along with Peter Both, a Native of Amersfort, Commodore, bound likewise for that Island.

C H A P.



CHAP. X.

Baldew.

Marcellus de Boschhouwer comes to Candy. His Treaty and Agreement with the Emperor of that Isle.

Marcellus de Boschhouwer coming accordingly, March 8. 1612. to Candy, had Audience of his Imperial Majesty Cennuierast Adasyn, unto whom having delivered the before-mentioned Letters, the Emperor received him with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy, placing him on his side on a Chair of Gold, clad in a White Garment: Whereupon the Treaty being begun, immediately the same was concluded May 11. following, upon the following Conditions.

I. This Confederacy shall be kept inviolably, and stand firm for the future.

II. All Hostilities shall cease, and a general Amnesty be granted.

III. In case the Portugueses should attack his Majesty, the States-General shall be obliged to assist his Majesty with all their Forces.

IV. His Majesty grants leave to the Dutch, to erect a Fortress at Cotiarum, provided the King of Cotiarum may enjoy his Customs and other Revenues.

V. The Emperor obliges himself to furnish Bricks, Lime and other Materials for the building of the said Fortress, as also Labourers to be paid by the Company.

VI. His Imperial Majesty shall take care to have Ware-houses of Stone or Brick erected at Candy, for the Security of our Company against Fire.

VII. His Majesty shall take our Ships and Seamen under his Protection, and defend them to the utmost of his Power against the Portugueses, as the Hollanders shall be obliged to do the same, in respect of his Majesty's Subjects.

VIII. His Majesty obliges himself to transact nothing in all Military Affairs, that have any relation to our Company, without the Knowledge of their Officers; for which purpose two Hollanders shall sit constantly in his Council of War, to be present at all Debates, and other Matters to be transacted there.

IX. He engages himself to have all the Merchandizes of the Dutch carried upon Beasts fit for Carriage to Candy, and such Commodities as are bought there, to be carried back to the Sea-shoar at Cotiarum, at his own Charge.

X. In case any Vessels, Sloops or Boats, should happen to be cast away on these Coasts, his Majesty's Subjects shall be obliged to save as much of the Goods as they can, without any Reward, for the use of our Company.

XI. The Dutch shall be permitted to export their Merchandizes, without exception, Custom free.

XII. All and every one of his Majesty's Subjects shall be at Liberty to traffick with our Company.

XIII. His Imperial Majesty obliges himself to purchase any Rarities, or other uncommon Commodities at such a rate, as may bear a proportion, in respect of other Commodities agreed upon with our Company in their Exchanges.

XIV. His Majesty engages to deliver yearly all the Cinamon that is to be got to our Company, to be paid either in Money or in Merchandizes, according to the usual Exchange.

XV. It is agreed, that not any sorts of Merchandizes shall be delivered to such Persons, as are entred into Contracts of Commerce with the Hollanders, before the Natives of Holland are satisfied in this Point; and in case the contrary be prov'd, their Persons and Goods shall be detain'd, till they have made good the said Contract.

XVI. His Majesty shall not allow free Commerce to any of the European Nations, without peculiar Consent from their High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Prince of Orange.

XVII. His Majesty obliges himself to furnish Timber and other Materials, for the building of Vessels, Yachts and Boats, to be delivered upon the Shoar.

XVIII. All Prisoners taken on both sides shall be released.

XIX. All the Officers of the Dutch Company shall be exempted from his Majesty's Jurisdiction; and if any of them happen to commit any Treasons, they are to be punished by the Heads of the Dutch Company, as his Majesty's Subjects shall enjoy the same Benefit.

XX. His Majesty obliges himself to dispose of all his Precious Stones and Pearls to the Hollanders, as they on their side engage to sell all their extraordinary Jewels, Precious Things and other Rarities,

ties, at a reasonable Rate; but in case any difference should arise upon that account, the same shall not be alledged as a Reason for the dissolving of this Confederacy.

XXI. For the same Reason his Majesty and the States-General, shall maintain this Alliance inviolably, and assist one another upon all Occasions.

XXII. All Acts of Hostility committed on both sides, shall be buried by a general Oblivion.

XXIII. No body, except his Majesty, shall have Power given him to coin Money, or to enhance the Value of the Coin, beyond what has been agreed betwixt his Majesty and the *Hollanders*, in proportion to the Money transported hither from *Holland*; and if any of his Majesty's, or our Subjects are found to have coin'd false Money, they are to be punished with Death.

XXIV. His Majesty and the *Hollanders* shall agree upon the most proper Methods for settling both the larger and lesser Coin, for the promoting of Traffick.

XXV. Such Coin as shall be adjudged current by both Parties, shall be changed every three Years by turns, once at *Candy*, and the next three Years in one of our Places.

XXVI. The Coin shall be either enhanced or lowered, according to the present exigency of Affairs in time of War.

XXVII. All the *Indian Nations* shall be free to come and traffick in their own Vessels, in his Majesty's Dominions, without paying any Customs, for the space of three Years next ensuing.

XXVIII. After the Expiration of the Term of these three Years, his Majesty shall be at Liberty to enter into a Treaty with the Plenipotentiaries of their High and Mightinesses, concerning the Rate of Customs of all Commodities.

XXIX. His Majesty agree that their

High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Pr. of *Orange*, shall enjoy one Moiety of all the Customs, for which purpose certain Commissioners and Clerks shall be appointed by the Consent of both Parties.

XXX. All the Prizes taken on the Coast of *Ceylon*, shall be divided share and share alike, betwixt your Majesty on the one side, and their High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Prince of *Orange* on the other side; provided that what Prisoners are taken, shall be ransom'd, but never put to Death.

XXXI. All Factors or other Officers belonging to their High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, shall give Passes to such of your Majesty's Subjects as intend to traffick in those Parts; as his Majesty shall do the same, without which they shall be liable to be seized, and their Goods confiscated.

XXXII. His Majesty, their High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, shall be obliged to take effectual Care, to have the Roads and Passages both by Sea and Land, in the Isle of *Ceylon*, to be kept well and clear from Highwaymen and Pirates; for which purpose his Majesty obliges himself to furnish Timber, for the building of Gallies and other Vessels, for the clearing of the Seas; and in case any Highwaymen or Pirates are taken, they shall be punished with Death.

XXXIII. His Imperial Majesty, their High and Mightinesses, and his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, do promise to keep this Confederacy inviolably, to the utmost of their Power, nor to suffer the same to be violated by their Subjects; to inflict severe Punishments upon such as shall go about to violate it, and give full Satisfaction for all Damages sustained upon that account.

## CHAP. XI.

*Marcellus de Boschhouwer desires leave to depart, which the Emperor will not consent to. Has considerable Dignities bestowed upon him. The Portugueses rob and murder the Dutch at Cotiarum. The Emperor convenes the Estates of the Empire. The Portugueses routed near Jafnapatnam.*

*Boschhouwer desires to be dismissed.*

THE Articles of this Confederacy being thus concluded, Mr. *Boschhouwer* desir'd leave from his Imperial Majesty to depart, with the Elephants that were ready to carry certain Commodi-

ties to *Tegnapatan*, for the use of the Dutch Factory there; from whence he might go to *Paliacata*, to give the Dutch Governor of that Place an account of his Negotiation. But the Emperor and his Coun-

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Council were not willing to consent to his Dismission, alledging, that since according to one of the before-mention'd Articles, they were oblig'd not to transact any thing in Warlike Affairs, without the Knowledge and Consent of the Dutch, it was require he should stay with them for that purpose. These Reasons prevail'd so far with Mr. *Boschbouwer*, that he resolv'd to stay; and the Emperor heap'd Favours after Favours upon him, having created him Prince of *Migonne*, *Koc-kelcorle*, *Ananagepora*, and *Alumitigai*, Knight of the Order of the Golden Sun, President of the Council of War, the second Person in his Privy Council, and Lord High Admiral: and he knew so well how to improve the Emperor's good Opinion of his Person, that scarce any thing of Moment was undertaken without his Advice.

In the Year 1611. Jun. 20. the Portuguese took the Field, with a Body of 1000 Portuguese, and 3000 Indians their Allies, under the Command of *Simon Carré*; and having got a certain *Candinese* for their Guide, they march'd thro' unknown ways to *Cotiarum*, where they surpriz'd the Dutch belonging to Mr. *Boschbouwer*, put them all to the Sword, and plunder'd the Place, and then retir'd with all Speed to *Sette Corle*, for fear of being overtaken by the Emperor's Forces.

For the Emperor had no sooner notice of their March, but he sent a Body of 5000 men, commanded by *Marafinge Attile*, an old experienc'd Captain, and under him *Mayyndappo* and *Vire Segre*, two brave Noblemen, to *Cotiarum*; but coming too late, they pursu'd the Portuguese Day and Night, till they overtook them near *Sette Corle*, kill'd 23 Portuguese, 600 Indians, set several Villages on fire, and return'd with many Prisoners and a good Booty to *Candy*.

About the same time an Envoy of the King of *Palugam* came to Court, representing that *John Sangati* his Master's Brother, and King of *Podere*, was enter'd into an Alliance with the Portuguese, in order to deliver all his Harbours into their Hands, and afterwards to carry on a War against his Imperial Majesty with their Assistance. Hereupon the King of *Podere* being summon'd to appear at Court at a prefix'd time, he sent an Envoy to clear his Innocence with the Emperor, unto whom he represent'd the Perfidiousness of the King of *Palugam*, who had kill'd his own Brother at *Table*, for no other reason, but that he might be sole Master of the whole King-

dom, offering besides to remain there as a Hostage for his Master's Fidelity. The Emperor, tho' not very well satisfy'd with the King of *Podere*, by reason of his not appearing in Person; yet considering, that what had been alledg'd by his Envoy, concerning the Murder of his Elder Brother, was no more than Truth, and that certain Differences were arisen lately betwixt them about the Customs of the River of *Palugam*, one half whereof was allotted by the Estates to the King of *Podere*, he dismiss'd the Envoy well satisfied, resolving to suspend his Judgment, till time should unfold the matter.

The Emperor having bent his Thoughts upon a War, he convened the Estates of the Empire, viz. *Idole* King of *Cotiarum*, *Gelle Wandaar* King of *Palugam*, *Comaro Wandaar* King of *Batecalo*, *Corre Wit-tiy Raelhamy* Prince of *Ouwe*, *Marcellus de Boschbouwer* Prince of *Migonne*, *Alster Raelhamy* Prince of *Vellene*, *Jalagode Rale* Prince of *Cotomale*, *Mewater Rale* Prince of *Mewater*, *Wik Ponessinge* Earl of *Quatre Corle*, *John Sangati* Prince and Lord of *Podere*, *Cole Rale* Duke of *Ode*, *Jatte-nore* Brother of the Prince *Jalagode*, *Gael Heberad* Governour of the County of *Har-cipate*, *Europe* Governour of the County of *Odogo d' Askeri*, *Wanategere* Governour of the Province of *Matere*. In the same Assembly appear'd also the Governours and Commanders in chief of the lesser Provinces, and the Ambassador of the King of *Tasnapanam*, the King of *Patania* being the only one, who tho' summoned by a peculiar Letter, dated July 16. 1611. made several frivolous Excuses for his not appearing there.

Among other matters of the greatest Moment, it was resolv'd in this Assembly to raise an Army of 50000 Men, one half whereof was to be employed in the Siege of *Puntagale*, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Ouwe*; the other against *Walane*, under the Command of the Prince of *Migonne*: And in case they met with good Success, both Armies were to join and attack *Columbo*. For the carrying on of this Enterprize, 4 Millions and 500000 Livers were to be rais'd. Concerning the Differences betwixt the King of *Palugam*, and his Brother *John Sangati*, they were both enjoin'd under pain of Death, not to hurt one another, till the matter could be further enquir'd into.

A High Court of Judicature was also settled, to examine and decide all such Matters, as before that time us'd to be de-

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determined by the Emperor and his Privy Council. The Judges of this Court were, the Prince of *Migonne* President, the Prince of *Ouve*, the Prince of *Velaren*, and the Prince of *Cottomale*. None of the inferior Courts were to take cognizance of criminal Matters, without the approbation of this High Court, from whence no Appeal was to be allowed. The Prince of *Ouve*, the Prince of *Migonne*, the Prince of *Velaren*, the Prince of *Cottomale*, and the Earl of *Quatre Corle*, were appointed Members of his Majesty's Privy Council.

It was also further decreed, that not only Liberty should be granted, but also Houses and Lands allotted to such Seamen as would settle in his Majesty's Dominions; by which means they proposed to get in time a sufficient number of able Seamen to man their Gallies, of which three were order'd to be built immediately, with some other Vessels, to cruize upon the *Portugueses* on the Coast of *Orixia* and *Bengale*, &c. It was also agreed, that no Quarter should be given to the *Portugueses* and their Confederates, unless they were Women or Children; and that a Pardon should be published for all Deserters that would return within 60 Days into his Majesty's Service, which was done accordingly at *Candy*, 23 July, 1612.

Portugueses march  
to Jafnapatnam.

Whilst these things were transacting, Advice was brought that the *Portugueses* were on their march towards *Jafnapatnam*; whereupon the Emperor having sent part of his Forces design'd for the

Expedition against *Walane* and *Gale*, to observe their Motions, they attack'd the Reer of the *Portugueses*, who imagining no otherwise than that the whole Force of the Emperor was on their back, were soon brought into confusion; but finding their Mistake, rallied again, and retreated towards *Columbo*, making themselves Masters in their March thither of the Dukedom of *Migonne*, where they committed all manner of Cruelties. The *Modeliar* or Governor being accus'd of having betray'd his Trust, sent a Letter to the Prince of *Migonne*, wherein he declared, that after having sustained three Assaults, he was forced to surrender; adding, that they were ready to shake off the *Portuguese* Yoke with the first opportunity that offered, tho the *Portugueses* had taken most of their Wives and Children, (and among the rest the Governor's Wife) along with them, as Hostages and Pledges of their Fidelity, to *Columbo*. They sent also a Present to their Prince, as a Token of their Obedience. The Letter was dated 30 Aug. 1612. by the Command of the chief *Viseo Modeliar*.

The Prince, after having consulted about this Letter with the Emperor, sent answer, that he was extremely concerned at the loss of his Country and Subjects, exhorting them to persist in their Fidelity, and that as soon as possible he would appear among them at the Head of the Imperial Army.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Death of the Hereditary Imperial Prince. His Funeral. The King of Panua rebels, is taken Prisoner, and kill'd, with all his Adherents.*

Death of  
the Imperial  
Prince.

ABOUT the same time the Hereditary Imperial Prince *Mabaftanne*, Son of the late Emperor *Don John*, died after a Sickness of six days. The occasion of his Death was variously reported; but the general Opinion was that he had been poisoned by *Cenawierat* his Father-in-law, to make way for his eldest Son *Comara Singaftanne* to succeed him in the Empire. Certain it is that his Death was generally lamented, the Guards were doubled all round the Imperial Palace, and great Preparations made for his Funeral, which was perform'd the 23d of August in the Afternoon. The Empress especially gave most evident Marks of her Grief, calling

him at parting, *Her own precious Flesh and Blood, her only Hopes, Life and Satisfaction*, vowing to revenge his Death, and not to take any Nourishment, that she might follow her Son. She did afterwards fall into a Swoon, and was fain to be remov'd out of the Room by her two Daughters, who also were melted in Tears.

The Corps of the deceased Prince being expos'd to the view of the People, they broke out into most lamentable Exclamations, crying, *Where is the Traitor that murder'd our Prince? We will tear him to pieces.* So that the Emperor fearing a general Insurrection, got the Prince of *Migonne* and the Prince of *Ouve* to tell them,





*The Funeral Pomp of y<sup>e</sup> Royal Prince.*





them, that the Prince was not poison'd, but died of a Fever, which somewhat appeas'd the Tumult. The Corps being put into a Mourning Herse adorn'd with Gold and precious Stones, was carried to the place of Burial in the following manner :

*His Funer-  
val.*

First of all went the Prince's Musicians, clad in black *Gingam* or Linen; then the Musketeers and Pikemen, three in a Rank: These were follow'd by the Shield-bearers and Halberdiers with their Halberds downwards: After these came 40 War-Elephants guided by as many Gentlemen, and 8 *Persian* Horses led by eight Knights of the *Golden Sun*; and after these the Grooms of the Bed-chamber all richly attir'd. Then came the Scepter and Crown, carried each upon a black Velvet Cushion, and the Prince's Arms. These were followed by the Corps attended by eight of the greatest Lords of the Country; then the Empress's *Palankin* or Litter attended by 16 with Fans, four Umbrello's, and eight *Betel* Boxes, as also a Nofegay of Gold to be worn by the Emperor only. After these came the Emperor supported by the Princes of *Migonne* and *Mewater*, follow'd by the chief Lords of the Empire and the Governours of the Provinces. They pass'd along the Streets under several Arches made of fine Stuffs and Plaster-work. The Corps being deposited on the Place of Burial with a deal of Solemnity, the Priests mutter'd out certain Prayers, and the common People express'd their Sorrow by frequent mournful Outcries.

*The Place  
of Burial.*

The Place of Burial (called *Hona* by the *Cingalese*) was a four-Square raised from the Ground seven Steps high; It was level on the top, and adorned with several Rows of Trees. In the midst of it was the Grave, into which the Lords who had carried the Corps threw a great quantity of Sandal-wood, and sweet-scented Spices; and having put the Corps upon it cover'd with the same Spices, as high as a Man could reach, they also poured in amongst it three large Vessels full of Oil of Cinnamon, and another with Butter. Over the Grave was erected a large Canopy rising up like a Pyramid of seven Foot high, under which stood the Lords whilst the Ceremony lasted: which being over, the Prince of *Migonne* took a Bundle of Straw, which was given him by the Prince of *Arume*, and a golden Chafindish with Fire, and two lighted Torches, and being attended by the said Prince of *Arume* and two Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, set fire to the Spices and

Corps in the Grave, under the most dreadful Ejaculations and Outcries of the People, which lasted till the Corps was quite burnt to Ashes; which done, the whole Train return'd to Court to condole the Empress and her Daughters.

In September Advice being brought to Court that the King of *Panua* had join'd the *Portugueses* against the Emperor, and that the King of *Cotiarum* intended to follow his Footsteps, the Emperor with the Advice of his Privy Council sent his Letters dated the 23 Sept. to both these Kings, to make their personal Appearance at Court within 16 days, under the forfeiture of all their Estates, and Banishment. The King of *Cotiarum* happening to be ill at that time, he sent his Uncle to know the reason of his being summoned to Court, and thereupon appeared in Person on the 9th Oct. following, giving such Proofs of his Innocence, that he was soon clear'd by the Emperor. But the King of *Panua* knowing himself guilty, did not think fit to appear; so that it was resolv'd to reduce him by Force, his Defection having put a stop to the Expedition against *Walane* and *Gale*. Accordingly the Princes of *Migonne* and *Ouwe*, at the head of an Army of 35000 men, march'd 1 Jan. 1613. directly towards *Panua*, with a resolution to destroy all with Fire and Sword: But the Inhabitants finding themselves not in a condition to oppose so formidable a Force, sent Deputies with Presents to the Princes, desiring they might be spared, as having no hand in this Defection; which being granted, they were amerced in 45000 *Larynen* (besides their yearly Tribute) amounting just to two Months Pay of the whole Army, and to give Hostages for the King's Appearance at Court in 5 or 6 days after.

Accordingly he was no sooner come there, but being brought before the Privy Council, his Accusation was read to him in Writing, viz. "That he had entred in to an Engagement with the *Portugueses* against the Emperor, and was to have marry'd the young Princess *Hantan Adascyn*, and with her as a Dowry the Kingdoms of *Batecalo* and *Palugam*: "That he had despised the Emperor's Order in not coming to Court; and hired a certain Russian for 5000 *Larynen* to murder the Emperor, with a Promise of 20000 more, and certain Possessions, after the same was accomplished, as appeared both by his own Hand-writing, and the Confession of the Russian. Which being so evident

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against him, that he had scarce any thing to reply, he acknowledged himself guilty, craving the Emperor's Mercy, in regard of his being descended from the Imperial Blood, and of the many Services done to the Crown by his Ancestors.

He was by Order from the Council ordered to be committed Prisoner in the Castle of *Meddema Honore*, from whence he sent a most submissive Letter to the Emperor, imploring his Mercy to save his Life, and to condemn him to a perpetual Imprisonment. About 62 Persons found to have been his Accomplices in this Conspiracy were sent to other Prisons, and afterwards punish'd with Death.

The 20th of *March* being the Day appointed for the Trial of the King and his Accomplices, 50 Lords of the Empire appointed for that purpose, after a full Hearing found them all guilty of High Treason, and accordingly pronounc'd the following Sentence: That the King of *Pannua* should be beheaded, and the rest be thrown before the Elephants, and all their Goods and Estates be confiscated. This Sentence being signed by his Imperial Majesty, was put in execution accordingly the 24th of *March* following in the Forenoon.

Accordingly a Scaffold cover'd with White (the Royal Colour here) being erected in the Castle of *Meddema Honore*, the King was brought thither, and seated himself upon a gilt Chair. He at first appear'd undaunted; but being depriv'd of all his Dignities, in the view of the People, and the Sentence read to him, he began to bewail his unfortunate Condition, asking frequently whether there were no hopes of a Pardon? Being told no, he suffer'd himself to be undress'd by some of his Gentlemen of the Bedcham-

ber (who were all in Tears) unto whom he made rich Presents of Jewels, and order'd his Chancellor (who had not had the least Knowledge of this Design) to bind up his Eyes. In the mean while the King took some *Betel* and *Arek*, and then said, *Why do we stay? Unfortunate I, what am I reduc'd to!* Then taking three turns round the Scaffold, he sat down, and taking a little *Betel* told the Spectators, *I am a King descended from the Imperial Blood; but since I must die, this is my only Request, that my dead Corps may not be left to the management of vile Persons, but be honoured with a Royal Sepulture.* Which being promis'd by some of the Lords there present, he seem'd to be well satisfy'd, and having ask'd their Pardon for what had pass'd, he had his Eyes ty'd up, and laying his Head upon a Block, it was sever'd from the Body, which (at the Intercession of the said Lords) had a Royal Sepulture allowed it by the Emperor.

After his Death *Samatway* the King's Uncle being with a general approbation declared his Successor, march'd at the head of an Army of 50000 men, the 8th of *April*, to *Pannua*, to take possession of that Kingdom, which he found involved in no small Troubles, there being a strong Party who oppos'd his Succession: But 125 of the Ringleaders being cut to pieces by the new King's Forces, the rest rest thought fit to submit. So soon as he found himself in the quiet Possession of the Kingdom, he sent back the Forces, as also the Arrears of the annual Tribute, besides considerable Presents. The *Portugueses* not long after sent their Deputies to entice those of *Pannua* with vast Promises to engage with them afresh; but these were sent back without being heard.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Emperor sits down before Walane. The Prince of Migonne equips a Squadron of Ships. The Empress falls sick, disposes of her Affairs, and dies.*

IT was not long after that the Emperor with a good Army form'd the Siege of *Walane*, and took the Castle by Assault; but his Souldiers being too intent upon the Plunder, the *Portugueses* recovered themselves, and beat them from thence. The Emperor being highly exasperated at this Miscalriage, caus'd 105 *Cingalese* to be hang'd, which prov'd of the worse consequence, because the *Por-*

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*tugueses* receiving fresh Succours soon after, he was forc'd to raise the Siege.

In the mean time the Prince of *Migonne* had not been idle to equip some Gallies and *Fustes* (small Vessels) to cruize upon the *Portugueses* between the Cape of *Cormoryn* and the Isle of *Ceylon*. The same set sail the 16th of *May* out of the Harbour of *Cotiarum*, under the Command of a Nephew of the Prince of *Ouwe*, as Admiral,

V V V V 2

*Raises the Siege.*

*ASquadron of Ships sent a cruizing.*

*Baldous.* ral, and *Wandige Nay Hanmi* Vice-Admiral. The first Gally was called the *Candy*, one *Sanderappo* Captain. The 2d call'd the *Holland*, *Kistena* Captain. The 3d the *Migonne*, one *Dingappe* Captain. The 4th called the *Fortune*, one *Ordin* Captain. 5th the *Good Luck*, one *Mara* *fin*ge Captain. 6th, The *Faithful*, commanded by Captain *Sanderappo*. These Ships returned the 6th of *March*, 1613. with a great Booty amounting to near 600000 *Livers*. For they had taken two *Portuguese* Vessels near *Chilau* to the North of *Negumbo* and *Manaar*, called *Patasios*; and three *Fustes*, besides 20 Barks which they set on fire. Not far from *Calecut* and the Cape of *Comoryn* they took another Ship, whereof they threw (according to Order) the *Portugueses* over-board, forced another ahoar, and took a *Moorish* Vessel richly laden coming from *Ormuz*, and bound for *Cochin*, and another *Portuguese* Ship coming from *Bengal*. The *Portugueses* and *Mistices* of all which they threw into the Seas, keeping only the *Portuguese* Women and *Negros*. In the Road of *Panaca* they met with another *Portuguese* Ship riding at anchor, deserted by the Ship's Crew, which they brought into the Harbour of *Cotiarum*. His Majesty order'd the Booty to be distributed among the Officers and Seamen.

1613.  
The Em-  
press falls  
tick.

In July 1613. the Empreſs *Donna Catherine* being with child, fell dangerously ill of a Fever: She ſent for the Prince of *Mignon* and the Prince of *Ouve*, unto whom (after having taken an Oath of Secrecy from them) ſhe diſcovered the whole Sentiments of her Heart, and (with the Emperor's Conſent) conſtituted them Governours of her Children. She had conceived ſuch an immoderate Grief at the Death of her eldeſt Son, the Prince of *Mahaſanne*, that ſhe would ſcarce take any Suſtenance. She declared, that nothing troubled her more, than that before her Death ſhe ſhould not ſee the Downfall of the *Portugueſes* in *Ceylon*; and would often, with a great deal of eagernels enquire, whether the expected Succours were not arrived out of *Holland*. Such was her Grief, as I told you before, about the loſs of her Son, that ſhe would ſcarce reſt day or night; which had queſtionleſs prov'd the occaſion of this Diſtemper: and ſhe was no leſs troubled how to diſpoſe of her Children after her Death; ſhe bequeathed to them all her Jewels and Treafure ſhe had been gathering for a conſiderable time; as alſo certain Legacies to all her Servants, and reſtored all her Slaves of both Sexes to their Liberty.

Takes care  
of her  
children  
and serv-  
ants.

Her Sickness increasing daily, she was carried from *Welmantotte* (her ordinary Residence) to *Modeni*, where in the Presence of the Emperor, she charged her eldest Son to revenge the late deceased Prince's Death upon the Physician, who she said was the Author thereof: But as she was sometimes not well in her Senses, so this was not much regarded. In the mean while the Emperor took care to prevent all Disorders which might be occasioned by the Empress's Death, by reinforcing the Frontier Garisons, and doubling the Guards in other Places. The Empress having pretty well recover'd her Senses, sent for her five Children, *Comara Singasanne* Hereditary Prince of the Crown, and his two Brothers *Janiere Afsanne* and *Lamait*, and the two Princesses *Mahadsfyn* and *Hanian Aadsyn*: She clasp'd them one after another with Tears in her Eyes, in her Arms, and kissing them, said, *See here, you dearest part of my own Flesh and Blood, your Mother that has brought you into the World, but must leave you in a little time. Then she call'd to her the two before-mentioned Princes, unto whom she deliver'd her Children in these Words: I now deliver to you the dearest Pledges I have, take care of them as of your own Eyes, and retaliate upon them the many Obligations you have received at our hands.* Then turning towards the Emperor, she told him, *You are the occasion of my Death. Which so sensibly touch'd him* (he loving the Empress extremely) that soon after it threw him into a violent Distemper. After that she scarce spoke to any body, except to the Prince of *Ouve*, unto whom she declared her Sorrow for having adored and sacrificed to the Pagan Idols, contrary to her better Knowledge, having been educated a Christian, telling him, that she saw the Devils ready to strangle her. The Prince of *Migonne* (upon whom she fix'd her Eyes all the while) answered her, *That the infernal Spirits had no Power over a Christian, provided they heartily repented of their Sins; that therefore he ought to rest satisfy'd, and to implore God's Mercy for his Soul, for Jesus Christ's sake.* She returned for answer, *I am a Christian, and would willingly pray, I desire you to pray with me.* The Prince of *Migonne* pray'd aloud, *Our Father*, and the 12 Articles of the Christian Creed: Unto which the Empress reply'd in Portuguese, *O Christi Ajuda mi! O Christ help me!* Soon after being carried back to *Welmantotte*, she spoke her last Words: *O my dear Princes and Princesses, said she, where must I leave you? My Lords,* (pointing to the Prince of *Migonne*)

**gonne**

gonne and Prince of Ouve) perform your Promises, farewell, I am departing; O God, take care of my Soul: and so she expir'd the 20th of July 1613. in the

35th year of her Age, and was buried the 21st with the same Pomp, and in the same place as the Prince her Son was before.

Baldanus.

# CHAP. XIV.

*The Emperor falls very ill: Assembles the Estates. The Transactions of that Assembly.*

THE Emperor finding himself worse and worse, would needs be carried to a small City call'd Dilege, where he appointed the States of the Empire to meet Aug. 18. in order to settle the Succession of the Crown. The Members of this Great Assembly (according to the Schedule read to the King) were, Idele, King of Cotiarum; Celle Wandaar, King of Palugam; Comaro Wandaar, King of Batecalo; Samarway, King of Panua; Namacar the King of Jasnapatnam's Ambassador; Coriwitte Prince of Ouve; Marcellus Prince of Migonne; Materael Hani, Prince of Velaren; Jalagode Rale, Prince of Castemale; Mewater Rale Prince of Mewater; Jane Sengati, Prince and Lord of Podere; Wick Venesings, Earl of Quatrecoire; Gael Henaraed, Governour of the Earldom of Harispate; Corope, Governour of the Earldom of Odogodas; Kery Wanasegre, Governour of the Province of Matele; Attapatte Governour of Wluat Gamme, and Pasgrame Halvenwale Governour of Atapeli and Wilwele; besides a great number of other Noblemen, unto whom his Imperial Majesty made the following Speech.

"My Lords; This present Assembly being occasion'd by my Sickness (perhaps the fore-runner of my approaching End) I first of all desire you to forgive me all Miscarriages I may have committed, the same having been done without my knowledg; and feeling my self very feeble, and decaying in Strength! I thought fit to take effectual care about the Succession, to avoid all Contentts that might likely arise after my Decease. You can't be forgetful what Disturbance arose in the Empire after the Death of my Brother Vinne Ladarma Soria, which ought to serve us as a Caution to prevent the same at this juncture, by committing the Tuition of Comara Singastanne, the eldest Hereditary Prince of the Crown, to such as you shall judg best qualified for so high a Trust, with a full Au-

thority to manage the Administration of all publick Affairs during the Prince's Minority, the Choice whereof I recommend to your present Care. The Lords being not a little surpriz'd at this Proposition, gave in their Opinions in writing, wherein they pitch'd upon the Prince of Migonne and the Prince of Ouve, who both excused themselves, pleading their Inability, and desiring his Majesty to chuse some more able Persons in their steads. The Emperor reply'd sighing, *And are you then so backward in doing me this piece of Service? Can you be so forgetful of all the Obligations I have beap'd upon you? They answer'd, that they were ready to sacrifice their Lives and Estates for his Majesty, but that they were afraid their Shoulders were too weak for so great a Burden. Well then, reply'd the Emperor, we will leave the Choice to my Son the Prince, where-with the whole Assembly was satisfy'd. The Emperor then order'd the King of Cotiarum to bring in the Prince, which being done accordingly, he told him, Son, make your Choice from among all these Kings and Princes of two Persons, such as you love best, who shall be Administrators of the Empire after my Death. The Prince answer'd all in Tears, Good Father! and will you die dear Father, pray don't leave me! Which words drew Tears both from the Emperor and the whole Assembly. The Emperor answer'd, I don't know how soon my time may come to leave you; wherefore I would have you pitch upon two Persons, such as you love best next to my self. Well then, reply'd the Prince, I love the Prince of Migonne, and likewise the Prince of Ouve, and next to him the Prince of Velaren. I am satisfy'd, said the Emperor, bring them to me, that I may surrender you to their Care. Accordingly the Prince having led the two before-mentioned Princes to the Emperor, he told him, These shall be my Governors now, and when come to Maturity my chief Counsellors. The Emperor return'd for Answer, not without*

without some Emotion, *My dear Son, Bildens, see here your Father, whose Life perhaps will not be long; you are but young, therefore be always advis'd by these two Princes.* A Torrent of Tears which trickled down his Cheeks having stop't his Voice, he order'd himself to be carried out of the Assembly, enjoying only in a few words all the Lords there present, to persist in their Fidelity, which they unanimously promised to do, and in token of their entire Submission, saluted the Emperor with the usual *Sambaje*, or Reverence, according to the Custom of that Country.

*Two Administrators of the Empire de-clar'd.*

The next day the Royal Patent to invest the before-mentioned two Princes with the Administration of the Empire was read in the Assembly. *Cenuwieraat* by the Grace of God Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candy, *Settevaca, Trinquenemala, Jajnapainam, Settecorles, Manaar, Chilaon, Panua, Batencalo, Palugam* and *Jaele*; Prince of *Ouvva, Dennevaque, Passadon-Corle, Velaren, Coromale, Mewatre* and *Ventane*; Duke of *Willegamme, Cale, Ody* and *Jartenore*; Earl of *Quatre Corle, Harkepatte, Odegodascary, Craivitty* and *Batagedre*. Peace to all those that read these Presents.

"Being much indisposed, and consequently in no small danger of Life, we thought fit to convene all the Great Men of the Empire to consult the Welfare of the Publick, and of our dearly beloved Son *Comara Singastan* (whom God preserve) It is for this reason that we have appointed two Princes Administrators (after our decease) not only of the Empire, but also of our Hereditary Prince during his Minority, with full Authority to govern the Realm; the two Princes chosen for so great a Trust, being the Prince of *Migonme* and the Prince of *Ouvve*, declar'd such by the unanimous Consent of the Assembly. We do by these Presents surrender to the said Princes all our Kingdoms, Provinces and Dominions, to be govern'd by them, during the Minority of our dearly beloved Sons; and as we are very glad to have been able (in our life-time) to prevent all Intestine Commotions by this Settlement, so we require and desire the two before-mentioned Princes to take upon them the Government of all our Dominions till our Recovery, or, in case of my Decease, till the Hereditary Prince comes to an Age of Maturity, or his Brothers, in case he should happen to

"die before that time: We therefore command by these Presents expressly, that no body else shall presume to take upon him the Administration and Tuition of the before-mentioned Princes and Princesses, but shall obey the said two Princes without the least opposition, under forfeiture of their Lives. These two Princes shall take effectual care of the Education of the young Princes and Princesses under proper Tutors, and to see the eldest Prince, when come to Age, quietly settled in the Throne; and in case of his Decease *Janiere Astan* to succeed, as after him *Lamostanne*, the third is to be the next Heir to the Crown; but in case all the said Princes should die without Issue, our dearly beloved Daughter, the Princess *Mahadascyn*, and after her her Sister, the Princess *Hama Madascyn*, shall succeed them in their due turns. But in case these also should leave no Children behind them, the Empire shall devolve into your hands, and you shall be at full liberty to chuse with the unanimous Consent of the Great Men of the Empire, such a Person of the Imperial Blood as you think the best qualified for the Welfare of the Empire, which I leave to the Wisdom of this Assembly. In the mean while, every one (after my Decease) shall be oblig'd to be accountable to the two Administrators for all the Revenues of their respective Lands without failure, upon pain of Death and loss of their Estates. The two Administrators shall have a due regard for all such Counsellors as were in our life-time, and not turn them out, unless they should not behave themselves as they ought to do, when they shall have power to put others in their places.

"All Mandats shall be issued by the two Administrators in the Name of the whole Empire, and the Hereditary Prince; according to which all the Great Men and Nobility, without exception, shall appear at Court when requir'd, and obey them in all other respects: They shall also be oblig'd to take the usual Oath of Allegiance to the Hereditary Prince, and his two Administrators, and to promise to persist in their Fidelity, and not to suffer any Alliance or Engagement to be made with our Enemies the *Portugueses*, or any Rebels, under what pretence soever. They shall be oblig'd to assist in the reducing of all such

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" (tho of the next Kindred) as pretend to disturb the publick Peace: And lastly, all the Kings and Lords shall take an Oath, that after our Decease they will raise no Disturbance in the Empire, but will submit quietly to the present Disposition, under forfeiture of their Lives. For which reason our Grant written in Golden Letters, is to be deliver'd to the Princes of *Migonne* and *Ouwe*, pursuant to which they shall have full Authority to govern and protect in our and the Hereditary Prince's Name our Dominions, and to administer Justice both in Civil and Criminal Causes. We therefore order and command all Kings, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Clergymen, Nobles, Governours, and Heads of Provinces and Cities, Captains, Presidents, Counsellors, Admirals, Chancellors, and all other Persons in our Service, as Deputies, Administrators, Farmers, Inhabitants, Souldiers, Citizens, and others inhabiting the Cities, Villages, or any places whatever, all and every one in particular, to receive

" and acknowledg the before-mentioned two Princes, Administrators and Governours of the Realm, till the Hereditary Prince came of Age, and to take the Oath of Fidelity to them, and shew them the same respect as to our own Person, and, as becomes faithful and true Subjects, to behave themselves in all respects according to the true intent of this Patent. We also annul by these Presents all Laws or Constitutions which may seem contrary to the true meaning thereof; and to give it all the Authority and Weight that can be, have in Conjunction with the Hereditary Prince, and the Princes, Dukes and Lords of this Assembly, sign'd it with our own Hand, and order'd the Great Seal to be affix'd to it. For the same reason we have also commanded the same to be registr'd in all the Courts, Councils and Treasuries of our Empire, that no body may plead Ignorance of this our last Will. Dated at the Imperial Court at *Digelege*, 19 Aug. 1613.

## CHAP. XV.

*The Hereditary Princes are carried to Cockelecorle. Gale Heneraed is routed, and being summoned to Court, is made Prisoner, and executed.*

THE said Patent being publish'd by his Imperial Majesty's order, the Administrators as well as the rest of the Estates took the Oath of Allegiance to the Hereditary Prince; which done, the Administrators upon their Knees return'd his Majesty thanks for the Honour he had bestow'd upon them, wishing him a long and happy Life. His Majesty lifting them up, order'd them to sit down by him, and disclosed to them some of his Treasures which were buried under ground, besides several other matters relating to the Administration of the State.

Then the three Princes and two Princesses being call'd in, he exhorted them to follow the Directions of their Governours; and taking the eldest Prince in his Arms, *My dearest Son*, said he, *I wish you and your Brothers and Sisters all imaginable Prosperity: and then turning to the Princes of Migonne and Ouwe; Receive*, says he, *from my hands these my dearest Treasures, which I commit to your care; and thus deliver'd them up to the two Administrators, who*

took care to have them convey'd in the night-time to the Dukedom of *Cockelecorle* for their better security, charging those who conducted them, upon their Lives not to divulge whither they were carried: which done, the Assembly was dissolv'd the 20th.

The Portugueses had no sooner notice of the Death of the Empress, and the Sickness of the Emperor, but they left no Stone unturn'd (notwithstanding the miscarriage of their Design upon *Pannua*) to raise new Troubles. For this purpose they had found means to bring over to their side the Son of *Gael Heneraed* Governor of *Harcipate*, President in the Dukedom of *Cockelecorle*, who all along had supply'd them with Provisions at *Walane*, and had engag'd several of the Nobility to raise Divisions, thereby to give opportunity to the Portugueses to make themselves Masters of the Kingdom. The two Princes Administrators having got some notice of the matter, they resolv'd to find out the bottom of this Design. For this purpose the Prince of

Baldew.

They are carried to Cockelecorle.

of Mignonne march'd the 15th of September at the head of a good Body, under pretence of changing the Garisons on the Frontiers, but near Ode and Jatteno met Heneraed's Forces, who being not a little surpriz'd at the sight of the Prince, pretended they were order'd for Cottamale upon some particular business. The Prince being now more than ever confirm'd in the matter, order'd their chief Commander to be brought before him immediately, who being search'd, a Letter of Gael Heneraed was found about him, viz. That all things look'd with a good face towards the accomplishment of the Design concerted betwixt them. That he had consulted with his Son Abecque, President of Cockelecorle, and that they had agreed with many of the Nobility to murder the Princes and Princesses, and likewise the Princes of Mignonne and Ouve, the Issue whereof they should know as soon as it was put in Execution. He sent them in the mean time a certain quantity of Powder, Ball and Provisions, advising them to be upon their Guard, because the Garison of Candy had been re-inforc'd considerably of late, which seem'd as if some Design were in hand against them.

The Prince gave immediate Orders to seize the Commander, who standing upon his Defence, was cut to pieces: his Soldiers and Pioneers attempted to save themselves by flight, but being pursued were most slain, except a few that sav'd themselves in the Woods. The Prince dispatch'd a Messenger immediately to the Governour with orders to come immediately to Court, having particular occasion to concert some Matters of moment with him.

He who knew nothing of what was pass'd, appear'd accordingly the 17th of September at the Court in Candy, where being well receiv'd by the Prince, they talk'd of several matters relating to the Government; upon which occasion he gave him repeated assurances of his Fidelity, telling him, that he was ready to venture his Life for the Welfare of the Empire. The Prince of Mignonne had much ado to dissemble his Anger, only told him, *We have nevertheless received certain Advice that you hatch Treason against the Crown, and are enter'd into a Confederacy with the Portugueses our Enemies, contrary to the Oath you have so lately taken.* He declar'd his Innocence with many Assurances, desiring that he might be confronted with his Accusers: Whereupon the Prince of Ouve told him, *We could wish you innocent, but are too well inform'd of your Treachery, and so order'd him to*

withdraw (after some further Excuse) to be disarm'd, and his Person to be secur'd.

The Captain of the Guard coming to seize him, he said, *Friend, you are wrong, and so made the best of his way towards the Gate, in hopes of making his escape; but the Captain asking him, Are you not the Governour Gael Heneraed?* he answer'd, *Yes.* The Captain reply'd, *Then I am not wrong, I beg your Pardon, being oblig'd to execute his Majesty's Orders:* So that seeing there was no hopes of escaping, he desir'd to be brought before his Majesty, or before the Princes Administrators. The Captain told him, that he had no such Orders; whereupon some of the Governour's Soldiers put themselves in a posture of Defence, but were all made Prisoners, and put to death the next day, being 32 in number. Another Party attempted to escape by night, but 50 of them were taken and committed to Prison, which made his case worse.

In the mean time the two Administrators took care to have the Emperor's Children transported to another Castle, and sent Orders to all the Governours to stop all the Soldiers of Heneraed, unless they were provided with a Passport from his Majesty.

The 22d Heneraed was examin'd in the Council, where at first he boldly deny'd every thing alledg'd against him, but soon after confess'd the whole, and beg'd Mercy, alledging, that what he had done was out of Discontent, because he had not been promoted to a higher Station. He did not deny that 26 Noblemen had been concern'd in this Conspiracy, yet refus'd to name them; but seeing the Brahman, who had made the first discovery, appear, he said, *No question but you will soon know their Names now, however I will not discover them.* The Brahman's declar'd, that Gael Heneraed had caused two Gentlemen to be murder'd, because they refused to have a hand in this Conspiracy. The 26 Noblemen being apprehended confess'd the Fact, and the 25th being appointed for their Trial, they were all condemn'd to Death. The 27th they were executed in the following manner: The 50 Soldiers who had endeavour'd to make their escape, had their Heads cut off. The 26 Noblemen, who had sign'd the Confederacy, had the Heads cut off first, and then their Bodies thrown before the Dogs. Four of his chief Counsellours were drawn with hot Pinchers, had afterwards their Hands cut off, and their Bodies

A Letter intercepted of Heneraed's.

Heneraed's Forces routed.

He is summon'd to Court.

His Son

The Emperor's Children carried away to another place.

He is examined.

Tried and condemn'd with 25 Gentlemen.

Their Execution.

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Bodies quartered, which were hung up about the Castle. The unfortunate Governor, who had been a Spectator of the miserable Exits of his Accomplices, being likewise burnt with red hot Pinchers at each Corner of the Streets, was broken alive upon the Wheel, and after-

wards thrown before the Elephants, one of which threw him up to a considerable height, and afterwards catching him again, crush'd him to pieces with his Teeth. The rest had the good Fortune to escape to Columbo.

*Baldass.*

# CHAP. XVI.

*A Battel betwixt the Emperor and the Rebels. The Portugueses propose a Treaty of Peace, which is refused. They march towards Candy, but are routed.*

SOON after the Princes of *Migonne* and *Ouve*, together with the Earl of *Quatrecoile*, took a Progress to *Cockelecoile*, being followed by 2000 Men, and honourably received by the Inhabitants; they settled Matters upon the old Foot, and made some Alteration in the Coin, giving strict Orders not to raise the Money above the prefix'd Value.

In the Year 1614, there happened a bloody Engagement betwixt the Imperial Forces and the Rebels, wherein 4000 Men being kill'd on both sides, and the last finding themselves too weak, retreated in the Night time, and solicited the *Portugueses* for Help. The Emperor remaining thus Master of the Field, order'd his Camp to be strongly fortify'd; and keeping only 2000 Men, and 1000 Pioneers for his Guard, he sent his General with the whole Army to cut off the Retreat of the Enemy. The *Portugueses* having got notice thereof, gathered secretly a Body of 100 *Portugueses*, and 5000 Natives; and marching thro unpasable ways, surpriz'd the Outguards, and entered the Camp without much Opposition, every one seeking how to save themselves by a timely flight. In this Action the Prince of *Migonne* was wounded with a Lance in his Right Leg, and the Prince of *Ouve* in the Right Arm, and 500 were slain upon the Spot on the Emperor's side.

Anno 1614. March 14. Don Munno de *Feriera*, Brother of the Earl of *Fere*, arriv'd at *Columbo*, in the Quality of Viceroy of *Goa*, to relieve Don *Jeronimo d'Oviedo*. He brought along with him about 132 *Portugueses*, besides a good number of *Mislices*, to reinforce the Garisons, with positive Orders to endeavour, if possible, to procure a Peace with the Emperor of *Ceylon*.

Pursuant to these Orders he sent the 3d of June, Don *Francisco de Menezes* his

Envoy to *Candy*, with full Power to treat with the said Emperor upon the best Terms he could. Accordingly the said Envoy delivered to the Emperor a Letter from the General, and another from the Viceroy of *Goa*, written in the King of *Spain's* Name, the chief Contents whereof (besides some Compliments) were, "That his Catholick Majesty being averse to the Effusion of human Blood, was inclined to enter into a Treaty with his Majesty, in order to settle a firm and lasting Peace; for which purpose he had granted full Power to certain Persons of Note to treat upon that Head, desiring that his Majesty would be pleased to accept of them as such, and give them a favourable Reception. *Goa, Feb. 22. 1614.* The General's Letter was much to the same purpose.

The Emperor having propos'd the matter the 13th following in Council, it was resolv'd they should bring in their Propositions in Writing, which being done the 18th of the same Month, were as follows.

1. The King of *Spain* is willing to enter into an amicable Treaty with the Emperor.
2. The Peace to be concluded either for ever, or for a certain space of Years, to be kept inviolably, and all Hostilities to cease both by Water and Land immediately.
3. Each Party to keep what they are in possession of at present.
4. His Imperial Majesty shall renounce his Alliance with the *Dutch*, and engage himself never to enter into any other with them for the future, or any other State at Enmity with *Spain* and *Portugal*, and to permit no other *European* Nation to traffick there.

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*Baldew.* 5. Both Parties to be at Liberty to traffick in what Commodities they please, without entering into any Articles upon that Head.

6. His Majesty shall grant Liberty for the free Exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion in Candy, and the building a Church and Convent, with convenient Habitations for two or three hundred Persons, both of the Clergy and Laity.

7. His Majesty shall send one of his Hereditary Princes to keep his Court at Columbo, in lieu whereof they will send a Person of Quality to stay always near his Majesty.

8. His Imperial Majesty shall restore all the Jewels, Money, Prisoners, Slaves of both Sexes, Cannon, &c. taken in the last War.

*Are rejected.*

These Propositions being read and debated in the Council, it was resolved not to enter into any further Treaty with the Portuguese, as fearing not without reason, that some treacherous Design (as often had happened before) lay concealed under this pretended Treaty. An Answer was therefore return'd to the Portuguese Envoy, Jun. 20. That his Imperial Majesty was not inclined to treat with the King of Spain, before all the Lands and Lordships taken from him were restor'd: That however the Spaniards should remain in possession of Gale and Columbo, with the Territories thereunto belonging; but that his Imperial Majesty would by no means renounce his Alliance made with the Dutch, but keep the same inviolably. Furthermore his Majesty requir'd a full Compensation of all the Damages he had sustain'd in this War, and was resolved to have Custom paid him of all Goods exported or imported.

*The Portuguese propose a Truce.*

The Portuguese finding them so resolute, would fain have made a considerable Abatement in their Pretensions; for which purpose they propos'd a Cessation of Arms, which being likewise rejected, the Envoy return'd the 8th of June without effecting any thing, with a Letter from the Emperour, directed to the Portuguese General, containing in Substance, That he was resolved not to violate his Oath with the Dutch, and that being sensible no Faith ought to be given to the Portuguese, he intended to pursue them by Force of Arms, and that they might make their account accordingly.

*The Portuguese march towards Candy.*

The Portuguese not a little exasperated at so resolute an Answer, march'd with an Army of 25000 Men towards Candy.

The Emperor's Army consisted of 29000 Men, and meeting just near Walane, Aug. 6. a smart Engagement ensu'd, in which the Portuguese were worsted, 2100 Indians and 40 Portuguese being slain on their side, with the Loss of 700 Men on the Emperor's side. The Portuguese saved themselves from a total Defeat, by the favour of the adjacent Woods.

This Victory occasion'd no small Joy at Candy, where the Prince of Migonne and the Prince of Onwe who had led the Van, were receiv'd with more than ordinary respect. Soon after a Deserter came to Candy, who gave them an account of the whole condition of the Portuguese Camp, which might have been entirely ruin'd, had the Cingaleses pursu'd their Victory: He told them that before the Battel, they had not left above 300 Men at Columbo, which had occasion'd such Fears and Tumults in that City, that the same might have been easily surpriz'd with a moderate Force; and that upon the return of the General from the Army, he had order'd several to be hang'd upon that account.

The 29th of Aug. The Emperor declar'd, that he would marry the Daughter of the late Empre's by her first Husband, alledging, that he had debauch'd her before, which made most of the Great Men consent to the Match; but the Prince of Migonne oppos'd the same, telling the Emperor with a great deal of Freedom, That to commit Incest was directly contrary to the Word of God; and that for that reason he could never approve of it, but was oblig'd to put his Imperial Majesty in mind of his Salvation. These Words having drawn Tears from the Emperor's Eyes, he promised to lay aside all Thoughts of that nature for the future, and to converse with her no otherwise than a Father might do with his Daughter.

The 31st of Octob. those of Candy defeated a Convoy of 900 Portuguese, that were marching with Provisions and Ammunition to Candy, but had not the same Success in another Enterprize; for having laid an Ambush of 500 Men, to intercept the Portuguese General, as he was coming from Columbo to Walane, the Portuguese having got Intelligence thereof, sent a stronger Body, which surrounded them, and cut them all to pieces, except two Cingaleses, who hid themselves among the Dead, till the Night gave them an Opportunity to make their Escape.

Towards the end of the Year 1614. the Inhabitants of Batcalo having murder'd

*The Emperor's wife married a Daughter in-law.*

*The Portuguese surpris'd 500 Candy-men.*

der'd the Ambassadors of the King of Palugam upon the Road, a furious War ensu'd betwixt them, in which the last worsted (with the assistance of the Prince

of Ouve) the King of Batccalo, who was himself treacherously murdered, and his Kingdom bestowed upon the King of Palugam.

Baldens.

C H A P. XVII.

Mr. Boschhouwer sent as an Ambassador to the United Provinces, enters into an Engagement with the Crown of Denmark, dies in his Return to the Indies. Gule Gedde the Danish Commodore arrives in Ceylon, returns without effecting any thing. The Portugueses erect divers Fortifications by Fraud. The Emperor's Enterprize upon Columbo. The Portugueses beaten.

Marcellus de Boschhouwer, who had (as we have understood) attained to the highest Dignities in the Empire of Ceylon, being desirous to make himself known by some great Enterprize, obtained leave from the Emperor 1615. to go to Masulipatam, to solicit the so long promis'd Succours against the Portugueses, with full Power to enter into Alliances with all such Kings, Princes and States as he thought might contribute any thing towards clearing his Majesty's Dominions from the Portugueses.

Having for this purpose obtain'd divers Letters and Credentials, wherein his Majesty promis'd to ratify every thing the said Mr. Boschhouwer should treat of, with any Prince upon that Subject; he set out in Quality of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary from Ceylon, the 9th of May 1615. and arrived Jun. 2. at Masulipatam, where at that time one Hans van Hase, Director and Visitor General of the Indies, commanded in chief, who went along with Marcellus de Boschhouwer to Bantam, in order to concert measures with Gerard Reynst, the Dutch General there, concerning the intended Succours against the Portugueses.

But the said General being dead sometime before, and the War carried on at that time by the Dutch Company in the Molucque Islands and those of Banda, as also against Poulo Ay, hindring the Dutch at that juncture from sending the promis'd Succours to the Emperor of Ceylon (it being absolutely requisite to secure the Molucques, before they cou'd think of any New Conquests) it was resolved by the Council of Bantam to permit Mr. Boschhouwer (at his earnest request) to go to Holland, in order to represent the true State of matters in the Empire of Ceylon to their High and Mightinesses the States-General, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Directors of the East-India Company.

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But upon his Arrival in Holland, he found things not in any wise to answer his Expectation: for in regard of his Quality and high Station in Ceylon, pretending to much more Respect and Honour than the Company was willing to grant him; this occasion'd such Contestes among them, that he resolv'd (notwithstanding his Allegiance due to the States) to go into Denmark, where he arriv'd June 16. O. S. 1617. and not long after entr'd into an Engagement with the Danes at Copenhagen, which was ratify'd by their King Christian IV. 1618. March 30. Accordingly he set sail from Denmark with his Lady (who challenged the Title of Princess of Migonne) and a Retinue of some Servants and Soldiers, but died before he came to the end of his Voyage, after which most of the Soldiers deserted on the Coast of Coromandel (where his Lady died also afterwards) whereby tho all his Designs vanished into Smoke, yet will it perhaps not be beyond our purpose, to give a more circumstantial account of this unfortunate Voyage.

Mr. Boschhouwer having (as we told you) obtain'd a Man of War and a Yacht from the King of Denmark, on account of the Emperour of Ceylon, and the Danish East-India Company (lately erected) having join'd five Ships with them, under Gule Gedde a Danish Nobleman, they set sail out of the Sound, and after many Tempests and other Difficulties, having pass'd the English Channel, they did not arrive in Ceylon till twenty two Months after, viz. 1620. not without the Loss of a considerable Number of their Men (among whom was Mr. Boschhouwer himself) that perished for want of Provisions, and the Fatigues of so tedious a Voyage.

Some of these Ships arriving in the Harbour of Batccalo, others at Coutjare, Gule Gedde gave notice of his Arrival.

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And thence into Holland.

Engaged with the Danes.

Sets Sail for Ceylon.

Dies.

A particular account of his Voyage.

The Danes arrive in Ceylon.



and of the Occasion thereof, as also of the Death of *Boschbouwer*, to the Emperor, who no sooner understood his Death, and that the *Danes* pretended to put the Equipment of this Squadron to his account, but he appeared much surpriz'd thereat, declaring that he had given no Authority to *Boschbouwer* to enter into such an Engagement; so that the *Danes* had nothing but bare Words, in recompence of the vast Charge they had been at upon this account.

The Emperor rejects their Offer.

The Danish Commodore seizes Boschbouwer's Effects.

The Danish Commodore *Gule Gedde*, finding himself thus disappointed in all his hopes, apply'd all his Thoughts, how to reimburse the King his Master part of the Charge he had been at in the Equipment of this Squadron; for which reason he seiz'd upon all *Boschbouwer's* Effects aboard his Vessels, after having taken care of his Burial, which was perform'd with little Pomp; but that of his Son of three Years of Age (who being born at *Copenhagen*, was Godson of *K. Christian IV.* and died likewise in this Voyage) was done with more Solemnity. The seizing of *Boschbouwer's* Effects being perform'd in the Harbour of *Trinquemale* by *Gule Gedde*, he sent his Widow at her request to *Candy*, stript of every thing, except what she had saved privately by the assistance of some Friends, from whence after a Stay of seven Years, she was by the Emperor *Zenarat* (at the request of General *Roland Crape*) sent with some Servants to *Tranquebare*.

After the Departure of *Boschbouwer's* Widow for *Candy*, the Commodore *Gule Gedde* set Sail with part of his Squadron from *Coutjare*, in order to join the rest of his Ships at *Batecalo*, and to sollicite once more Satisfaction from the Emperor; but in the mean while, one of his Ships that was left at *Trinquemale* being seized upon by the Ships Crew, and afterwards split upon the Rocks, the Seamen and Soldiers got with their Boats to the Coast of *Coromandel*, where some of them took Service among the *Portugueses* at *St. Thomas*, the rest among the *Dutch* at *Malaccate*. *Gule Gedde* having but small hopes of Success, and fearing that some of the other Ships might follow their Example, thought fit to weigh Anchor, and take his next course for *Denmark*.

Returns to Denmark.

The *Portugueses* being infinitely glad at the Departure of these unwelcome Guests out of *Ceylon*, now bent all their Thoughts to exclude all other Nations from the traffick of that Country: To encompass which, they judged it the

most proper means to erect a Fort near that Harbour, the Place whereof (after a narrow View taken of the Ground, and various Debates) was pitch'd upon at the North-West Point of the Bay, upon a Neck of Land jetting out into the Sea, on the back-side of the *Pagode* of *Trinquemale*, the Walls whereof would be of considerable Advantage to them.

Accordingly the said Fort being begun 1622. was carried on with all imaginable Vigour, to bring it to perfection, before the Emperor of *Candy* (with whom they were at Peace then) could have any notice of it. For no sooner was that Prince advertis'd of this treacherous Design, but he protested against it, and sent a considerable Force to demolish it; but being repuls'd by the *Portugueses*, these continu'd the Fortifications, being an irregular Triangular Fortrefs, which they furnish'd with great Cannon taken out of the Sea, belonging formerly to the Danish Ship that was cast away near that Place.

Whilst the *Portugueses* were embroil'd with the *Cingalese* upon that account, a certain *Radye* of the *Malabars* entred the Kingdom of *Jasnapatnam* with a considerable Force, in hopes to recover the same from the *Portugueses*, who had lately conquer'd the same: But *Philippo d'Olivero* their General, an old experienc'd Captain, receiv'd them so bravely, that few of them return'd into their Native Country.

Root the Malabars

The *Portugueses* having thus once more rid their Hands of their Enemies, yet not thinking themselves secure, unless they strengthen'd their Conquests by some additional Fortifications, order'd certain new Works to be made, which afterwards were chang'd into a Royal Fortrefs with four Bastions. The Foundation whereof was laid 1624, but not brought to perfection till the Year 1632, being lin'd with white Stone.

Build more Forts

But to establish themselves the better in this Island, they concluded a Peace (by the Mediation of certain Clergymen) with the Emperor, who was willing to embrace it, till he could find a more convenient Opportunity of revenging himself for the many Affronts they had put upon him; one of the main Conditions of this Peace was, that the *Portugueses* should not build any other Forts or Fortifications in any Place of the Empire, but might remain in possession of what they had at present.

Make Peace with the Emperor.

Notwithstanding this Agreement, which was so advantageous to the *Portugueses*,

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finding that the European Nations had still a free access into the Kingdom of Candy by the River *Palligamme* (otherwise call'd *Batecal*) they were contriving all possible means to secure that Passage to themselves.

To accomplish their end with all imaginable Secrecy, they pitch'd upon a *Misice*, an experienc'd Engineer, who being of a dark Colour, was sent in the disguise of a *Gufuratte Jogy*, or Mendicant Friar, from *Columbo* to *Batecal*, who settled himself in the Village of *Saman-ture*; from whence having taken a full view of all the circumjacent Country for two years together, he pitch'd upon a sandy Place about 2 Leagues from the Village, for the erecting of the desired Fort; but finding upon strict enquiry, that the Channel leading that way from the Mouth of the River, was the greatest part of the Year chok'd up with Sand, and that consequently there would be no conveniency of getting fresh Water there, he was forc'd to go about 6 Leagues lower down the River, where meeting with a small Isle of a League in circuit, and not above a Mile distant from the main Channel, convey'd thither directly from the Mouth of the River, he returned to *Columbo*; and having given a full account to the Government there of the advantageous Situation of this Isle for their intended Project, the Portuguese sent him back in 1627. with 13 Companies of Soldiers, in order to put it in execution. There, at their arrival, having secured themselves by throwing up some Intrenchments inclos'd with Palisadoes, to work they went with all expedition to perfect the intended Fortress, which was of a Quinquangular Figure, with three Bastions.

The King of Candy had no sooner intelligence thereof, but he sent a good Body of Troops thither to prevent their Design: They made shift to land in the Island, but were forc'd to retreat without effecting any thing, and leave the Portuguese to perfect their Fortifications, which they did soon after, being well provided with all sorts of Materials for such a Purpose.

The Emperor finding himself thus by no means than seven Capital Forts, built on all the best Avenues of the Isle, reduc'd to such Straits by the Portuguese, that without their Consent he was not in a condition to keep the least Correspondence with any foreign Nation, resolv'd to try his utmost to draw these Thorns out of his Flesh. For this purpose he thought fit

to try the Inclinations of the *Cingalese* inhabiting at *Columbo*; and finding them ready to revolt by reason of the many Indignities received from the Portuguese, he engag'd them to his Party. Things being thus settled, the only thing remaining was how to entice their General *Constantine de Saa* to take the Field, by which means they might find an opportunity of going over to the Emperor. Knowing, therefore that *Don Michael de Noronha*, *Conde de Linbaros*, the then Viceroy of *Goa*, had lately wrote an affronting Letter to the said General, wherein he told him, that he was more fit for a Merchant than a Soldier, and that he regarded more his own Profit than the King's Glory, and his Conquest; they insinuated into him, that since both his Expeditions against Candy had prov'd unsuccessful, it would not be amiss (to retrieve his Honour) to try his Fortune against *Ouwe*, promising to appear in the Field with all their Power, which they did accordingly.

*Constantin de Saa* the Portuguese General was so highly pleas'd at this Proposition, that he not only gladly embraced it, but also sent a Challenge to *Comar Singh Haffanne*, Prince of *Ouwe*, eldest Son of the Emperor *Zenat Adajjyn*, who sent him word, that he would expect his coming like a Man of Honour. Accordingly the Portuguese General took the Field the 30th of August, with 1300 of his own Countrymen, 1700 *Misices*, and 8000 *Cingalese*; and the Prince of *Ouwe* being join'd by his two Brothers, *Vysiapalla* and *Raja Singa*, made up an Army of 23000 men, who (according to the Advice of the Emperor their Father) kept at a distance, seeming to avoid an Engagement. The Portuguese being much surprized at their being suffer'd to pass the Mountains of *Ouwe* without the least Opposition, march'd directly to *Badule* the Capital City of that Dukedom, which they took and plunder'd with all the circumjacent Country, and so retired again towards the Mountains, the Princes being all the while Spectators of their Ravages, with a resolution to watch their opportunity of taking a severe Revenge, so soon as the *Cingalese* (according to their Promise) should desert the Portuguese.

These things were not so secretly carried on, but that *Constantin de Saa* got some scent of the matter. This made him summon before him all their chief Officers, unto whom he represented the Reasons of his Suspicion, but in very obliging Terms, thinking it his best way

to dissemble, yet to use all imaginable Precautions against them. They positively denying what was alledged against them, he continu'd his March till Night, when finding the Enemy to keep clofer to him than they us'd to do, and being confirmed in his former Suspicion by fresh Intelligence, he order'd the *Cingalefes* (contrary to what they us'd to do) to pitch their Tents in the Center of the Camp, and the next morning with break of day for the whole Army to set fire to all their Baggage (except wearing Apparel) the better to further their March. They had scarce march'd a few hours, when the Princes coming up pretty close with the *Portuguese* Army, the 8000 *Cingalefes* joined with their Countrymen, and with their joint Forces attack'd them in the Flank at the Descent of a Mountain, firing upon them very furiously thro an adjacent Wood, whereabouts a great number of the *Portugueses* were slain, the *Cingalefes* falling in Pell mell among them with their Scyimeters and Pikes, especially after a sudden Storm had rendred the *Portugueses* Firelocks almost usefess, without which they might probably have made a tolerable good Retreat. *Constantin de Saa* their General had his Head cut off by one of the rebellious *Cin-*

*galefes*, which he presented to *Raja Singa* upon a Drum, whilst he was washing himself in a neighbouring Brook. To confess the Truth, *de Saa* deserv'd a much better Treatment, both in respect of his Valour, and the many good Offices he had done to the same *Cingalefes* at *Columbo*, who now so basely betray'd him and his whole Army.

It is not easy to be imagin'd what a consternation this general Defeat occasion'd among the *Portugueses* in the Isle of *Ceylon*, and especially at *Columbo*, for the defence whereof there were scarce any Troops left behind, except a few of the most antient among the Inhabitants. This encouraged the Emperor to send his youngest Son *Mabaftanne* (afterwards named *Raja Singa*) to form the Siege of that Place, which he did accordingly; but was so bravely received by *Lancerotte de Sefies* their Governour, that after a whole Month's Siege, he was forced to retreat without effecting any thing. The Besieged being afterwards reinforced from *Goa* with 400 men (among whom were 300 *Cassers*) with a considerable quantity of Provisions, Ammunition, and other Necessaries, began to hold up their heads again, and bid defiance to the *Cingalefes*.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The Emperor dies. Intestine Divisions betwixt his two Sons. The Portugueses at War with the new Emperor; make Peace with him. The Hollanders invited by his Majesty's Letter to the Governour of Paliacatta, to come into the Isle of Ceylon.*

The old Emperor dies.

The youngest Son seizes upon the Imperial Title.

SOON after, viz. 1632. the old Emperor happening to die, left the Empire betwixt his three Sons, viz. *Ouwe* to *Commarra Singa Haffanne* his eldest Son, *Matele* to *Visia Palla Haffanne* his second, and *Candy* to *Mabaftanne* the youngest, who besides this assum'd the Imperial Title under the Name of *Raja Singa Adafym*, to the no small dissatisfaction of his eldest Brother *Commarra Singa Haffanne*, whom he knew so well how to amuse under different Pretensions, that the matter remained undecided as long as he lived; and immediately after his Death seized upon the Province of *Ouwe*, which *Visia Palla* the second Brother (who claimed one half for his Share) took so heinously, that Matters came betwixt them to an open Rupture.

The *Portugueses* having by this time re-

ceived divers Supplies from *Goa*, and pretty well recover'd of their late Disgrace, resolv'd to improve this Opportunity to their advantage. For which purpose entring the *Low-Lands*, they forced most of the Princes there to side with them, but durst not venture to attempt the Passage of the Mountains. They pitch'd their Tents therefore near *Allago*, as the most proper Place to keep the adjacent Country in awe: But *Raja Singa* the new Emperor surpriz'd them in their Camp, and forc'd them to retreat with all haste to *Columbo*.

The *Portugueses* now finding themselves unable to cope with the Emperor, thought it requisite to come to an agreement; for which purpose having sent their Envoys to *Candy*, a Peace was concluded accordingly, but soon broken again on the

The Portugueses begin a War against the Emperor.

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the Portuguese side, who let slip no opportunity to improve their advantage, notwithstanding the said Peace.

Raja Singa being thus fully convinc'd, that no firm Peace was likely to be settl'd with the Portuguese in Ceylon, dissembled his Repentment, but in the mean time resolv'd to invite the *Hollanders* to force them out of the Isle; and accordingly sent the following Letter dated Sept. 9. 1636. to the Governour of *Paliacatta*.

"I Raja Singa, Emperor of the Isle of Ceylon; King of Candy, Settevaca, Danbadany, Anorayapore, Jafnapatnam; Prince of Ouve, Mature, Dinavaca, Quavrecorle; Great Duke of Settecortle, Matalte; Earl of Canajar, Trinquenemale, Batecalo, Valsebutena, Dumbra, Panoa, Patoveta, Putelaon, Vassare, Gale, Billigaon; Marquess of Duramira, Ratenura, Tinipane, Axcepaoon; Lord of the Ports of Alicoon, Caleture, Columbo, Negombo, Chilao, Madampe, Calpentyn, Aripature, Manaar, and of the Pearl-Fishery.

"THO I don't question but that Fame has already made known to you the good Success of our Arms against the Portuguese, yet did judg it absolutely requisite to give a more particular account thereof to the Governour of the Fortress of *Paliacatta*. First of all the Emperor did regain from the Portuguese the two Fortresses of *Walane* and *Forago*, as likewise the City of *Marua Goma*, with 500 Portuguese Inhabitants, and a good number of Monks of divers Orders. Don Nuno *Alvares Pereira* being then their General, thought thereupon fit to make Peace in order to recover the Prisoners taken by the Emperor's Forces. About eleven Years after the Conclusion of the said Peace *Constantine de Saa* being made their General, did treacherously surprize *Jafnapatnam*, and built the Forts of *Batecalo* and *Trinquenemale*, giving no other reason for their so doing to the Emperor, than that having certain Intelligence, that some of their European Enemies were coming to settle there, they were forc'd to erect these Fortifications for their own defence. About a year after the Frier they had lett their Hostage at Candy, being releas'd by the Emperor (according to his Parole) they made a powerful Irruption into the Empire: and after their Retreat the Emperor

"happening to die, I had scarce ascended the Throne, but within eleven Months after they made another Incursion; but encountering them near *Ambatana*, we forced them to retreat with considerable Loss. Seven Months after they invaded the Dukedom of *Ouve*, where we routed them in a smart Engagement; and the rebellious Natives having deserted them, and joined with us (according to their Duty) compleated our Victory: Their General, a Major General, and the Governour of *Dinavaca*, being slain upon the spot, with 400 Soldiers; and their Colonel of the Artillery, their Governour of the seven *Corles*, and *Matura*, with 300 Soldiers, many Captains and Ensigns, taken Prisoners. Since that time we took the Fort of *Mantea Ravane* with 100 Portuguese Soldiers with their Captains, and another Fort in *Sofragaan*, with three Companies, besides that two other Fortifications of theirs were demolished. It was much about the same time that I kept the City of *Columbo* invested for 30 days; but finding my self ill, I returned to *Candy*, leaving the Command of my Forces to *Mava Tana Wandaar*, who within 15 days after my departure retreating thence, thereby gave an opportunity to the Enemy to protract the War for a Year and half, and afterwards deserted in Person to the Enemy. I did also fall into the Enemies Dominions, and having entrench'd my self near *Ganetona* in the four *Corles*, I did considerable Mischief, so that the new Governour of *Columbo* *Diego de Melo de Castro* (formerly Governour of *St. Thomas*) sent thither from *Goa*, was forc'd to sue for Peace, which I granted to prevent the Miseries and Calamities of a long War; the said General having sworn by the Name of his God, and in his King's stead, to deliver up the Forts of *Trinquenemale* and *Batecalo*, and to release all Prisoners on both sides. Thirteen Months after the conclusion of this Peace, the Governour of *Batecalo* did side with certain Rebels, in order to assassinate one of my Governours, aiding and assisting them also in robbing a Bark belonging to me, and committing divers treacherous Acts in many Parts, as well of our own Kingdoms, as those of other Indian Princes; therefore I have taken a resolution to rid my hands of these Enemies, and to declare my self a Brother in War with the King of the *Hollanders*, as long as the

Baldens.

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*Bulw.*

"Sun and Moon shall rejoice us with their  
"Light, and the Viceroy of *Jacatra*,  
"and the Governor of *Paliacatta* shall  
"be willing to assist me, in hopes that  
"this Confederacy with the *Dutch* Nation  
"will answer my good Intentions  
"and Sentiments of them. I the King  
"let the Governour of *Paliacatta* know,  
"that, during the seven years since my  
"Accession to the Throne, I have made  
"the best enquiry I could, who was the  
"most Potent King in *Europe*, in order  
"to oppose the Designs of the *Portu-*  
"*gueses*: And being at last inform'd that  
"the King of the *Hollanders* was not  
"only a Scourge to their King, but also  
"supported by the Strength and Power  
"of several other Kings his Confede-  
"rates, I took a firm Resolution (re-  
"lying upon the Fidelity of the Gover-  
"nor of *Paliacatta*) to declare my self  
"a Brother in War to the King of the  
"*Hollanders* as long as Sun and Moon  
"shall continue in the Firmament. 'Tis  
"true, some Treaties of this kind have  
"been made formerly betwixt my Pre-  
"decessors and the Viceroy of *Jacatra*,  
"and the Governor of *Paliacatta*; but  
"these having prov'd ineffectual, it  
"seems as if it had pleas'd God to bring  
"the same Perfection under my Reign,  
"in hopes that the Governor of *Palia-*  
"*catta* will with all possible care second  
"our Endeavours, whercof we give  
"him Assurances upon our Royal Word,  
"that they shall be at liberty to erect a  
"Fortress either at *Cotiar* or *Batecalo*,  
"for which purpose they may employ a  
"Squadron of five Ships (a Force suf-  
"ficient to ballance the present Strength

"of the Enemy) who may be secure of our  
"Assistance, either by my self in Person,  
"or by my Brother. All the Cannon or  
"Boory taken by them shall be at their  
"own disposal, and they shall be provid-  
"ed with all sorts of Materials requi-  
"site for the building of a Fort either  
"at *Batecalo* or *Cotiar*. I further engage  
"my self by my Royal Word, to repay  
"the Governor all the Charges he shall  
"be at in equipping the said Squadron  
"to be sent to my Assistance, to which  
"of the before-mentioned Harbors you  
"please. If the Governor approves of  
"these Propositions, let him send a Vessel  
"to *Trinquenemale* or *Cotiar*, in order to  
"transport my Ambassadors with safety  
"to him, whom I would have rest se-  
"cure, that in case he can bring this  
"business to Perfection, he shall be well  
"rewarded for his Service according to  
"his Dignity and Merits: But if it be  
"beyond his power, let him dispatch  
"this Messenger with all speed to the  
"Viceroy of *Jacatra*.

Dated the 5th  
of Sept. 1636.

*Raja Singa*, Imperador.

A certain *Brabman* being dispatch'd  
with this Letter, the same liv'd for six  
months undiscover'd among the *Portu-*  
*gueses* at *Jafnapatnam*, before he could  
meet with a conveniency to be tran-  
ported to the Coast of *Coromandel*, from  
whence he pursued his Journey by Land to  
*Paliacatta*, where he delivered *Raja Singa's*  
Letter to the then Governor *Charles*  
*Reyniers*.

## CHAP. XIX.

*A Treaty, and Letter in return of that of the Emperor's. The Dutch Deputies in Ceylon are honourably receiv'd. Their Transactions, and Return with the the Emperor's Ambassadors. The Portugueses endeavour to render the Dutch suspected. The Emperor's Answer to the Dutch Admiral.*

*Resolution  
of the Coun-  
cil of the  
Indies.*

*Charles Reyniers* the Governor of *Paliacatta* (afterwards General of the *Indies*) had no sooner receiv'd this Letter, but he sent the same to *Batavia* to the General and Great Council of the *Indies*, who after mature deliberation resolv'd to send a Person fitly qualified for such a Trust aboard the *Falcon* Yacht in order to enter into a strict Amity and Commerce with the Emperor, and to procure a considerable Cargo of Cinnamon; whereof

immediate notice was also to be given to the *Dutch Fleet* before *Goa*.

It is to be observ'd, that sometime before this Letter was brought to *Batavia*, the General *Anthony van Diemen*, and the Council of the *Indies*, had already taken the Affairs of *Ceylon* into their Consideration, having order'd the before-said Mr. *Reyniers* to make all possible Enquiry, whether it were not feasible to get some share as well as the *Portugueses* in

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in the Cinnamon Trade. One *John Thijs-*  
*fen* a Master of a Vessel (afterwards Go-  
vernour of *Malacca*, and now a Member  
of the Council of the *Indies*) who had  
bin a Prisoner in *Ceylon*, having also late-  
ly given the said Council an exact account  
of the Condition of the Isle, it was re-  
solv'd 1637. to send him forthwith with  
three V.chts, the *Falcon*, the *Voorburgh*,  
and the *Lesser Hollandia*, and the *Ruttem*  
Frigot, to the Coast of *Coromandel*; where  
coming to an Anchor before *Paliacatta*  
the last day of *August*, and their Com-  
missions being open'd, he was, in con-  
junction with the Factor *Andrew Helmont*,  
constituted Envoy to the Emperor of  
*Ceylon*.

Accordingly the 21<sup>st</sup> of *October* they  
took their way towards *Tegnapatnam*,  
where having furnish'd themselves with  
two Negroes (acquainted with that  
Country) they set sail for *Ceylon*, where  
they arriv'd within five or six days after,  
and cast Anchor near the Village of *Cal-*  
*mony* or *Calarme*, about seven Leagues  
from the *Cabo de Frades*, i. e. the *Monks*  
*Cape*. They sent immediately one of  
the two before-mentioned Negroes a-  
shore, to get intelligence what part of the  
Country they were in; which being done  
by a certain Signal (a Fire made upon  
an adjacent Hill) they sent him after his  
return, in Company of the other Negro,  
with a Letter of Recommendation from  
the Factor *Cbrinna* to the Emperor of  
*Ceylon*, under promise that they were to  
return in 16 days, which they did ac-  
cordingly, bringing along with them not  
only certain Hostages, and among them  
a certain *Hollander*, who living at the  
Emperor's Court, was willing to accom-  
pany them, and gave them very good In-  
telligence, but also the Lord High-Trea-  
surer of his Majesty, and *John Alberts*  
another *Dutch*-man, a Native of *Embden*  
(who having deserted from Mr. *Anthony*  
*Cams* Ship, had since serv'd the Empe-  
ror in the quality of a Court-Martial) in  
order to conduct our Envoys to the Im-  
perial Court.

Accordingly they set out on their  
Journey from the Village of *Samanture*,  
and in four days arriv'd at *Pangergame*,  
in the Country of *Vintane*, where they were  
introduc'd the same night by the Light  
of Torches into the Emperor's Presence,  
who then kept his Residence at one of  
his Pleasure-houses on the other side of the  
River *Mavilgange*. Their Reception was  
very magnificent, as will appear anon by  
the Entertainment given to Mr. *Gerard*  
*Hulst*, whereof we shall have occasion to  
Vol. III.

give a more ample Description. The  
Credential Letters written by the Go-  
vernour of *Paliacatta*, and deliver'd by  
the Envoys to his Imperial Majesty, were  
as follows.

To the most Potent Emperor *Raja*  
*Singa*, &c.

Most Potent Emperor!

"GOD protect your Imperial Ma-  
"jesty! Your Majesty is not igno-  
"rant of the long and tedious Wars we  
"have for so many years last past carried  
"on (by the Blessing of God) with good  
"success both in *Europe* and the *Indies*  
"against the King of *Spain* and *Portugal*,  
"and how at this time we keep *Goa*, their  
"chief City in the *Indies*, block'd up  
"with so numerous a Squadron of Men  
"of War, that they are not in a Con-  
"dition to relieve any of their Subjects  
"from thence. We have understood by  
"your Majesty's Letter the many Out-  
"rages, Insolencies, Treasons and Wars  
"carried on by the *Portugueses* against  
"your Majesty since their Settlement in  
"your Territories, contrary to the En-  
"gagements, Treaties and Confedera-  
"cies made betwixt you and them; all  
"which they have treacherously broken,  
"in order to make themselves Masters of  
"your Empire, and to impose the most  
"miserable Slavery upon your Sub-  
"jects. Our General of *Jacatra* being  
"inform'd of these Designs, and your  
"Majesty's most commendable Intenti-  
"ons to free your Country from such  
"unwelcome Guests, and to secure your  
"Subjects against all Violences, by sweep-  
"ing out the very Remnants of the  
"*Portugueses*: The General, I say, be-  
"ing extremely rejoic'd at this Resolu-  
"tion, and more especially that your  
"Majesty desired our Assistance, did give  
"immediate Orders for the dispatching  
"of these Envoys, to treat with your  
"Majesty, and to declare to you the  
"sincerity of our Intentions towards  
"your Majesty and your Subjects, in  
"the same manner as the Effects thereof  
"have been sufficiently approv'd by ma-  
"ny of your Neighbouring Princes and  
"Nations. If your Majesty will be  
"pleased to allow us the Exportation of  
"some Cinnamon, we oblige our selves  
"to assist your Majesty with Muskets,  
"Powder, Ammunition, and other Arms;  
"so that in case you will order two or  
"more Ships Cargo's of Cinnamon to be  
"got ready for our use against *May*  
"next,

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“next, we either will pay ready Money for it, or exchange the same for Ammunition or other Merchandizes, as your Majesty shall think fit. So soon as our Envoys are assur'd of your Majesty's Resolutions upon this Head, and of your Intentions to enter into a further Treaty with us, they shall (according to orders) set sail immediately to our Fleet before Goa, to confer with the Admiral how soon and how many Ships may be detach'd out of his Fleet, either for the Transportation of the Cinnamon, or your Majesty's Aid, according to the present Exigency of Affairs. We desire therefore your Majesty to give these Envoys, sent with a most sincere Intention to your Majesty, a suitable Reception, and a favourable Audience; and afterwards to dispatch them with all convenient speed, to further their arrival at our Fleet before Goa, before the *Mousson* be pass'd, which otherwise might prove no small Obstacle to our Design. We acknowledg we ought to have presented your Majesty with some Foreign Rarities (according to Custom) but being ignorant of the Condition of your Country, and in no small fear that these Envoys might perhaps be detain'd by the *Portugueses*, we hope your Majesty will excuse the same for this time. We pray, most Potent Emperor, that God may grant your Majesty Health, Prosperity, and Victory over your Enemies.

Dated in the Fort  
Geldria, the 20th  
of Octob. 1637.

Subscribed,

Your Majesty's most  
devoted Servant,

Charles Reyniers.

Translati-  
ons of the  
Envoys.

The Emperor, whilst the Envoys were making their Propositions, stood with the Crown on his Head, and a Scymeter in his Hand, his Head, Arms and Legs adorn'd with Jewels, Rings and Chains of Gold. He enquired after the State of Affairs in *Holland*, the Health of the Prince of *Orange*, and whether the Envoys had a full Power to treat with him; unto which they answer'd, No, but that the Admiral of the *Dutch* Squadron before Goa had: So they were conducted to the Apartments prepar'd for their Reception, to rest themselves after so fatiguing a Journey.

The next day being again admitted into the Emperor's Presence, he ask'd them

several Matters concerning the present state of Affairs in *Europe*: The *Portugueses* having made it their business to represent the *Dutch* as an inconsiderable Mob, and the Emperor nevertheless having by the great Naval Strength that appear'd of late years in the *East-Indies* conceived a quite different opinion of their Strength than what had been whisper'd about by the *Portugueses*, was very glad to find the Truth to prove agreeable to his former Sentiments concerning the Power of a Nation, with whom he was going to enter into a strict Confederacy against the *Portugueses*. The next following day they began to enter upon a Treaty about the Cinnamon, and the Fort of *Batucalo*. Whilst his Majesty held frequent Conferences (twice a day for a whole Week) with our Deputies, a Letter was sent to the King or Prince of *Mateli* (the Emperor's Brother) by *Diogo de Melo de Castro*, Governour of *Columbo*; wherein he complain'd of the intended Breach of the Peace, styling the *Hollanders* rebellious Subjects of the King of *Portugal*, who had incur'd the Hatred of all the other Indian Princes. He added, That the Emperor was guilty of this Rupture whereof he had given notice in a Letter to the Viceroy of Goa. His Majesty desir'd that the said Letter should be translated into the *Dutch*, and be deliver'd by the Envoys to the Admiral before Goa; and told them for the rest, that he was too well acquainted with their ways, to give Ear to these Calumnies: That he would endeavour to amuse them with Compliments, till he could find an opportunity of surprizing the Fort of *Mankewar* in the *Low-Countries* near the South Shore of the Isle. He writ also a Letter to the Admiral *Westermold*, and order'd three Deputies to go along with our Envoys to take a view of the Fleet before Goa, and to give an account thereof to him.

The 27th of the same Month his Majesty thought fit to dispatch the Envoys: *Palankyns* or Litters were order'd for their Journey, with some Elephants for their Baggage, and a Convey of 20 *Lascaryns*, under the Command of a Colonel to conduct them, with orders to defray their Charges in all places through which they pass'd. It was further remarkable, that whilst the Governour of *Palacatta's* Letter was deliver'd to his Majesty, and the Envoys made their Propositions, he arose from his Chair, and remain'd standing all the while, an Honour never done to the *Portugueses*. The *Dutch* Envoys set sail the 4th of the next following

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Month of *December*, with the three before-mentioned Deputies aboard the *Falcon* Yacht, and coming up the 19th following with the *Dutch* Squadron before *Goa*, they deliver'd to *Adam Westervold* their Admiral, the following Letter from his Imperial Majesty.

HAVING sent a Letter in *September* to the Governour of *Paliacatta*, I receiv'd an Answer thereupon the 19th of *Novemb.* 1637. but the Envoys not being instructed sufficiently to treat with me, but the same being refer'd by the General of *Jacatra* to the Admiral of the Fleet, I thought fit to send certain Deputies to treat with your Excellency. The before-mentioned Governour having made mention also of the Transportation of a certain quantity of *Cinnamon*, your Excellency if you please may send five Men of War to attack the Fort of *Batecalo*, and some other Vessels to other Harbours, in order to take in all the *Cinnamon* that is to be had there. I am inform'd that you intend to stay before *Goa* till *April* next, and then are to return to *Jacatra*, in order to return afterwards with all possible speed to the Harbour of *Columbo*, and from thence to detach three Ships to the Harbour of *Batecalo*, in order to make themselves Masters of that place. I will at the same time ad-

vance with my Forces to *Columbo*; and in case God be pleas'd to bless our Arms with Victory against our Enemies, I dare assure you upon my Royal Word, that the City shall be preserv'd for our mutual use, and that we will enter into a Contract with you concerning all the *Pepper* and *Cinnamon* in the Isle. It is therefore that I judge it advisable to come with your whole Strength, in order to accelerate our Confederacy, which may be as durable as the Sun and Moon: But if this should not be convenient, pray send a trusty Person whom we may treat with, there being little time to be lost, since things being already come to a Rupture with the *Portugueses*, we shall stand in present need of your Assistance. I expect the return of the three Deputies with the arrival of your Fleet.

From *Vintane*  
23 Nov. 1637.

Signed,

Imperador, *Raja Singa*.

Sealed with the Pummel of his Majesty's Scymeter, printed in Red Wax.

It was directed,

To the Lord Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet before *Goa*.

CHAP. XX.

*Sea Engagement before Goa, betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese Fleets.*

WHILE the Envoys were honourably entertain'd aboard the Fleet by *Adam van Westervold* the *Dutch* Admiral, a *Sea Engagement* happen'd the 4th of *January* 1638. betwixt us and the *Portugueses*. The *Dutch* Squadron was composed of the following Ships.

The *Dreecht*, aboard whereof was the Admiral *Adam van Westervold*, Capt. *Reynier Wybrandt*, Head Factor *James Nolpe*, carrying 42 Brads and Iron Cannon mounted, and 150 Men, among whom were 35 Soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant *Hans Maagdelyn*.

The *Flissingen*, aboard of which was the Vice-Admiral, Head Factor, Fiscal, and Commissary *John van Twist*; *Hubert Hubertson* Captain, carrying 38 pieces of Cannon, and 140 Men, among whom were 20 Soldiers, commanded by a Ser-

jeant named *Cornelius Bloom*.

The Arms of *Rotterdam* Reer-Admiral, commanded by *Herman Wolters*, Baak, and *John David Wolfwinkel* Clark, carrying 38 pieces of Cannon, and 130 Men, among whom were 20 Soldiers.

The *Hague*, aboard of which were *Floris van Castel* Head Factor, *Minne Williams Keert de Koe* Captain, and *James van Capel* under Factor, carrying 34 pieces of Cannon, and 110 Men, among them 20 Soldiers.

The *Harderwyk*, commanded by *Paul Clasen*, *Peter Bruchart* under Factor, carrying 36 pieces of Cannon, 115 Men, among them 20 Soldiers.

The *Vere*, commanded by *Isaac Dickson* Kien, *Lawrence de Marshal* under Factor, carrying 30 pieces of Cannon, and 105 Men, among them 20 Soldiers.

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~ The *Texel*, commanded by Captain *Baldaus Cornelius Leendard Valk*, *Joost van Wielyk* under Factor, carrying 24 pieces of Cannon, and 77 Men, among them 12 Soldiers.

~ The *Breda*, commanded by *Francis Thyse*, *John Fox* under Factor, carrying 24 Cannon, 77 Men, and among them 12 Soldiers.

The Yacht the *Little Amsterdam*, *Jacob Jacobsen Struck* Commander, carrying 8 Guns, and 25 Men.

The little *Enchuyfen* Yacht commanded by Captain *Reynier*, carrying 2 Brafts and 6 Iron Guns, and 20 Men.

The *Fa'lon* Yacht, *John Thysen* Captain, *Adrian Helmont* Factor, carrying 16 Iron Guns, 40 Men, and among them six Soldiers.

The *Dolphin* Frigate, commanded by *Peter van der Kamer*, carrying 6 Iron Guns, and 20 Men.

A List of the Portuguese Ships. The Portuguese Squadron consisted of these following Ships.

The *Bon Jesus*, *Don Antonio Telles de Menezes* Admiral, carrying 76 Brafts Guns, and 400 Men, among whom were 300 Portuguese, the rest Negroes.

The *S. Sebastian* Vice-Admiral, commanded by Capt. *Antonio Menezes Bouterette*, carrying 50 Brafts Guns, 150 Portuguese, and 200 Negroes.

*Madre de Deus* Reer-Admiral, commanded by *Lewis Gonsalves*, carrying 35 Iron and Brafts Guns, 130 Portuguese and 120 Negroes.

The *S. Bartholomew*, *Lewis de Castelbranco* Commander, carrying 26 Iron and Brafts Guns, 140 Portuguese, and 160 Negroes.

The *S. Francis*, Captain *Domingo Ferreira* Commander, carrying 26 Guns, 100 Portuguese, and as many Negroes.

The *S. Philip*, commanded by *Don Diego de Paes*, carrying 24 Guns, 100 Portuguese, and 100 Negroes.

With these 6 Galeons, and 20 small Frigats, the Portuguese set sail out of the Road of Goa, Jan. 4. 1638. in sight of the Dutch, who no sooner got sight of them, but they weighed their Anchors, and in form of a Crescent sail'd with a Land-wind and low Water out into the Main. The Portuguese divided into two Squadrons follow'd them with all the Sails they could make, their



Admiral making up towards the Dutch Admiral, as their Vice-Admiral (tho not so good a Sailor as the rest) did to the Ships the *Rotterdam*, the *Vere*, and the *Falcon* Yacht. In the Morning about Nine a Clock both Fleets began to come within Cannon-shot, about three Leagues from the Road of *Goa*, where the Engagement began betwixt the two Admirals, who plentifully exchange'd their Broad-sides for three hours successively, as did three others of the Portuguese Ships with the Dutch Fleet, the rest of their Gallies not being able to come up immediately for want of a Wind. The Portuguese Vice-Admiral coming at last up with the rest, was briskly saluted by our Ships the *Rotterdam* and the *Vere*, whilst the rest of the Dutch Vessels did what they could to advance closer to the Enemy; and at last having got the advantage of the Sea-wind, they were for boarding the Portuguese Ships, having sent the *Texel* and *Dolphin* Frigats, two Fire-ships, to get in among them; but these setting it before the Wind, avoided that danger. The Dutch Admiral *Westervold* did his utmost in his Ship the *Vtrecht* to board the Portuguese Admiral; which he perceiving, retreated towards his Squadron, which made the Dutch Admiral set it with all the sail he could make upon their Vice-Admiral, which he did with such success, that the Portuguese was forced to cut his Sails and Cables to get rid of his Enemy, whilst the whole Portuguese Squadron ply'd the Dutch Admiral with their Cannon, who thereby receiv'd considerable damage, especially in his Rigging. Our Ship the *Vere* would have boarded the *S. Bartholomew*, but they got clear of one another, yet not without receiving a good Broad-side from the Ship the *Hague*; and the *Flissingen* finding the Portuguese Admiral engag'd with these two Ships, she laid the *Bartholomew* aboard, and with the assistance of the *Hague* ply'd her so warmly, that she was set on fire, the rest of the Portuguese Ships retreating in the mean while towards the Shore. Such was the violence of the Flames, that notwithstanding all the Endeavours that were used, the *Hague* was also set on fire, and soon after the *Flissingen*, and were all three consum'd by the Flames.

The Portuguese in the mean while taking the advantage of the Confusion, made the best of their way towards the Road of *Goa*, being pursued for one League and a half by the *Rotterdam*, *Vere*,

and *Texel*, close under their Forts; the rest of our Ships being busied in saving the Men from the danger of the Fire, and in repairing their Masts and Rigging, so that the Victory remain'd on our side, which would have been very considerable had the same been not allay'd by the burning of the two before-mentioned Ships.

The Loss of the Dutch amounted to 35 Men, among whom were Capt. *Herman Wouters Baak*, besides 50 wounded, among whom was the Factor *James Nolpe*: The loss on the Portuguese side amounted to 78 Portuguese, and 150 Miskies and Negroes. *Don Lewis de Castelbranco*, and Father *Laurence de Merinda* a Jesuit, were taken Prisoners, with 90 Portuguese, and 49 Miskies and Negroes, being sav'd by the same Boats that came to save their own Men, and exchange'd afterwards for a Captain, a Factor, and eight other Dutch-men belonging to the *Wieringen* Yacht (burnt near *Malacca*) besides a Sum of 2000 Crowns paid to *Don Pedro de Silva* Viceroy of the Indies. The first of March a Portuguese Caraque, half laden with Pepper and Cinnamon, and bound for Portugal, immediately after the departure of the Dutch Fleet was burnt by accident; and the Galcon the *Madre de Deus* underwent the same fate in April following, to the great detriment of the Portuguese, whose Naval Force in the Indies was not a little impair'd by the loss of these three great Ships.

The Emperor of Ceylon's Deputies who were present in the Engagement, were surpriz'd at the Bravery of the *Hollanders*, who with their small Ships durst board the Portuguese so much stronger both in Men and Cannon. After the Engagement the Dutch Fleet came to an Anchor near the Islands on the South-side of *Goa*, to refit their Ships, and to venture a second Engagement. Soon after the *Hertogenbosch* a brave Vessel commanded by *William Jacob Koster*, join'd our Fleet, coming lately from *Suratte* with a rich Cargo of the best Indian Stuffs, Indigo, Saltpeter, and other Indian Commodities, valued at 412000 Gilders at the first hand, which for meer safety sake were dispersed among the other Vessels. The 12th of January arriv'd likewise the Ship *Henrietta Louisa* from *Batavia*, having on board 76000 Crowns, besides other Merchandizes for our Factory of *Suratte*, and was sent thither in company of the *Breda* and *Enchuyfen* Yachts.





Baldaus.

## C H A P. XXI.

William Jacob Koster sent to Ceylon by Admiral Westerwold. The Portugueses march to Candy, are totally routed by the Emperor. The Dutch besiege Batecalo.

A Dutch Squadron sent to Ceylon.

THE 23d of Jan. 1638. the *Falcon* Yacht being likewise dispatch'd to *Batavia*, with Advice of the late Engagement, and some Merchandizes, as also the Sick and Wounded to be dispos'd in the Hospital there, our Squadron consisted only of 7 Capital Ships and 2 Yachts. But the Dutch Admiral perceiving the Portugueses to make not the least Preparations of attacking them a second time, it was resolv'd in a Council of War to send Mr. William Jacob Koster Commodore, with the *Texel*, the *Amsterdam*, and *Dolphin*, mann'd with 180 Men and 70 Souldiers, to the Isle of Ceylon, to give notice to the Emperor of the intended Succours against *May*, and in the mean while to offer his Assistance in the Siege of some Fort or other belonging to the Portugueses; for which purpose the Admiral writ the following Letter to his Imperial Majesty.

The Dutch Admiral's Letter to the Emperor of Ceylon.

“Adam van Westerwold, Counsellor Extraordinary of the *Indies*, and Admiral of the Dutch Fleet, wishes the most Potent Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candy, &c. all Happiness and Prosperity, with the utmost Offer of his Service, for the throwing off the intolerable Yoke of the Portugueses.

Most Potent Emperor,

“W Hilst the Illustrious General and Council of the *Indies*, under the Jurisdiction of the United Provinces, were employ'd in equipping a Squadron of 16 Ships, to be sent from *Batavia* before *Goa*, in order to annoy our common Enemies the Portugueses, and to prevent their sending any *Carragues* or Galeons during the late Northern *Mousson* to *Portugal*, the Ship the *Husduynen* arriv'd at *Batavia* from the Coast of *Coromandel*, with Letters from the Governour of that Coast, wherein was enclos'd your Majesty's Letter, dated at Candy, Sept. 9. 1636. The said General and Council of the *Indies*, having understood by these Letters, the many Treacheries and Outrages committed by the

“Portugueses in your Majesty's Dominions, and that you were pleas'd to crave their Assistance for the defence of your Country, and rooting out our common Enemies, offering for that purpose to have either *Batecalo* or *Cotiar* (which of the two we should pitch upon) fortify'd at your own Charge for our use, as likewise to give Satisfaction for all the Charge we should be at in the Equipment of such Ships as should be sent to your assistance: These Propositions having been well weigh'd by the General and Council of the *Indies*, it was resolv'd by them, pursuant to the good Inclinations they have to your Majesty, to comply with your Desires. And it appearing by your Majesty's Letter, dated *Novemb. 21. 1637.* and sent to me by the *Falcon* Yacht, that you still persist in the same laudable Sentiments, I took immediate care to send a Vessel and two Yachts, to advertise your Majesty of our Coming, under the Commodore William Jacob Koster, the second Member of my Council, who is to treat with your Majesty concerning our intended Design, and to concert measures which of the Portuguese Forts may be most conveniently attack'd at our Arrival, and where your Majesty's Forces are to rendezvous, in order to assist in the taking of the said Forts; for which purpose a certain quantity of Ladders of Bamboes, besides some other Materials, must be got ready. Your Majesty's Deputies who come with these Ships, will be able to give you a more compleat account by word of Mouth, concerning our Intentions. If the Blockade of *Goa* be rais'd by the end of *April*, I intend (pursuant to the Orders receiv'd from the General and Council of the *Indies*) to set sail in Person with three of my biggest Ships, well provided with Men and Ammunition, for Ceylon, to confer and treat more amply with your Majesty concerning our projected Design. I hope your Majesty will according to your Promise, order two Ships Cargos of Cinamon to be got ready against our Arrival. I wish your Majesty a long

\*

Life

"Life, and Victory against your Enemies."

The before-mentioned Commodore Koffer, having set Sail accordingly, March 17. from Goa, with the 3 Ships the *Texel*, little *Amsterdam* and *Dolphin*, came to an Anchor the 2d of April following near *Trinquenaile*, a Harbour on the Northside of the Isle of Ceylon; where the Emperor's Deputys being set ashore, in order to deliver the Admiral's Letter at *Candy*, and give notice of the Arrival of the Dutch Ships, they understood, that the Emperor immediately after the Departure of the *Falcon* Yacht, had caused a good Quantity of Cinnamon, Wax and Pepper, to be laid up for our use. The *Portugueses* had no sooner notice thereof, but they sent a Letter to his Majesty, asking the Reason why he had ordered such a Quantity of Merchandizes to be laid up, which, pursuant to the Contract stipulated betwixt them, belonged only to them. The Emperor return'd them no other Answer than that, He having promised the same to his Friends the *Hollanders*, he would try who should dare to oppose it.

This resolute Answer so nettled the *Portugueses* at *Columbo*, that being now fully convinc'd of the Confederacy betwixt the Emperor and the *Dutch*, and that they must soon expect to be attack'd at *Batecalo*, they were put to the greatest Nonplus, what Resolution to take in this present Exigency of Affairs. Some considering that having scarce been able to cope with the Emperor alone, they would not be able to resist his Efforts, when sustain'd by the *Dutch*, were of Opinion to embark all their Treasure, Men and Artillery, to demolish the Fort, and set Sail for *Goa*.

But the braver sort rejecting this Proposition as base, and inconsistent with their King's Honour, resolv'd, rather than thus to quit an Isle, which they had fix'd themselves in with the Loss of so much Blood and Treasure, to venture the utmost and die in the Attempt. *Damijao Bottado*, who had laid the first Foundation of the Fortress of *Batecalo*, propos'd among the rest, that they ought to gather all their Forces, and march up to *Candy*, before *Raja Singa* could be join'd by the *Dutch*.

This Advice being approved of, they marched in March 1638, under the Command of their General *Diego de Melo*, the before-mention'd *Damijao Bottado*, and the Major-General *Sorde*, towards *Candy*.

The Emperor having got notice of their March, retir'd from thence with all his People, leaving the City to their Mercy, which they took without any Opposition; and having plunder'd and burnt the same, directed their March to the Mountains of *Gannor* or *Gannero*, where they pitch'd their Tents, their whole Force consisting of 2300 *Portugueses* and *Miscies*, and 6000 *Negroes*.

This it was that the Emperor had so long look'd for, who immediately order'd the Road to *Walane*, and all other Places thro which they were to pass, to be stopp'd, by laying great Trees cross the Roads. The Enemies finding themselves reduc'd to these Straits, the *Cingalese* unanimously revolted to the Emperor; so that the *Portugueses* seeing not the least hopes of escaping by Force of Arms, had recourse to two Friars, one a *Franciscan*, and the other an *Augustin* Monk, who were sent to endeavour to obtain them a free Passage from the Emperor to *Columbo*: But the Emperor gave them such an Answer, that the Friars thought it their safest way not to return to their Camp; so that the *Portugueses* finding themselves past all Reprieve, the General *de Melo* ask'd *Bottado* what was to be done, and which way they should escape the Danger into which they were drawn by his rash Advice, who gave him no other Answer, than that they must die together. The Emperor *Raja Singa* in the mean while kept close in his Camp, watching all the Opportunities of attacking them, with the utmost Advantage, which soon happen'd; for a violent Storm of Rain (which he knew would render the *Portuguese* Firelocks in some manner useless) made him draw out his Troops against the Enemy; and putting the *Musqueteers* in Front, he order'd them after the first Discharge to retire, and give way to 5000 Bowmen of *Mangelcorle*, who being sustain'd by as many Pikes, did break in with such Fury among the *Portugueses*, that they soon put them into Disorder, and immediately after to the Rout, with the Slaughter of all the *Portugueses*, except a very few who obtain'd Mercy at their Conqueror's Hands, amounting in all not to above 70 Persons.

The Emperor was a Spectator of this Engagement from a Tree near the Bank of a River, which ran betwixt him and the Mountain of *Gannor*, whither they brought the Heads of the *Portugueses* slain in the Battel, which were heap'd up in form of a Pyramid before him. All the Great Officers of the *Portugueses* lost their

Baldens.

Take and burn it.

Are defeated by the Cingalese.

And put to the Rout.

A Pyramid of Heads.

Baldau.

their Lives near the Mountain of *Gannor*, and among them their General *de Melo*, whose Sword was afterwards presented by the Emperor to the Admiral *Westervold*.

Siege of  
Batecalo.

In the mean while matters having been concerted with the *Modeliar*, or Governor of *Mattaclape*, concerning the Portuguese Fortress of *Batecalo*, they set sail thither; and having landed 100 Soldiers, and as many Seamen in two Troops, they soon rais'd two Batteries, with the assistance of the Natives, one on the East, the other on the South-side of the Fort,

upon each of which were mounted four brass Demi-Culverins; and the Emperor having left the Gros of his Army under the Command of his Brother the Prince of *Mateli* to invest *Columbo*, join'd our Forces before *Batecalo*, April 14. in Person, with a Detachment of 2000 Men. Commodore *Koster* being receiv'd by his Imperial Majesty with all possible Marks of Honour, they immediately enter'd upon a Debate, how to attack the Fortress with the utmost Vigour upon the Arrival of the rest of our Ships.

### CHAP. XXII.

*Adam Westervold's Arrival in Ceylon. Batecalo taken. A Treaty betwixt the Emperor and Mr. Westervold.*

Westervold  
comes before  
Batecalo.

THE Admiral *Westervold* having set sail April 22. from before *Goa*, arriv'd at *Batecalo*, May 10. with the Ships the *Maestricht*, *Harderwick*, *Rotterdam*, *Vere*, and the *Enchuyzen Yacht*, having on board 840 Men, Officers, Soldiers and

Mariners. The next following Day having landed his Men, with 6 great Pieces for Battery, the same were mounted immediately, in order to facilitate the Passage of their Forces into the Isle upon which the Fort was built: This being executed



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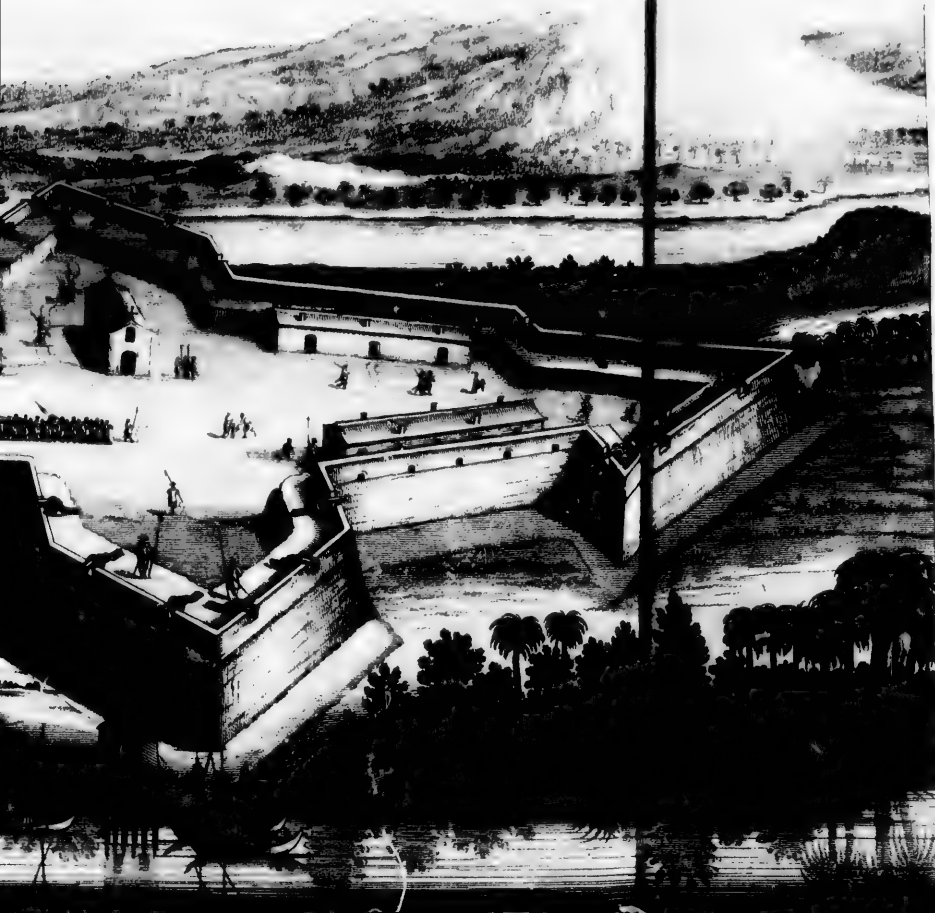
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accordingly the 18th, and 500 Men brought over under favour of the Cannon, which play'd incessantly for four Hours upon the *Portugueses*, they put out the white Flag immediately, and sent two Deputies to capitulate with the *Dutch* Admiral, which was soon done upon the following Conditions: That they should surrender the Fort immediately, and be permitted to march out without Arms or Baggage. The *Portugueses* and *Miskies* to the Number of 108, with their Wives and Children, to be transported in a *Dutch* Vessel to *Negapatan*, but the Natives to be delivered up to the Emperor, which was executed accordingly, fifty of them (who had murder'd one of his Majesty's Gentlemen) being empal'd alive, and the rest sold for Slaves with their Wives and Children.

The Fort of *Batecalo* is seated in an Isle of about two *Dutch* Leagues in compass, three Leagues within the Mouth of the River of *Batecalo*, which has given it its Name. It was fortified with high Stone Walls and three passable Bastions, upon which were mounted 11 Iron and Brass Cannons, besides some lesser Ones, with a suitable Proportion of Ammunition. We found in it Rice sufficient for two Months, but their Fresh-Water being about a Musquet-shot without the Fortrefs, the *Dutch* had made themselves Masters of that Spring. Commodore *Koster* was made Governor of the Fort, with a Garison of one hundred *Dutch* Soldiers.

After the taking of this Fortrefs, the Admiral *Westermold* made an Alliance with the Emperor of *Ceylon*, in the Name of their High and Mightinesses the States-General of the *United-Provinces*, his Highness *Frederick* Prince of *Orange*, and of the Honourable *East-India* Company, with the Approbation of the General and Council of the *Indies*, upon the following Conditions:

I. A Firm and stedfast Amity shall be maintain'd betwixt his Majesty and his Subjects, and the *Dutch* Nation, and their *East-India* Company, who shall assist his Majesty upon all Occasions against the *Portugueses*.

II. As often as any Place or Fort is taken by the *Dutch*, with the Assistance of his Majesty, from the common Enemy, the Booty to be divided share and share alike.

III. After the taking of any Forts, the *Dutch* shall provide the same with necessary Garisons and Ammunition; and

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if any thing be wanting to compleat the Fortifications, the same shall be done at the Charge of his Majesty, as it shall be thought requisite by the *Dutch*.

IV. His Majesty obliges himself to pay punctually every Month their Soldiers and Officers.

V. As also to build in the conquered Places or Forts (where no Houses are before) a House of Stone (as the *Dutch* shall think fit) to be us'd for a Warehouse, as also a Magazine for their Arms and Naval Stores.

VI. In case his Majesty designs any thing against the common Enemy, the same is to be consulted with our Chief Officers.

VII. For the Security of the Rivers, his Majesty is to furnish a certain Number of Gallies and Gally-Slaves, which are to be provided with Soldiers and Ammunition by the *Dutch*.

VIII. His Majesty and his Subjects oblige themselves to make full Reparation of the Charges the *Dutch* have been at in equipping the present Fleet, Yachts, Vessels, &c. and furnishing them with Men, Soldiers, Officers, Ammunition, Provisions, &c. or of such other Ships as the General and Council shall for the future send to his Majesty's Assistance into *Ceylon*, with their necessary Men, Ammunition, Provisions, &c. the Charges whereof shall be reimbursed in Cinnamon, Pepper, Cardamom, Indigo, Wax, Rice, and such other Commodities as are of the Product of his Majesty's Dominions, except the *Mato* or *Wild-Cinnamon*.

IX. His Majesty in respect of his Friendship and good Inclinations to the *Dutch* Nation, allows them free Passage and Traffick in all his Dominions, in the Isle of *Ceylon*, in all his Cities, Towns, Villages, Seaports, Roads, Bays, Rivers, &c. with their Vessels, Yachts, Boats, &c. to buy, sell or exchange, import or export without the least Molestation, or paying any Customs under any pretence whatever. His Majesty's Subjects shall not be permitted to sell the *Dutch* any Cinnamon, Pepper, Wax and Elephants Teeth, except what is sold by the Emperor's Order; who engages himself, that in case he should have occasion to sell 4, 10, 20, or more Elephants, he will procure them the like Number at the same rate: they were sold.

X. His Majesty, and all the Great Men of the Empire promise, not to allow their Subjects to traffick, either with any *European* or *Eastern* Nation, either by Sale or Exchange, in such Commodities as are of the Product of *Ceylon*; much

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*Baldew.* less to permit the Ships of these Nations to tarry in the Harbours of Ceylon, but to oblige them to depart forthwith. However the Neighbouring Nations of *Daucy* and *Tanjouwer* may pass and repass freely with their Vessels, to and from Ceylon.

XI. His Majesty obliges himself to send yearly to *Batavia*, one or two Shiploads of Cinnamon, Pepper, Cardamom, 'ndigo, Wax, &c. as a Reimbursement of the Charge bestowed in the Equipement of the Vessels sent to his Assistance; and in case the said Cargo should amount to more than the Charges, the Surplus to be paid to his Majesty, either in ready Money or such Commodities, as his Majesty shall think fit.

XII. His Majesty having granted full Liberty for the Dutch Merchants, to travel, traffick, buy and sell, the Inhabitants shall be obliged to furnish them with Beasts fit for Carriage, for the carrying of such Goods as they have bought, either to their Warehouses, or aboard their Vessels. Furthermore, the said Merchants or other *Hollanders* shall remain under the Jurisdiction of the respective Commanders or Heads of their own Nation, as the Natives of Ceylon stand under the Subjection of the Emperor.

XIII. No body, without exception, that trades with the Dutch here, shall have Freedom to sell any such Commodities bought from them to others, before the Dutch have fully received their Quota; and in case of Contravention, the Dutch shall have a Power to seize his Person, and to compel him to produce the said Goods. Furthermore, in case any of the Natives stand indebted to the Dutch for a considerable Sum, they shall be subject to the same Treatment, with this Proviso nevertheless, that in case any of his Majesty's Subjects be taken into Custody by the Dutch, notice shall be given thereof to the Emperor or his Governor.

XIV. No body of what Quality whatever shall pretend to raise or diminish the Coin, otherwise than has been agreed betwixt his Majesty and the Dutch; and such as contravene this Article on either side, shall without Mercy be punish'd with Death, and Confiscation of their Estates to his Majesty's use.

XV. In case a *Hollander* should fly into his Majesty's Dominions, the same shall be deliver'd up; as on the other hand the same shall be done on our side, in case any of his Majesty's Subjects shelter themselves in our Dominions.

XVI. After the Conclusion of this Treaty, neither his Majesty nor any of his Subjects shall maintain any secret or public Commerce or Correspondence with the *Portugueses*, our common Enemies, much less to traffick with them under any pretence whatever, but look upon them as their constant declar'd Enemies: And in case any of his Majesty's Subjects shall be discover'd to have sold them any Commodities, the Transgressors shall be punish'd with Death.

XVII. His Majesty shall not suffer any Priests, Friars or Clergymen to dwell in his Dominions, but oblige them to depart as the Authors of all Rebellions, and the Ruin of Governments.

XVIII. In case any Dutch Ships employed in his Majesty's Service, shall take any Prizes from the Enemies, the same shall belong to the *East-India* Company, with this Proviso however, that the said Company shall alone bear all the Damages sustained by the said Ships, in any of these Engagements.

XIX. In case the Dutch furnish any great Cannon for the Fortresses, or otherwise for his Majesty's Service, the same may freely be taken back, if Occasion requires, without any Hindrance, and be brought aboard of Ship or otherwise, where it shall be thought most convenient.

XX. Transacted and concluded thus, in the Presence of his Imperial Majesty of Ceylon, and of *Adam Westermold* Member of the Council of the Indies, and Commodore of the Squadron of Ships on the Coast of Ceylon; as also of *William Jacob Koster*, Vice-Commodore of the said Squadron, at the Royal Palace, in the Country of *Batecalo*, May 23. 1638.

Additional Article,

The Dutch oblige themselves to shew all possible Favour and Assistance to such Vessels, as shall go from hence with his Majesty's, or any of his Governors Passports to other Harbours.

Signed,

*Raja Singa* Imperador,  
*Adam Westermold*,  
*William Jacob Koster*.

Sealed with his Majesty's and  
Mr. *Westermold's* Seals.

Pursuant to this Agreement, his Majesty order'd 400 Balls of Cinnamon, 87 Quintals of Wax, and 3059 Pounds of Pepper to be deliver'd to Mr. *Westermold*.

wold, in part of the Reimbursement of Charges they had been at, promising to deliver the rest, as soon as it could be brought together at the Seaport of *Siamature*, and to hasten the Ratification of the said Alliance; his Majesty sent two Ambassadors to *Batavia*, in Company of Mr. *Westermold*, with some Presents to the General and Council of the *Indies*, who being honourably received and treated there, were afterwards sent back with Letters and Presents for his Majesty, with the Yachts the *Grijpskerk*, *Faulcon*

and *Venlo*, bound for the Coast of *Coromandel*.

The Emperor's Army in the mean while being about 20000 strong, continued before *Columbo*; and the *Portugueses* having been very unsuccessful in divers Sallies, it was more than probable that this Place (tho the Capital City of the *Portugueses* in this Isle) would be forc'd to surrender upon the Arrival of the expected *Dutch Fleet*, under the Admiral *Anthony de Caan*.

*Baldau.*

*Columbo besieged.*

CHAP. XXIII.

*Puntegale taken by Storm by William Jacob Koster. Caleture besieged.*

*Puntegale played.* THE 8th of March, Commodore *Koster* being come to an Anchor about noon in the Bay of *Puntegale*, under the Enemies Cannon, he landed his Men before Night on the North-side without any Resistance. Intelligence was brought by some Negroes, that they expected a Reinforcement in the City of 250 *Portugueses*

from *Columbo*; notwithstanding which the *Dutch* divided their Forces into three Bodies, and advanced close under the Fort: The 9th early in the Morning, they were attack'd by the said *Portugueses*, whom they repuls'd, tho not without some loss. Nevertheless they kept our Forces in constant Alarm, those of *Can-*

*Puntegale taken by Storm.*





*Baldern.* dy being by the 11th of March advanced no further than *Billigamme*, 6 Leagues from *Gak*; but (thro God's singular Mercy) three of our Ships, viz. the *Harlem*, *Middleburgh* and *Breda*, coming on the same day to anchor in the Bay, and landing 400 men, as well Soldiers as Seamen, we were soon exempted from all Fear.

The 12th finding they had made a sufficient Breach in the Bastion of *St. Jago*, they began to make all necessary Preparations for the storming of the Place, which was done accordingly the 13th with such undaunted Bravery, that after an hour and half's stout resistance it was taken by Assault. This City was afterwards, viz. 1663, and 64. render'd almost impregnable by the Dutch by several additional Fortifications; and this Day is ever since celebrated yearly by a solemn Thanksgiving.

Mr. *Konink* who was treacherously murder'd by the *Malagafes*, as *Sebald de Weert* was by his own Imprudence) was succeeded by *John Thyssen*, who is yet living, and has render'd himself famous for his many Services done the Company in those Parts. In his stead came *John*

*Maatzuyker*, since Governour of the *Indies*, who has served in that Station 15 Years. He was succeeded by *Jacob van Kittenstein* in the Presidentship of *Gale* (the Affairs of the Company hitherto not admitting of the Quality of a Governour here) who died afterwards at *Batavia*, and was succeeded by *Adrian van der Meyden*, in whose time *Caleture*, *Columbo*, *Manaar* and *Jafnapatnam* were taken. He was succeeded by *Ryklof van Goens* and *Jacob Hufart*; by which time the Company having considerably enlarged their Limits in this Isle, a Governour was constituted at *Columbo*, the City of *Gale* being left to the management of a Commander in chief, the first in that Station being one *Tybrand Gotsken*, a Native of the *Hague*, a brave Soldier, sufficiently known for his signal Services done at the Sieges of *Columbo*, *Manaar*, *Jafnapatnam* and *Cochin*, whereof he was Governour afterwards, and since chief Director in *Persia*, *Adrian Rootbaas* his Successor is a Person who has render'd his Name famous by Sea, especially in the *Levant* and before *Goa*, as the former had done by Land.

*Gale*



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*Gale* has a commodious Bay, fit for Anchorage, except that with a South-West Wind the Sea runs very hollow there. At the very Entrance of the Harbour lies a dangerous Rock, near to which all Ships must pass, and against which the *Hercules*, one of our Ships, was staved to pieces. There is no coming into the Bay, unless you pass by the Water-Fort, which is well provided with Cannon for the Security of the Harbour. The Fortifications of the City itself consist only in three Bastions, the rest being so inclosed with the Sea and Rocks, that there is no approaching to it even with the smallest Boats. On the top of a Rock which jets out into the Sea is a Lanthorn, and an Iron Cannon, wherewith they give warning to the Ships, and near it you see the Company's Flag display'd. The City is well built of Stone, very high, with goodly Houses, a stately Church, pleasant Gardens, and most delicious Springs; the Mountains which surround it affording a pleasant Prospect, over which you pass thro Roads cut out of the Rocks, call'd by them *Gravettes*.

About a days Journey from *Gale* stands the Fort of *Calcutre*, in a most delightful Country, near the Entrance of a large and broad River, on the Sea-shore, surrounded by a double strong Wall of Earth. It was reduced by the Director General Gerard Hulst, 15 Oct. 1655. in the following manner.

Having rendezvoused his Forces, consisting of 593 men, near *Bentotte*, and being join'd the 28th of September by some more Troops under *Christopher Egger*, *Leonard Wiltscut*, and *Melchior van Schoonbeek*, they directed their March towards *Calcutre*. But being informed that the Enemy were resolv'd to make a vigorous Defence, and our Artillery being not yet come up, it was thought advisable to detach Capt. *Abraham Cous* and *Jurian Gevels* with five Companys, to secure the Pass of *Oucatte* over the River, thereby to prevent the Enemy from receiving any Supplies, till the arrival of our Ships, that were expected every day with more Forces.

The 29th we took a view of all the Avenues leading to the Place; and Guards being plac'd in all convenient Posts, the Factor *Renier Serooskerken* and Mr. *Tsbrand Godken* were dispatch'd to our Ships, to send us the necessary Artillery and Ammunition.

The 5th of October Advice was brought by two of the Natives, that the Garrison, consisting of 300 men, was but slenderly

provided with Provisions, their whole Store consisting only in 50 \* *Parras*, and two small Packs of dry'd Fish, and that they were forc'd to live upon *Cassies*, or Water and Rice.

The 6th of October after we had mounted some Great Guns upon our Batteries, a certain † *Topas*, who had been Secretary to Captain *Marcello Fialbo*, came over to us, who discovered to the General Hulst the whole Strength of the Enemy, and the Names of their Officers; adding, that 4 or 5 days before his departure there were about 210 *Parras* of Rice in the Store-house, whereof they distributed a certain quantity to each Soldier every day, and to the King's Negroes call'd || *Cassers*, a Quart a piece: That they had no *Lascaryns* in the Place, and as he believ'd could not hold it above 10 days, tho they seem'd resolv'd to defend it to the last extremity, in hopes of being relieved the next week by *Caspar Figero*.

The same day Major *John van der Laan* brought word that all was well secured on his Attack; and Captain *James Swart*, and the Factor *Abraham Hartman* brought up with 60 Seamen the two great Cannon that were left behind. Capt. *Dian-teiro* was also detach'd with 40 Dutch Soldiers, and a good number of *Lascaryns*, to the Pass of *Wellikande*; and the General Gerard Hulst with Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* having taken a view of our Batteries, did go to take a view of the Pass near *Palletotte*, where, as well as on the other side, they found every thing to their satisfaction, 756 men being employ'd on that side.

The 7th of October they went up the River as far as *Wellikande*, to see whether the Enemy could receive any Supplies of Provisions by the Brook, or from above by the way of *Anguratotte* and *Tiboene*; but found it not feasible by reason of the shallowness of the Water. However five Ferry-boats were shew'd them in the narrowest Places of the River, where having placed some *Lascaryns*, they committed the management thereof to Mr. *John van der Laan*. The 11th of October a Mortar of a large size and a 12 Pounder were mounted on the Battery, and Mr. *John van der Laan* came to tell the General that the second Battery would be ready to play on his side the same night.

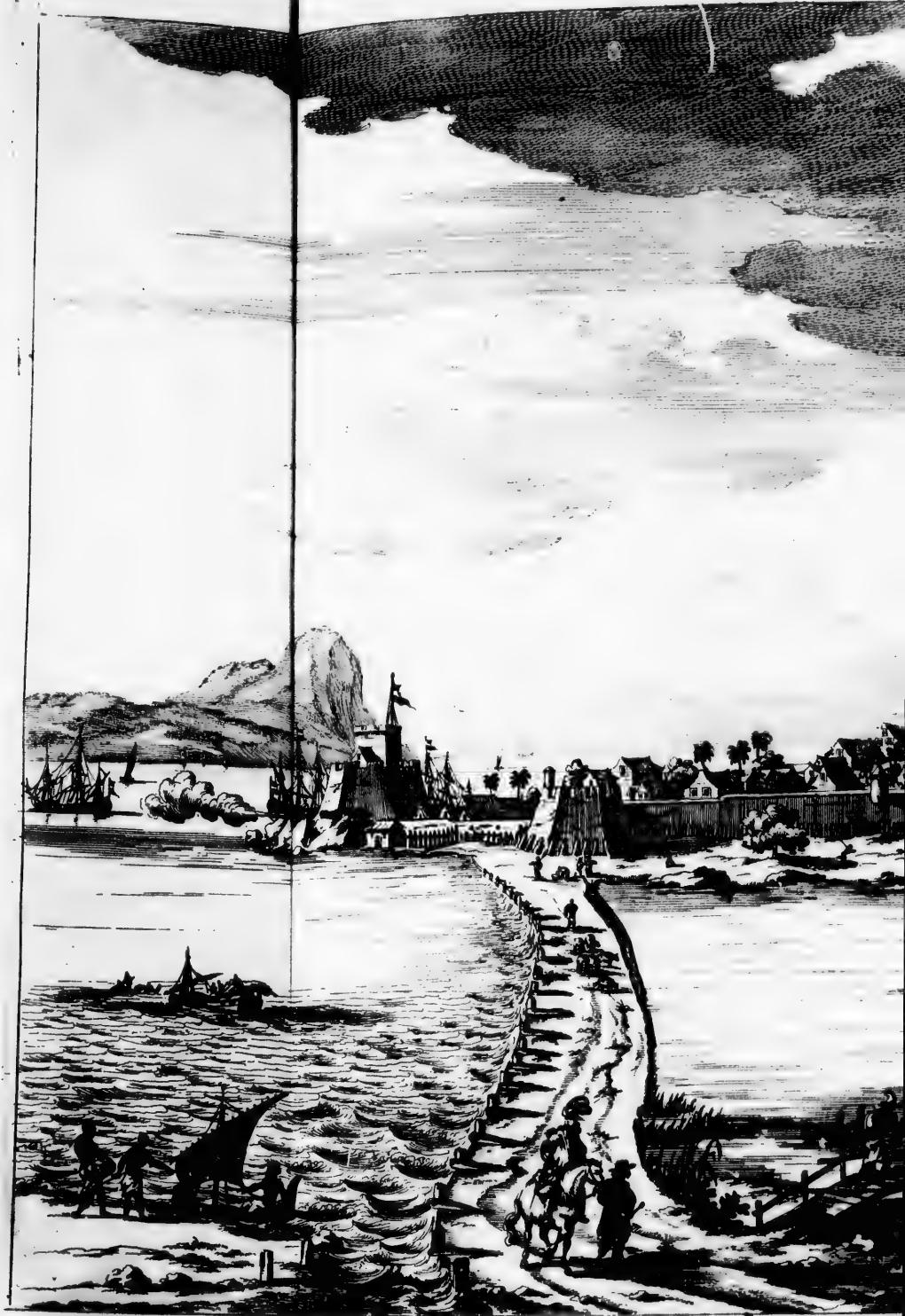
The 14th in the Morning we saw a Portuguese Lieutenant and Drummer with a white Flag, coming out of the Fort, sent by *Antonio Mendes d' Aranha* their Commander in chief, with the following Letter.

" Having

*Baldass.*  
\* Each  
Parras is  
40 Pound.

† A Topas  
is the Son  
of a Por-  
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and an In-  
dian Wo-  
man.

|| Cassers  
are Negroes  
like those  
of Angola.





# THE CITY OF GALE



Having  
the offer  
to capitulate.

" Having for several days past discharged our Trust as a Captain ought to do, and finding you not so furiously employed to day, I thought fit to take this opportunity to try whether you would treat with me according to the Custom of War; for which purpose I have sent you a trusty Person. In the mean while all Hostilities shall cease on our side, hoping the same from you. We recommend you to God's Protection. Calcutre, Oct. 14. 1655.

Antonio Mendes d' Aranba.

" the Superior Officers, including the Captains, shall have liberty to take their Swords along with them. It was signed,

Antonio Mendes d' Aranba.  
John Alonzo.

" After the ratification it was thus subscribed by both Parties.

Geraerd Hulst.  
Adrian van der Meyden.  
John van der Laan.  
Antonio Mendes d' Aranba.  
John Alonzo.

A Cessation of Arms being agreed upon, Martin Scholtes an Ensign was sent back with the Portuguese Officer to treat about the Conditions, whilst a Messenger was dispatch'd with a Letter to the *Dissave* (or Deputy-Governour) of *Saffra Gamme*, to desire him to have it rumor'd abroad, that the Portuguese in Calcutre had lately been supply'd with Provisions; in hopes thereby to amuse Caspar Figueiro (who stood with his Forces near *Moutapelle*) not to hasten to their Relief.

The Capitulation was soon after concluded upon the following Terms:

Articles of  
the Capitulation.

" The Soldiers to march out with their Matches not lighted, Balls in the Mouth, and Ensigns display'd; the Officers with their Scarfs, which they shall lay down roll'd up before the Standard of the Company. All the Great Officers, to the Captains inclusive, to be transported during this *Mousson* to Goa; the rest of the Officers and Soldiers to Batavia, and from thence to Portugal at the charge of the Company. All the Officers and Soldiers shall be allowed to carry their Baggage along with them; but their Servants shall be left to the Discretion of the Dutch General. All Church Ornaments shall be removed. All such as have married Portuguese Women, and the *Mistices*, shall be conducted to Columbo, or wherever else they think fit. But the *Lascarys* and *Negros*, whether married or unmarried, shall remain Prisoners of War. The Fathers and Clergymen shall enjoy the same Liberty as the highest Officers, and shall be transported from Calcutre on the same day. These Articles are to be ratify'd to morrow morning by Sun-rising. All

The 15th early in the Morning the Portuguese Officer returned with the Articles; towards Noon the Garrison, consisting in nine Companys making in all 255 men, marched out of the Fort, and having paid their Reverence with their Ensigns as usual, the Soldiers were disarmed. The Companys were the following: The Royal Company commanded by the Captain Major Marcello Fialbo, consisted of 31 Portuguese: That of John Antonio Felbaon of 27. That of Pedro de Barros of 28. That of Manuel Rodrigues of 28. That of Diego Frois of 36. That of Jacomo Padraon of 28. That of Manuel Mendes of 27. That of Lewis Alvares Periero of 24. And that of Leonardo de Silva of 26. In all 255.

Besides the Persons of Note living in the Place, with their Families, that were conducted to Callamoende, and 50 more that were with the Governour Antonio Mendes d' Aranba (afterwards our Prisoners at *Jasnapatnam*) that were carry'd to Gale, the other Superior Officers were sent to *Macoené*, and the rest kept under a good Guard in the Fort.

Immediately notice of this Victory having been given to the Emperor Raja Singa, General Hulst and Mr. Adrian van der Meyden took a view of the Fortifications of the Place, whereat they were not a little surprized, and found therein 10 Ensigns, 3 great Guns, 4 Brass ones, 10 8 and 5 Pounders, and one Iron 8 Pounder, 40 Barrels of Gun-powder, 204 Bamboe Canes fill'd, 710 Bullets, 180 Musquets, 62 Pikes, 7 Chests with Musquet Balls, another Barrel with larger Bullets fit for Musquetoons, 116 Ammunition Pouches, 5 Musquetoons, some fire Bullets, 60 Spades and 8 Hatchets.



C H A P. XXIV.

Engagements near Pancture and near Montual, both to the disadvantage of the Portugueſes.

Yſtrand Godſkens being conſtituted Governour of Caleture, with a Company to keep Garriſon there, Major John Vander Laan march'd the 16th from the other ſide of the River towards Pancture, being followed by the General and Mr. van der Meyden with the reſt of the Forces. In the dusk of the Evening we came up with the Portugueſes, whom we ſaluted ſo briskly with our Firelocks, that they thought fit to retreat, leaving 17 dead, and all their Ammunition, with their Standard, behind them. On our ſide we had 15 wounded, beſides Arent Janſz van Norden an Enlign. According to the report of one of their Captains, who was taken Priſoner, they conſiſted of ſix Companys commanded by Dominges Sermeto Captain Major of Montual, detached towards Caleture to ſecure this Paſs till to morrow, for Caſpar Figeiro, who was on his march at the head of 600 men, to attempt the Relief of that Place. Whereupon it was thought convenient to make a Halt betwixt Pancture and Galkiſſe, near a good Spring, and there to expect the coming up of the reſt of their Forces.

The ſame night, the Moon ſhining very bright, a Priſoner was brought into our Camp, who being a Native of Aniorſ, and well verſ'd in the Dutch Tongue, told the General, that he had ſerved the King of Portugal 11 Years, and that Figeiro would doubtleſs be with them by day-light.

The 17th, being Sunday, word being brought that the Portugueſes were at hand, Major John van der Laan and Capt. Kous were poſted with five Companies and two Field-Pieces, on a convenient Place, to receive the firſt Shock of the Enemy, whom, after a general Diſcharge of their Fire-Arms and Cannon, they received ſo warmly with Sword in hand, that they were ſoon brought into confuſion, and purſu'd as far as to the Church call'd Noſſa Senhora de Milagres, i. e. That of our Lady of Miracles, with a Slaughter of 150 on the Enemies ſide. Among our Troops Major van der Laan was wounded in the Cheek, and a Gunner, two common Soldiers and a Serjeant, kill'd.

The 18th of October happen'd another Engagement betwixt us and the Portugueſes

near Montual. Our Forces attack'd them in their Entrenchments, from whence they fired furiously upon them; but no ſooner had they broke thro their Works, but they threw down their Arms, and made the beſt of their way to Columbo, leaving all their Ammunition behind them, and 22 kill'd upon the Spot; whereas we had not ſo much as one wounded on our ſide. We left two Companys as a Guard of the Church of St. Sebaſtian; and advancing nearer towards Columbo, a Body of Portugueſes retreated in Boats from Montual to Columbo, leaving the Paſs open to us, where we found 3 Iron Guns and ſome Cinnamon, and put a Guard of 16 Soldiers in it under a Serjeant.

Here we received intelligence, that of the whole Body commanded by Caſpar Figeiro, conſiſting of 600 Portugueſes, and ſent from Columbo to the Relief of Caleture, not above 160 were returned to that City.

The 19th before Noon ſome Portugueſes being got into a Coco-Garden, ſome of our Soldiers forced them to retire; but thoſe of the City firing upon them, kill'd one of our Serjeants, and wounded Hans Chriſtophers a Lieutenant, and two common Soldiers. The ſame day the General was certifi'd by Letters from Capt. Kous and Lieut. Wiſſebur, that they had already told above 300 ſlain of the Portugueſes upon the Roads, and that daily more Heads and Priſoners were brought in. They ſent at the ſame time a Waſt-coat of Caſpar Figeiro, wherein was the following Letter.

“ YOU are not ignorant of the Reſolution taken the 12th of October <sup>Inſtr. ſent to Caſp. Figeiro</sup> concerning your Endeavours to relieve the Fort of Caleture. All the Forces <sup>we</sup> we have been able to gather for this Expedition conſiſt in <sup>men</sup> men, which we hope will prove ſufficient thro the Bleſſing of God and your good Fortune and Conduct, to make you return victorious. We leave the Management of that Affair to your approved Experience, it being impoſſible for us to foreſee all the Circumſtances and Accidents that may attend a Buſineſs of this nature. It muſt be your care

Baidaw.

" to get frequent intelligence of the Posture of the Enemy, and how to bring the Provisions laid up for the Relief of the Place at *Belantotte*, into the Fort; the Success whereof you shall notify to us with the first opportunity, that we may send fresh Supplies of Rice both for your use, and of the Garrison in the Fort. If you can meet with any Provisions in the Country, you will not fail to seize them for your Convenience.

" In case you should prove successful in the relief of *Caleture*, you must join your Forces, and the Captain Major of the Place must submit to your Command. We don't question but you will not be wanting in your Duty in a Business of such vast moment, whereon depends the Preservation and Welfare, not only of this City, but also of the whole Isle.

" If after the Relief of *Caleture* you find, that for want of Provisions, or for other weighty reasons, the Fort is not to be maintain'd, you shall agree among your selves what is fittest to be done for his Majesty's Interest, whether it be not the best way to bring

" the Fortifications into a narrower Compass, and leaving only 150 Men for the defence thereof, to join the rest with your Body.

" If you find it impracticable to bring any Supplies into the Fort, you shall entrench your self at a convenient distance, and from thence give notice to *Antonio Mendes d' Aranha*, the Governor, that he shall nail up all the Cannon, destroy all the Ammunition, and make the best of his way to your Camp, thereby to preserve such brave Troops, on whom in some measure depends the Defence of this City.

At Colombo, 13. 1655. Signed,  
*Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

And lower,  
" Just upon the Conclusion of these Presents we have received the expected Succours from the Indian Coast, which consisting of 200 men, is to be joined with your Troops. We recommend you to God's Protection.

Colombo, 15. 08.  
1655.

## CHAP. XXV.

*A famous Highway-man taken. The Beginning of the Siege of Col. The Emperor offers the Dutch his Assistance. His Letter to the Dutch.*

ABOUT the same time arrived three \* *Apahamies*, and as many † *Haraties* with some ‖ *Lascaryns*, from the Imperial Court; and the \* *Dislave* of *Saffragamme* with Letters from Mr. *Joris Herwendonck* our Resident at *Candy*, intimating that he had been commanded by his Majesty to notify his being ill of an *Ague*, and that he hop'd before long to be with all his Nobility at *Columbo*. In return of which another Letter was sent to his Majesty, to notify our Victory over the Enemy.

The same day Advice was brought that the famous Highway-man *Francisco Antunes* was fallen into the hands of some of our *Lascaryns*, wherefore a Detachment was order'd to bring him into the Camp; but either thro the Cold and Inconveniences of the Journey, or rather out of fear, he dy'd by the way, and was bury'd.

About the same day a Thanksgiving-day was also appointed to be held the 28th of *October*, to return thanks to God

for having blessed our Arms with Success, and begging his Mercy for the future.

The 21<sup>st</sup> the General with some other Officers of Note having taken a view of the Situation of the City of *Columbo* at *Quia de Lobo*, order'd all sorts of Materials to be brought thither from *Montual*, for the raising of a Battery, and hired 50 Pioneers for that purpose.

The 22<sup>d</sup> the *Dislave* of *Saffragamme* appear'd in Person in a House formerly belonging to *Diego Melo de Castro* Governor of *Columbo*, offering certain Supplies of Men from his Majesty, which was thankfully received by the General.

The 23<sup>d</sup> another Battery was erected near the Church of *St. Sebastian*.

Two days after came into the Camp the Emperor's *Dislave* of the *Four Corles* at the head of 700 men; and the same Evening the General received a Letter writ with his Majesty's own Hand, and brought by one of his own Post-men: It was curiously perfumed with all sorts of Spices, and on each side you saw the

\* Figure

\* *Apahamie* is an Officer of Note.  
† *Haratie* is a Sergeant.  
‖ *Lascaryn* a common Soldier.  
\* *Dislave* a Governor.

A famous Robber taken.

A Thanksgiving-day.

Figure of folded, life being an *Ameyden's* *L. Buccalo*.  
tified, the wrapp'd in that some ferte; y about the ing for the mule made the Agree der *Meyden* into his H great acco provided nour of th acknowledge Conclusion that he h par'd for they were

The 21<sup>st</sup> the Cannon Men wou Day we r on and Pr on Yacht alter Scr came int having told the by the C with the and that in his De he could fo deeply

The 22<sup>d</sup> the seve with 500 other *L* ing *Amu* came ov was *Her* bush; w Service med *Wa* John de having nother where h the Gov the Pla count o among in the 17th, a above bo, wh nies, a

Figure of a Woman, with her Hands folded, lifting her Eyes up to Heaven, being an Answer to Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden's* Letter writ to his Majesty from *Batavia*. The King seem'd not well satisfied, that the said Letter had not been wrapp'd in white Linen as usual, and that some of his Titles had not been insert'd; yet he testify'd his Satisfaction about the arrival of the *Dutch Fleet*, alledging for the rest, that pursuant to the Promise made him by Mr. *Jacob Kittenstein*, and the Agreement with him and *Adrian van der Meyden*, the City was to be delivered into his Hands: But that as he made no great account thereof, he was satisfy'd, provided they would allow him the Honour of the Conquest, which he would acknowledg upon all Occasions. In the Conclusion of the Letter he told them, that he had ordered Lodgings to be prepar'd for them in all the Places thro which they were to pass.

The 26th we were busy in mounting the Cannon upon a Battery, and had four Men wounded and one kill'd. The same Day we receiv'd a Supply of Ammunition and Provision, brought aboard the *Lyon Yacht* to *Puntagale*. Sunday the 28th after Sermon, a Defenter with a Negro came into the Camp from the City, who having made his Escape thro the Fens, told the General, that *Caspar Figeiro* was by the Governor of *Columbo*, welcom'd with these Words, *You deserve to be hanged*, and that he had alledged many Falshoods in his Defence, and among the rest that he could not attack us, because we were so deeply entrench'd near the Sea-shoar.

The same Day the Emperor's *Disgrace* of the seven *Corles* arriv'd in the Camp with 500 Men, who together with the other *Lascarins* were employed in carrying Ammunition. The 29th a Defenter came over to us from the City, his Name was *Herman Lucas*, a Native of *Hertogenburgh*; who having formerly deserted our Service at *Gale*, in company of one named *Walraven*, had obtain'd the Name of *John de Rosa* among the *Portugueses*; but having had the Misfortune of killing another at *Columbo*, was fled to *Candy*, where he pretended to have been sent by the Governor, to view the Outworks of the Place: He gave the General an account of divers remarkable Passages, and among the rest, that he had been present in the Engagement, which happen'd the 17th, and that of that whole Body, not above 150 *Portugueses* return'd to *Columbo*, where there were as yet nine Companies, amounting in all with the Citizens

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able to bear Arms to 800 Men: That the Governor was highly concerned at the loss of these Troops, and the ensuing Siege, especially since some of the Citizens shew'd no great Inclination to fight. We play'd the same day very furiously upon the City, and the Battery rais'd against *S. Sebastian* was likewise brought to perfection.

The next following Day a certain *Portuguese* Prisoner was brought into the Camp; he was sent from *Milagre*, and had lived 14 days upon Grass and Herbs in the Woods. The 3d of *Novemb.* a Carpenter and Cannoneer were kill'd by a Cannon-shot upon the Battery rais'd at *Quia de Lobo*, and the same Afternoon the Sloop call'd the *Delft* arriv'd from *Caleture* with Poudrer. About the sametime a Defenter came to us out of the City, but being lately come from *Goa*, he could tell no great matter. The same Evening the Ship call'd the *Brown-fish* arriv'd with Letters from *Laurence Pitt*, Governor of the Coast of *Coromandel*, having on board 44544 Pounds of Gun-powder; he brought also Advice, that the Yacht the *Popkensburg* was safely arriv'd at *Gale*, but that they had no News of the Ship call'd the *Haddock*. The same Night we were busy in raising a Battery near the Sea-shoar.

The 4th of *Novemb.* early in the Morning, News was brought to the General from *Negumbo*, that according to the Report of certain Inhabitants of *Annarolundane*, 12 Sail of Ships were discover'd off of *Chilaon*; whereupon immediate Orders were given to the Commodore *Edward Haue*, to use all possible Endeavours to get Intelligence thereof: the same was also recommended to the Head Factor of *Gale*, *John Kroon*, and to be upon his Guard. The same Afternoon, a Cannon-Bullet from the Bastion of *St. Stephen*, passing thro a Gallery of the Church of *Quia de Lobo*, whilst the Surgeons were dressing some wounded Soldiers, a Soldier was kill'd, two others had their Arms shot off, and three more were dangerously wounded.

About the sametime *Tenecon Apubamy*, came in the Quality of the Emperor's Messenger, with a Breast-shield of Gold, beset with precious Stones, and fasten'd to a Gold Chain, and brought the following Letter from his Majesty to the General.

“ **R** A J A Singa the greatest Monarch and most Potent Emperor of the Empire of *Ceylon*, wishes Health to  
A a a a  
“ *Gerard Hulft*

*Galdous.*

*Columbo furiously ply'd with great Cannon.*

*News of 12 Sail being discovered.*

*The Emperor's Letter to General Hulft.*



*Baldau.* "Gerard Hulst Admiral of the Fleet, belonging to the most faithful Nation of the Dutch.

"By the Letters sent to me from the Governor of our Fortrefs of Gale, I have understood, that immediately after your Arrival with the Dutch Fleet there, you have made your self Master of the Fort of Caleture; and that one half of the Portuguese Prisoners were sent aboard a Ship, the rest being reserved for our Service. The News of your Success in the Engagement betwixt Caleture and Columbo, without any considerable Loss on the side of our faithful *Hollanders*, being likewise receiv'd by me with singular Satisfaction, I sent immediate Orders to all my *Disjaves* (Governors) and chief Commanders, to bring into the Field all the Forces of our Empire. In the mean while I receiv'd an *Ola* (Letter) from the *Disjave* of *Saffragam*, dated *Octob. 23.* wherein he informs me, that having been sent for by your Excellency, you enquired after my Health, telling him at the same time, that you were come to no other end, than to deliver the Cities of *Columbo*, *Manaar*

"and *Jafnapatnam* into our Hands; which done, you would in Person appear in our Imperial Majesty's Presence. I have been very ill for many Days past, which however has not prevented my taking the necessary measures for the raising of the Forces of the Empire. No sooner had I received the welcome News of your Excellency, but I was in a manner immediately restor'd to my former Health, being now twice as strong as before, and able (thro God's Mercy) to assist in Person in the intended Expedition, which I intend to begin the 2d of Nov. I have sent with this Letter one of the Officers of our Court, to enquire after your Excellency's Health, and to bring you a Present from me, which I hope your Excellency will value, not so much in regard of its Value, as in respect of the Love and good Inclination of the Giver.

Dated at our Imperial Court in the City of Candy, *Oct. 29. 1655.* *Raja Singa Raju*, most Potent Emperor of Ceylon.

# C H A P. XXVI.

## Resolutions and Instructions concerning the intended General Assault upon the City of Columbo.

THE 9th of Nov. a new Battery with four great brass Cannon, having began to play against St. Stephen's Bastion; a General Council of War was call'd of all the Chief Officers, in order to consult (after having implor'd the Divine Assistance) whether it were convenient to venture a General Assault upon Columbo: The General having openly declar'd, that every one there present should be at his full Liberty to discover his real Sentiments concerning this great Undertaking; it was agreed by unanimous Consent, that seeing the Alacrity of the Soldiers, it was convenient to attempt a General Assault.

Soon after the General dispatch'd a Trumpeter, bearing a Flag of Truce in his Hand, to the Portuguese Governor, *Anthony de Souza Continbo*, with the following Letter.

"The Success that has attended our Arms in the taking of *Caleture*, and the

"Defeat of the Troops under *Caspar Figeiro*, near the Shoar of *Parature*, together with the Advantages obtained already in the Siege of *Columbo*, may as I suppose sufficiently entitle me to demand, without Vanity, the delivering up of the City, in the Name of his Imperial Majesty *Raja Singa*, and the most Noble *Dutch-East-India* Company. I hope your Excellency will not put a wrong Interpretation upon this Demand, when you consider that, pursuant to the Tenor of your own Letters sent to *Don Antonio Mendes d'Aranda*, and *Caspar Figeiro*, the first dated *Septemb. 30.* and the second the 13th and 15th of *Octob.* (both which are fallen into our Hands) you were then sufficiently sensible, that the Defence of *Columbo* depended on the Preservation of the Forces in *Caleture*, and those under the Command of *Caspar Figeiro*. It is upon this score that I am of Opinion, I don't put the least

A general Assault is agreed upon by general Consent.

The Dutch General's Letter to the Governor of Columbo.

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"Blemish upon your Courage, since being bereav'd of these means, you have nevertheless given such ample Proofs of your Zeal and Bravery in the Defence of this Place. My Request is only founded upon this, to avoid the Effusion of Innocent Blood, the almost necessary Consequence and unavoidable Fate of all Places taken by Assault, it being sufficiently known, that the Fury of the conquering Soldiers is not easily stopp'd upon those Occasions.

Nov. 9.

Gerard Hulst.

The Trumpeter returning a little while after, told, that coming near to S. John's Bastion, the Letter was taken from him by a Portuguese Officer, who assur'd him, that the Governor should return an Answer the next Day: Hereupon the Cannon being ordered to play as before, three Companies under the Lieutenants William de Wit, Henry Gerritse, and Christopher Egger, were sent to Montual, in order to be put on board the two Yachts, the *Ter Goes* and the *Erasmus*.

The 10th of Novemb. an Answer was sent to the General upon his Letter.

"As God Almighty disposes the Chances of War according to his Pleasure, so he may as well declare now for our side, as he has done for you before: The Place you require, belongs to the King of Portugal my Master, who having entrusted me with the same, I must be accountable to him for it. The Reasons alledged by your Excellency, are not sufficient to move me to lay aside the Defence of this City; not questioning, but that Time and Experience will convince you, that our Condition at present is much beyond what you imagine. I recommend you to God's Protection.

Nov. 9.

Antonio de Souza Coutinho.

After the Receipt of this resolute Answer, the General thought fit to give the following Instructions for the intended General Assault.

"The Yachts, viz. the *Maid of Enchuyfen*, commanded by *Volkert Adrian Shram* (who afterwards rendred himself so famous in the North, during the English War) and the *Workum*, *Avent Groenfield* Commander, shall approach into the Bay, as near to the Water-Fort as possibly they can; for which purpose they shall be provided

Vol. III.

"with 110 chosen Seamen, 5000 Pounds of Gunpowder, and with Shot in proportion.

"The Yachts shall anchor in any part of the Bay, where they can best annoy the Water-Fort, and under favour of their Cannon land their Men. For this purpose the Yachts the *Ter Goes* and *Erasmus*, shall keep within Cannon-shot of the other two Yachts, and have aboard, besides their Ships Crew, 100 Landmen each, viz. the Companies of *William de Wit*, *Henry Gerritse*, and *Christopher Egger*, in order to land, in conjunction with the Men of the other Yachts. The Boats, Tenders and other small Vessels shall keep near the before-mention'd Ships, viz. the Tender the *Amsterdam* with her Sloop, near the *Ter Goes*, and the Sloop the *Wejel*, the Boat of the *Mary-goldflower*, with her Sloop the *Delft*, and the Tender the *Naarden* with the rest. The Tenders the *Hair* and *Brownfish* shall keep near the Shoar, to be ready upon all Occasions to carry Advice where it shall be thought necessary. In short, all the Boats shall attend the Vessels that are engag'd against the Fort, in order to save their Men, in case any of them should be sunk or disabled. When the Companies Standard is fix'd above the red Flag, this shall be the Signal of landing: If the said Standard is set up on the Main-mast yards Arm, it shall be the Signal for the Boats to come to succour the Ship, she being in danger of sinking.

"When the Prince's Standard is set up on the Ramparts, it is a Sign that we are Masters of that part of the Fortifications, when the Attack either upon the Castle or Fort may cease, till the said Standard be set up in Captain *Kuylenburg's* Quarters, near the Sea-shoar; this being intended for a Signal, that we are also Masters of the Town on the Land-side, when the Officers in their respective Attacks may either stop or go forward, according as it shall be thought convenient by the Majority of Voices.

"Whilst the Ships the *Maid of Enchuyfen* and *Workum*, are under Sail to enter the Bay, all the rest of the Ships shall weigh their Anchors, and put up the red Flag, as if they would enter the Bay, but keep without Cannon-shot. So soon as the Forces are landed, all the Officers, Soldiers and Seamen, shall obey Mr. *Adrian Roobaw*, as their Supreme Commander.

A a a a 2

"Whilst

Baldau.

Baldew.

" Whilst the Ships and Men are engaged against the Water-Fort, the City is to be assaulted at the same time, near the Sea-shoar, at the Bastion of St. John, and on the Land-side near the Gate of Rajuba: The Attack upon the Bastion of S. John shall be commanded by Captain Kous, and the other by Captain Kuylenburgh, either of them to be seconded, as Occasion requires, by Mr. John van der Laan, the Companies of Kuylenburgh, Gouvert Quartel, Jurian Gevel, Andrew Steekens, Lambert Steenbagen, Hans Christoffer, Joachim Block, Melchior van Schoonenbeck and John Moll, with 36 Javaneses, and half a Company of Bandanefes, to be employ'd in the Assault of the first Bastion: The scaling Ladders shall be carried and fixed by the Bandanefes, Javaneses and Mardykens, mix'd with some Dutch Seamen, arm'd with Hand-Granadoes, Pikes and Hangers. The Bastions of Clergos and S. Philippo, near that of Saint Sebastian (at the Gate of Rajuba) shall be attack'd by the Companies of Captain Westrenen, Lieutenant Wildtschut, John Hartman, John Cooper, Hardenbergh, Roggenkamp, James Alenbier, Diedelof

" van der Beck, Henry Broekhuysen, John Coertsen, with the Javaneses, half a Company of Bandanefes, and the Company commanded by Captain Ruysch. Captain Westrenen shall command the Attack against the Bastion of Clergos, and Captain Ruysch that of S. Philippo, to be seconded by fresh Forces as Occasion requires. The Bandanefes, Javaneses and Mardykens, in conjunction with the Dutch Seamen, shall fix the scaling Ladders, and the Lascaryns of Ceylon be employ'd in carrying off the Slain.

About the same time we received Intelligence, that the Portuguese Succours were arriv'd at Goa, and that they intended to come to the Relief of Columbo: Word whereof was sent immediately to Gale to be upon their Guard, for fear of a Surprize. The 11th of Novemb. (the Day appointed for the General Assault) it being calm, so that the Ships could not enter the Bay, the same was defer'd till the next Day, tho we did not cease in the mean time to play more furiously with our Cannon than ever before, and we observ'd that the Enemy had taken in their red Flag upon the Bastion of S. Crus.

### C H A P. XXVII.

*A General Assault both by Sea and Land made upon Columbo, but without Success. Letters from Raja Singa to the General. Dutch Prisoners come out of Columbo.*

The Water-Fort battered by the Ships.

THE 12th by break of Day, the Maid of Enchuysen, and soon after the Workum, being followed by the Ter Goes and the Erasmus, thunder'd most furiously against the Water-Fort, from whence they answer'd them very briskly. Immediately after the Assault was begun on the Land-side in three several places: The General in Person with ten Companies attack'd the Gate of Rajuba, and the Bastions of S. Philippo and Clergos; and Major John van der Laan with nine Companies, those of St. John and Couras; whilst James Lippens with two Companies of Soldiers and some Seamen, pass'd the Fens in seven Chinese Champanes or Boats, in order to attack the City where it was least fortify'd.

Columbo assaulted by Sea and Land.

But the Besieg'd fir'd so furiously upon our Men, especially with their Firelocks, that the Seamen could not be brought forward to fix the scaling Ladders; which

the General perceiving, he advanc'd in Person with some of the bravest Officers, and fix'd the scaling Ladders to the Corrin: but having receiv'd a Wound in his Left Thigh, he was forc'd to be carried off. In the mean while News being brought that they had enter'd the Breach on Major van der Laan's Attack, he return'd to his Station (before his Wound was dress'd) but found things in such a Confusion, that he was forc'd to retreat, the Major and his Forces not being able to maintain themselves in the Breach, retreating at the same time, after they had in vain attempted three times to recover it. Lieutenant Melchior van Schoonenbeck, a High-German by Birth, and of a Noble Family, was the only Person who got upon the Bastion of S. John, but for want of being seconded, lost his Life there like a brave Soldier, his Head being afterwards stuck upon a Pike by the Portuguese, upon the same Bastion.

With it Success.

The Fort having not four Mancho got into the forely wou with some ly Succours War. T sen, was fo that being carried off but the W out of the Loïs. The side amoun no includi van Harde Seamen co were made Ships the 2 aboard the the Water near enoug got out of

" ON ne Imperia Opinio tioning humbo into his ment m he deli ous Sub Hands, fives, to pun as he h that he ravage Low-L enclos'd verner, Ofob. 27. chief Co he cou in mi twixt he wa by th ters their fo clo ty of Dang Whe Affli after wou fam his

The Forces under Captain *Lippens*, having not without some Resistance from four *Manchous* or Boats, passed the Fens, got into the City; but the Captain being sorely wounded, made shift to retreat with some few, the rest for want of timely Succours being all made Prisoners of War. The Yacht the *Maid of Enchusen*, was so sorely batter'd from the Fort, that being ready to sink, her Crew was carried off by the Sloop the *Langerack*; but the *Workum* cut her Cables, and got out of the Bay without any considerable Loss. The Number of the Slain on our side amounted to 200, and 350 wounded, not including the two Companies of *John van Hardenburg* and *Roggenkamp*, and the Seamen commanded by *John Lippens*, that were made Prisoners in the City. The Ships the *Ter Goes* and *Erasmus*, who had aboard the Soldiers that were to assault the Water-Fort, not being able to get near enough by reason of the Wind, soon got out of the Bay.

ON this unfortunate Day the General received a Letter from his Imperial Majesty, testifying his good Opinion of his Excellency, not questioning but that after the taking of *Columbo* he would deliver the said City into his Hands, pursuant to the Agreement made with Mr. *Westerwold*. That he desir'd to have such of his Rebellious Subjects, as should fall into our Hands, deliver'd up to his *Disposes*, either alive or dead, in order to punish them with the same Severity, as he had done those at *Batecalo*; and that he had order'd his Governors to ravage and destroy all the Villages in the *Low-Lands*. He sent at the same time enclos'd a Letter from the Portuguese Governor, *Antonio de Souza Continho*, dated *Octob. 27.* at *Columbo*, to the Emperor, the chief Contents whereof were, "That he could not forbear to put his Majesty in mind of the antient Friendship betwixt him and the *Portugueses*, which he was sorry to have been interrupted, by the *Dutch* making themselves Masters of *Caleture*, and having routed their Forces near *Paneture*, by laying so close and vigorous a Siege to the City of *Columbo*, that they were in great Danger of being forc'd to surrender. Wherefore they craved his Majesty's Assistance against the *Hollanders*, who after they were Masters of the City, would certainly not deliver up the same to his Majesty, but lord it over his Subjects; which his Majesty, accord-

ing to his Willom, might easily see, how much it would tend to his Dishonour; whereas if he join'd with the *Portugueses* against them, he might promise himself all the Advantages due to so great a Monarch.

The 13th of *Novemb.* was spent in carrying the wounded Soldiers to *Negumbo*, *Gale*, and *Montual*: The same Day the Enemy in a Bravado, put two of our Ensigns upon the Bastions of *S. John* and *S. Philippo*. At the same time Advice was brought, that the Ships the *Avenborn* and *Campen* richly laden from *Perfia*, were arrived at *Gale* in their Voyage to *Batavia*. For which Reason the Yacht the *Brownfijh* was dispatch'd to *Gale*, to carry some Letters thither, to be sent further to *Batavia*, as likewise a Letter to be sent by Land to the Emperor *Raja Singa*. The Yacht the *Popkensburg* arriv'd also with Gunpowder and other Necessaries for our Camp.

The 19th, a Letter from the Emperor *Raja Singa* was deliver'd by his *Disposes* to the General, wherein he condol'd him about his Wound, and the ill Success of the late Assault, telling him, that he was employ'd Day and Night in making Preparations to join him with his Forces, and desiring not to venture a second Assault before his Arrival. A Letter of Thanks being order'd to be written to his Majesty, the Yachts the *Workum* and *Popkensburg*, with a Frigate, were dispatch'd to *Negumbo*, to cruise to the North of that Harbour, to get timely Intelligence of the Enemies Approach.

The 26th some Cannon-shot being heard at a good distance, it was generally believed to be the Signal from the Fortrels of *Negumbo*, to advertise the Arrival of the Portuguese Fleet. Whereupon Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* took two Companies of Soldiers and as many Seamen, out of the Church of *Quia de Lobo* (where they had their Post) and marched directly to *Montual*, in order to embark them there, to prevent the Enemies Landing. The General, notwithstanding his Wound, follow'd thither in Person, and found them ready to embark, which was however defer'd for that time, till they should receive more certain Intelligence. Only the Yachts the *Mars* and the *Flisfingen*, with some Officers aboard them, were commanded to cruise off the Northern Point of *Montual*.

Much about the same time arriv'd the Roman Yacht from *Suratte* with 16 Loads of Wheat. The Officers reported that

*Baldau.*

The wound-  
ed sent a-  
way.

Some Ships  
sent a  
cruising.

With ill  
Success.

**Baldac.** a Portuguese Fleet consisting of 30 Frigates, was entirely destroy'd by a Tempest near *Wingula*, but that no body knew from whence they came, or whether they were bound; and that the Cannon we heard some Days before, was discharg'd by them as a Signal of their Distress, to the *Workum* and *Popkensburg*.

The 29th Captain *Kuylenburgh*, who died of the Wounds he received in the late Assault, being honourably interr'd; the 1st of Decemb. two Serjeants came in to our Camp, who being formerly taken Prisoners at *Anguratotte* by the Portuguese, had taken the Opportunity, as these were flying from *Manaar* to *Tutecorvyn*, to de-

fert and hide themselves among the *Mosses* of *Kilicare*, from whence they were brought in one of our Vessels hither. On the other hand a certain Seaman, named *Claas Claasz*, did swim cross part of the Bay into the City.

The same Night a new Trench was open'd against the Bastion of *S. John*, and carried on with all imaginable Diligence. The Yacht the *Roman* was sent a cruising to get Intelligence, whether any of the Enemies Ships could be discover'd at Sea, as the *Flushing* Yacht was dispatch'd to the Coast of *Malabar*, and the *Erasmus* sent out in her stead a cruising.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*Want in Columbo. Anthony Amiral de Menezes taken Prisoner. The Continuation of the Siege.*

*Want in Columbo.*

THE 7th of Decemb. we got Intelligence, that most of the Inhabitants of *Columbo*, for want of Rice and other Provisions, had been forc'd to lift themselves among the regular Forces; that in the late Assault they had taken 70 or 80 of ours Prisoners, whereas their whole Loss did not amount to above 20 or 25 Portuguese, among whom were however two Persons of Note, viz. *Antonio Barbosa*, and *Felicio Leesio*, Lord of *Macoene*. That they had mounted the Cannon taken out of the *Maid of Enchuyssen* upon their Bastions, and were busy in making divers Retrenchments, in hopes of being soon succour'd from *Goa*, and that their whole Force consisted in 700 Portuguese.

*Antonio Menezes taken with Letters.*

The 10th of Decemb. *Antonio Amiral de Menezes* (then Governor of *Jafnapatnam*, and afterwards 1658. kill'd at the taking of *Manaar*) was taken Prisoner at *Montual*, as he was going from *Manaar* to *Columbo* with some Letters, one whereof being written in Characters, was unciphered by the General's Order, and was as follows.

*To the General Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

"Before I had the least Intelligence of the Approach of the Enemies Ships, I writ to your Excellency by Land, tho I have not heard since what is become of the Messenger. The three *Pados* are well arriv'd at *Goa*, and the five Messengers sent thither; the

sixth sent by *Anthony d'Abreu*, did not stay in the least in this Fort, but arriv'd two Days at *Negapatan*, and brings along with him full Instructions concerning the Relief of *Columbo*. I have not been idle in my Station, both in advising how to raise Men for our Service in the *Indies*, and in contributing all that lay in my Power of my own accord, which by some others has not been done without reluctance, especially in giving my Assistance in equipping some Vessels of Bulk, and Gallies well mann'd for the Relief of the City. I have hitherto heard no News from the Fleet at *Cape Comorvyn*, sent for that purpose. I wish they may reach the Isle of *Manaar*, when we shall have Opportunity to debate the whole matter with the Commander in Chief, how to contrive matters for the Defence of the Place: You may rest assur'd, that nothing shall be wanting on my part, that may tend towards the Accomplishment of its Relief, which I heartily wish may take effect; it being my Opinion, that a good Fleet is the very means now to preserve that Place, till we receive our Supplies from *Goa*. Perhaps it may please God to destroy the Hereticks in this Siege, and to abate their Haughtiness, occasion'd by their late Success, caus'd by our Neglect; it being certain, that the same might have been foreseen a considerable time ago. Orders are given to have a good quantity of Matches

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*Jafnapatnam*  
Nov. 1655

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"made, which shall be brought by the  
"first *Pado* that goes from hence; the  
"other two shall follow soon after, one  
"of them being to be armed for the  
"Defence of the other: Their approach  
"you will know by the Signals agreed  
"upon. Perhaps the Governor of *Ma-*  
"*naar* may have got Intelligence of our  
"Fleet, and has given you intelligence  
"thereof. God preserve and deliver  
"your Excellency from all danger.

*Jafnapatnam* 11. *Antonio Amiral de Menezes.*  
Nov. 1655.

The Contents of another Letter were  
as follows.

"I Writ to your Excellency under Co-  
"vert of *Sebastian Martino* with the  
"Galliot of *September*, when I little  
"dream'd of what we heard afterwards  
"at *Cochin*, and on the Cape *Comorin*,  
"concerning the present danger of the  
"City, and of the loss of so brave a  
"Captain as *Antonio Mendes d' Aranha*,  
"with a good number of our choicest  
"Men. I have since understood several  
"other things of this nature, which  
"have cost me many Tears; we did all  
"we could to make the Cape *Comorin*,  
"but the contrary Wind prevented us:  
"However, tho we have fail'd in this,  
"you may assure you self, that the Vice-  
"roy will not fail to succour the City of  
"Columbo with all his Forces in the *Indies*.  
"It is rumour'd here, that *Don*  
"*Manoel Mascarenhas* intends to leave  
"this place, there being very bad News  
"brought lately from *Jafnapatnam*; but  
"we hope and pray to God that he will  
"be pleas'd to preserve the City till *February*.

11 Novemb. 1655.

*Nicolao d' Olivera.*

The rest of the Letters were very near  
the same, with this addition only, that  
the *Portugueses* set sail in *October* with 15  
Frigots, but were forc'd back near the  
Cape *Comorin*, so near that they had land-  
ed some Soldiers, who were march'd by  
Land to *Jafnapatnam*, with an intention  
to come to *Columbo*, to give notice there  
of the Equipment of six Galeons at *Goa*  
intended for the Succours of the City;  
and that in case the *Dutch* should block  
up that Harbour, they would fight their  
way through them. All these Letters  
were sent to his Imperial Majesty.

The 12 Decemb. 200 Negroes being  
seen to fall'y out of the Gate of *Mapane*,

keeping along the Sea-shore, three Com-  
panies were order'd to attack them; but  
they no sooner espied our People advan-  
cing towards them, than they retreated  
in haste to the City: However three of  
them deserted to us, and gave an account  
that the reason of their coming out was  
only to fetch and cut some Faggot-  
Wood for the repairing of the Bastions  
of *S. John*, *S. Stephen* and *S. Philip*; and  
that they had made betwixt the two for-  
mer a Retrenchment, in case they should  
be forced to quit the Bastions.

*Baldew.*

The same day we finish'd our second Report of  
Redoubt, and the next two *Portuguese* some De-  
ferrers confirm'd the Report of the  
Negroes, adding that they much dreaded  
our Mines, that the Bastion of *S. John*  
was guarded by two Companies (of 25  
or 30 Men each) under *Caspar Figueiro*,  
the Gate of *Magapane* with three, and  
the rest in proportion. At the same  
time we saw a whole Troop of half-  
starv'd Wretches forc'd out of the Town,  
but were made to return from whence  
they came, except a few *Portugueses*, who  
could give good intelligence about the  
Condition of the Place.

The 14th in the morning 10 or 12  
Boats came out of the Town to fetch  
Faggot-wood; but finding us prepare  
to attack them, they retir'd with Preci-  
pitation, after they had wounded three of  
our Men.

The 15th the General agreed with 20  
Pioneers to work continually (six at a  
time) in the Trenches, at the rate of  
20 Pence per diem, besides a good Reward  
after they had finish'd the Work. In the  
Afternoon a Battery of 6 Guns was or-  
der'd to be erected.

The 18th a Gunner having out of care-  
lessness double charg'd a Gun upon a Bat-  
tery, kill'd three of our own Pioneers,  
and wounded 7 Negroes; and in the Even-  
ing four great Cannon were not without  
some loss planted upon the before-men-  
tioned Battery.

*An unfor-  
tunate Ab-  
cident.*

The 19th we play'd thence most fu-  
riously upon the Bastions of *S. John* and  
*Stephen*, and two more Cannons were  
mounted upon it the same Evening.

The 20th a new Redoubt was begun,  
the Trenches being then carried on within  
two Rods of the Counterscarp. In the  
Evening we miss'd *Simon Lopes*, who was  
again gone over to the Enemy.

The 26th three Negro Carpenters  
coming over to us, reported that the  
*Portugueses* had undermin'd the Bastion of  
*S. John*, and laid 5 large Barrels with Gun-  
powder in five divers places underneath  
it,

Baldus.

it, having laid the Train by the means of certain Bambocanes, which were to be lighted on the top whilst we were assaulting the said Bastion, which was the reason that they had not discharg'd their Cannon from thence these two days past. They added, that the Son of *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* the Governor of *Columbo*, being busy in encouraging the Workmen by his own Example, receiv'd a Wound by a Musquet-shot in the Head, of which he died soon after. A Council of War was also call'd, in which it was resolv'd to carry on the Trenches with all imaginable vigor, to prevent the Enemy in perfecting his Retrenchments

Resolution  
taken in a  
Council of  
War.

before the Breach of the Bastion of *S. John*, and to fix our Miners there.

The 27th the General gave notice to the *Dissaves* of *Saffragam* and the four *Corles*, that he intended to send an Envoy to his Majesty, to know his Inclinations, whether he intended to appear in Person in our Camp or not: he desir'd them to write to him upon the same Subject, the time for attempting a second general Assault drawing near; and that in case his Majesty had the least doubt left of our sincere Intentions, he would give him full Satisfaction upon that Head.

## C H A P. XXIX.

*The Portugueses throw Stones out of a Mortar. We make a third Redoubt: Endeavour to lay the Gallery over the Ditch. A Spy hang'd. Letters from Coromandel.*

THE 28th of December in the Evening the Portugueses began to throw several Stones out of a Mortar into our Works, which something surpriz'd us at first, but afterwards we guess'd that it was *Simon Lopes* who lately deserted our Service that had put them in the way of it. The next day Capt. *John Hartman* was sent with Letters to the Emperor at *Candy*, and we were hard at work to bring the third Redoubt near the Sea-shore to perfection, where we planted a Mortar, and continued our approaches to the Counter-carp.

Another  
Redoubt  
erected.

A Chinese Defenter, a Native of *Macao*, reported that they were indifferently well provided with Provisions in the City, and that it was true that the Governor's Son was dead. Letters were at the same dispatch'd to Mr. *Laurence Pit*, Governor of *Coromandel*, to send us some Ammunition, and to order the Ships which upon the arrival of the Vessels from *Tajouan* sail from thence to *Batavia*, to touch at *Gale*, to be employ'd in thwarting the intended Succours of the Portugueses, or to take aboard part of the Portuguese Prisoners among us.

Portu-  
gueses for-  
sify them-  
selves in  
the Ditch.

The 8th of January, finding the Enemy busy in planting Palisado's in the Ditch, some Seamen arm'd with Hand-granado's made them soon quit that Enterprize. But the next following day finding the Enemy to have made some Entrenchments there, a Hole was order'd to be made in the Wall; and Captain *Henry Gerard*, the head Gunner and

Engineer, and Carpenter, being order'd to view the Work, they reported that the Enemy had planted a row of Palisado's close to one another, extending to the Sea-shore, which made them imagine that they expected the most fierce Assault on that side.

Six expert Carpenters having offer'd their Service for perfecting the Gallery, 100 Crowns were promised them as a Reward; and it being resolv'd to fix the said Gallery the next day under favour of our great Cannon and Fire-locks, a certain number of Musqueteers were order'd to the extremities of the Trenches: but the Wall being thicker at the bottom than at the top, it was almost Evening before they could make a Breach in it, when attacking the Enemy with their Hand-granado's, they forced them from the Ditch, where they posted 12 Fire-locks; but these receiv'd so warm a Salute from the Enemy's Cannon and Fire-locks both of the Bastions of *S. John* and *S. Stephen*, and the Palisado-work, that they were forced to retreat, and the fixing of the Gallery was thought fit to be delay'd till a more convenient time, having lost only one Carpenter and two Negroes in this Enterprize. *John Roetha* the Dutch Reer-Admiral sent 12 Jan. three Negro Prisoners from the Fleet into the Camp, who were taken coming with Letters from *Manaar*, in order to carry them into *Columbo*; but they were of little moment, except what was contain'd

The Dutch  
endeavour  
in vain to  
fix their  
Gallery.

tain'd in the following Passage taken out of *Lorenzo Barboza's* Letter directed to *Don Francisco de Souza*.

"Your Fleet could, not make the Cape Comorin, because they came too late, and were overtaken by a violent Tempest; the Soldiers aboard were sent by Land to Tuticorin, and from thence by Sea to Manaar. That they understood that great Endeavours were used to equip a Squadron of great Ships and Frigots, to be joyn'd by 8 Galeons for the relief of Columbo, and that they had certain Advice that the Galeons were getting ready for that purpose: That the rest they would be inform'd of by the Captain-Major's Letter to the Governor, &c.

The said Prisoners reported that *Antonio Amiral* had brought a Reinforcement of six Companies from *Tafnapatnam* to Manaar; and that it was reported there, that 5 Galeons and 28 Frigots were to come from Goa, and being joyn'd with some other Vessels and Forces at Manaar were to sail to the relief of Columbo: whereupon the General sent his Instructions to our Squadron to watch the coming of the Enemy, but especially to our Cruisers, the *Workum*, *Pokensburgh*, *Mars* and *Erasmus* Yachts; 30 *Bandanese* Soldiers, and as many *Mardykers* were also order'd aboard these Vessels, and a Negro Deserter reported that those come from Manaar to Columbo were half naked, and had brought no Letters, one of them being wounded, but knew nothing further.

The 15th of January some of our *Lascarys* brought in a Spy, whom they had taken under pretence of going into the City to sell Tobacco; but upon the Evidence of two *Cingalese* Carpenters that he was a Spy, he was hang'd on a Gibbet near the place where he intended to have got into the place.

The 19th Letters were brought to the Camp, sent by *Lawrence Pit*, then Governor of *Coromandel*, intimating that we might expect a Supply of 35000 Pounds weight of Gunpowder with the Yachts the *Codfish*, *Rabbit*, and *Patience*; that for the rest the Company had lost 50 loads of Rice, and 250 *Ammanams* \* of *Areek* † by an accidental Fire. That several private Merchants having lately sent certain Ships laden with all sorts of Provisions, we need not fear any thing upon that account. The *Rabbit* alone had a Cargo of 26822 Pounds weight of Gunpowder, 50 Packs of *Guinea* Linen Cloth, and 10 Loads of Rice, valued altogether at 23860 *Gilders*.

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\*

It was further advic'd, that in all probability the King of *Golconda* was likely to be embroil'd in a War with *Mirza Mula* his General, who had put strong Garisons in the Fortresses of *Gendecalte*, *Gronconde* and *Goetti*. That the General *Chan Channe* was lately retir'd with the Forces of *Visiapour*, consisting of 8000 Horse, and 40000 Foot, from *Velour* to *Visiapour*, but for what reason was not known. A Copy was also sent of a Letter written by *Leonard Johnson* Factor, Decemb. 8. from *Wingurla* to *Batavia*, whence it appear'd that they were making great Preparations at *Goa* for the relief of Columbo. "But, added he, the Portuguese Viceroy having sufficient Intelligence of our Strength before Columbo, it seems to me to be rather a Bravado than a real Design, unless it were (as some affirm) that the Relief of that City was so positively commanded by the King of Portugal, that the Viceroy would be forced to attempt it, unless he were prevented by the Dutch blocking up the Harbour of *Goa* before that time. That it was rumour'd there that the Portuguese Soldiers should be oblig'd by Oath, confirm'd by the Blessed Sacrament, that in case they were not able to worst the Dutch Fleet, they should set fire to their own Ships; but he hoped that the City would fall into our hands before they could put their Design in Execution. But, as it were not safe to despise ones Enemy, so he would take care to give from time to time Intelligence of what he could learn to the Director-General *Gerard Hulst* with all imaginable speed, for which purpose he hoped to purchase the Diligence of some of the Natives by Money. The following List was annex'd of such Ships as were to be employ'd in the said Expedition, 2 *Caraques*, 2 large Galeons, one lesser one, 2 *Cavavals*, 6 *Patacho's* or Yachts, 20 light Frigots, 24 more from the Coast of *Sipaveneick*, with some Galeons, and other Boats call'd *Singazeels*. His further opinion was, that the said Squadron might be ready towards the end of January, and that the same was to be reinforce'd by some Yachts from *Chaul*; that besides the Garison to be left at *Goa*, 2000 Europeans, not reckoning the *Mistices* and Negroes, were to be embark'd aboard the said Fleet. He advised further, that two English Ships being some days before come to an Anchor before *Goa*, the Viceroy had offer'd the Captains a considerable Sum of Money,

*Boldous.*

*Portuguese Ships for the relief of Columbo.*

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pro-

Baldus.

provided they would sail along with the Fleet to Ceylon; but that they refused to accept of the same, and were sail'd to the Northward.

The 21<sup>st</sup> of January, two hours before break of day, the General being got aboard the *Ter Goes*, call'd a Council of War there, wherein it was resolv'd to send forthwith the Ship the *Cod-fish* to *Negombo*, in order to unlade her Cargo (intended for *Gale*) there in company of the *Amsterdam* and *Marygold-flower*; and the *Hare* Yacht was order'd to keep as close to the Bay as possibly she could, to observe the small Vessels that might pass and repass in and out of the City.

The 24<sup>th</sup> of January the *Flushing* Yacht coming from *Winguria*, brought Letters from our Factor *Leonard Johnson*, dated the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, intimating, that the Viceroy of *Goa*, instead of sending the pretended Succours to Ceylon, had now resolv'd to send two Caracks to *Portugal*, and three Yachts to *Mosambique*; and that the Design of the Relief of *Columbo* seem'd to be laid aside: in confirmation whereof he sent the following Translation of a Letter written by one of our Spies there.

To the Commodore of the Dutch Squadron near Winguria.

Letter of a Spy from Goa.

TWO Ships (both arrived this Year) viz. *Bon Jesus* carrying 65 Guns, and the *Nossa Senhora da Graçia* of 60 Guns, are intended to be sent to *Portugal*, being now busy in unloading, and expecting only the return of our

Fleet from *Cochin* and the Cape. It is supposed they will be ready to sail by the end of the first Month of the Year. Three Yachts more are order'd from *Mosambique*, being now taking in their Cargo, besides another Yacht, design'd for *Macassar*. The *Caravel* intended for *China* is not ready to sail, and it remains uncertain whether she will go thither. But, if she does, it will not be till next Spring. Hitherto we see no Preparations either of Men or Ships for Ceylon; and they seem unresolv'd, whether they had best send any Relief thither, for fear they should fall into the hands of the *Dutch*. But if any be sent, it will certainly not be till after the departure of the Ships for *Portugal*, for which the Viceroy shews a great concern, being afraid they will be intercepted by the *Dutch* before they can reach *Portugal*.

Dated January 6.  
1656.

Your Excellency's  
constant Slave,

*Tragami Sinay.*

Hereupon it was agreed in a Council of War, to order the Ships the *Ter Goes*, *Mars*, the *Arms of Holland*, *Amsterdam*, *Flushing*, *Erasmus*, *Naarden*, *Zierik-see*, *Marygold-flower*, and the *Hare*, forthwith towards *Goa*, there to expect the coming of the Ships from *Trajanou*, in company of those from *Persia* and *Suratte*. And that the Yachts the *Workum*, *Popkenburgh*, *Codfish* and *Rabbit*, with some light Frigates and Sloops, should be kept for the Blockade of the Harbour of *Columbo*.

### C H A P. XXX.

*Mr. Hartman presented by the Emperor. Some Spies hang'd. The Arrival of several Ships. Letters from the Emperor and Dutch General.*

ABOUT that time the Emperor sent his Letter to the Dutch General Mr. *Hulst*, in answer to his sent by Mr. *Hartman*, the chief Contents of which were, "That he intended to come into our Camp in the night-time, having been detained hitherto by the Advice of the Great Men of his Court (these Pagans being very superstitious in chusing their time) but that now he was resolv'd to speak with the General in spite of all the pretended Obstacles. That he was glad to understand, that notwithstanding

ing our Loss in the last general Assault we kept our Posts, and that he intended to dispatch Mr. *Hartman* the next Thursday. It was dated at *Balané*, January 20, 1656. and subscribed,

*Raja Singa Rajou*, most potent  
Emperor of Ceylon.

*Mr. Hartman* returned, being presented with a Golden Chain and a Ring, and reported, that some of the Emperor's *Disjaves* having brought him the news, that

*Mr. Hartman's* return.

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that we had lost a considerable number of men by the springing of a Mine, he was very glad to hear the contrary afterwards. The 26th of January early in the Morning a Letter was delivered from our Head Factor at Gale, John Kroon, that the Ships the *Patience*, the *Bengale*, the *Black Bull* and the *Grey-bowd* from *Tajouan* by the way of *Masulipatan*, loaden with Merchandizes from *Persia*, and the *Vlieland* belonging to those of *Suratte*, were arrived there, and that he had ordered them to sail for *Columbo*. Two Spies came lately out of the City, to view the Condition of our Attacks and Batteries, were hang'd two days after.

At the same time Letters were brought into the Camp, dated the last of Novemb. at *Malacca*, intimating, that the 14th, 15th and 19th of November 1655. the Ships the *Vlieland*, *Black Bull*, *Arnemuyden* and the *Sweet-briar*, were arrived there from *Tajouan*, their Loading being valued at 1349436 Guilders at the first hand: and that the *Sweet-briar*, the *Domburg* and *Lion* were with a good quantity of Tin of *Malacca* sent to *Bengale*. The Cargo of these Ships consists commonly of *Japonefe Silver*, Bars of Copper, Alum, Gold, *China Tea*, and Sugar of *Formosa*, besides a considerable quantity of Tin of *Malacca*. Upon the Coast of *Malabar*, and in *Ceylon* (where they commonly arrive at the same time) they load with Cinnamon, Pepper and Cardamom. They generally make a long Voyage: For they set sail from *Batavia* to *Japan* and *Tajouan* in May, and come to *Malacca* in December: From thence they steer their Course by the *Nicebards* to *Ceylon*, or *Bengale*, or *Coromandel* (but never from these Places to *Ceylon*, but sometimes return from *Bengale* or *Ceylon* to *Malacca* or *Batavia*) and from thence by *Malabar* to *Suratte* and *Persia*, and return in May to *Ceylon* (and sometimes straight-ways to *Batavia*) and so further with their Cargo (they have taken in at *Suratte* or in *Persia*) to the Coast of *Coromandel*, where being loaden with Linen Cloth, painted Callicoos and other Merchandizes, they return to *Batavia* in June or July. By Letters from *John Thysen* Governour of *Malacca*, advice was given that the Tin Trade (the chiefest of that Country) had been but very indifferent that Year.

But it is time to return to the Siege of *Columbo*. The last day of January two Portuguese Deferters, who had made shift to let themselves down by Ropes from *St. Stephens* Bastion, reported, that many

of their Comrades were willing to desert for want of Pay, but that they were strictly guarded; that the Garrison consisted still of 650 Europeans, and they had Rice for two Months longer; that they still rely'd upon the promised Succours of 6 Galeons. Soon after we saw a whole Troop of half-starv'd Wretches coming out of the Town; but 120 were forced to return without Relief. The 12th of February about 500 of them, Men, Women and Children, being forced by extremity of Hunger, came to the General's Quarter imploring his Mercy; but they were forced back into the Town along the Sea-shore near the Bastion of *St. John*. In the mean while the Emperor sent the following Letter to the General.

Raja Singa Rajou.

“OUR Imperial Majesty has formerly (thro God's Mercy) been victorious over our Enemies in *Malvance*, where I routed their whole Army commanded by *Don Constantino*; after which laying Siege to *Columbo*, I had my Head Quarters in the Garden of *Lewis Gomes Pinto*. It then pleased God to afflict me with a Distemper, which the Viceroy having got notice of, he desired me to return to *Candy*; which I did accordingly, leaving my Brother *Carnana Singa* King of *Ouve*, with the Prince of *Vijisapalla*, to command the Siege, who put no small Blame upon our Imperial Family. Whilst they were employed in that Siege, the treacherous Portuguese having at that time forced a Multitude of starv'd Wretches out of the City, they had mix'd with them certain Villains, who set all our Works on fire. Wherefore I hope your Excellency will keep a strict Guard; for I can't forbear, for the Love and good Inclinations I bear to your Excellency, to put you in mind, that the Portuguese are a most perfidious Nation, and that even my Forces are composed of divers sorts of People: So that your Excellency ought to have a particular regard for your own Person, which will be a singular Satisfaction to me. For you must know, that there being variety of People in the Isle of *Ceylon*, who have served divers Princes, and are us'd to Ravages and Rapines, these are generally treacherous, and not to be trusted by your Excellency, tho perhaps they will endeavour to obtain your Favour by

Bbbbb 2 “Flat-

Baldau.



*Baldous.*

“ Flatteries and Pretences of Friendship,  
“ they being such profligate Wretches,  
“ as to be induced by the hopes of a small  
“ Gain to undertake any base and trea-  
“ cherous Act. The Letters sent from this  
“ Court to your Excellency being generally  
“ written in an unknown Tongue, I desire  
“ you, if you find any Defect or Inconve-  
“ niency in them, to give notice thereof  
“ immediately, to remove all Obstacles  
“ and Misunderstandings on our side;  
“ it being our resolution, that the Peace  
“ made with you shall continue as long as  
“ the Sun and Moon furnish us with Light,  
“ as you on your behalf have engaged it  
“ shall last as long as the World stands.  
“ I once intended to have sent you an  
“ Answer to your Letter dated Jan. 8.  
“ but understanding that your Excellency  
“ had dispatched to this Court a Cap-  
“ tain of the Guards, I thought fit to  
“ defer it for some time. In former  
“ times whilst I was very young, I was  
“ encamped with my Army in *Asiatane*;  
“ but that being many years ago, I did  
“ send thither certain Persons to view  
“ the Place, who assur’d me, that the  
“ Place pitch’d upon by the *Dissave* of  
“ the four *Cortes*, was unfit for our Recep-  
“ tion, which was the reason I order’d  
“ my Head Quarters to be settled in the  
“ Fortrefs of *Reygammatie*. In considera-  
“ tion of which and other Misconceives  
“ of the said *Dissave*, I have put another  
“ in his Place, with whom you may con-  
“ sult in relation to such matters as tend  
“ to our Service. I further issued my  
“ Orders to the *Dissaves*, and sent cer-  
“ tain Persons to prepare my Quarters  
“ with the utmost Expedition, which  
“ done I intend to be there immediately  
“ after.

*Dated in the Camp  
and Court of Gui-  
ramibula, Feb. 14.  
1556.*

**Subscribed,**

*Raja Singa Rajou, most potent Emperor of Ceylon.*

The General being extremely pleas'd with the Emperor's Approbation concerning the sending back of the poor starv'd Wretches forc'd out of *Columbo*, thought fit to send the following Letter to the Governour of *Columbo*.

*The Dutch  
General's  
Letter to  
the Govern-  
ment of Co-  
lumbia.*

“ Finding that you suffer the poor Negro Citizens, after that you have  
“ received all the Services you possibly  
“ could from them, to perish for want of  
“ Sufteance; and whereas you prevented  
“ their Desertion formerly by strict

“Watches, you now permit them to go  
“where they please in order to be rid of  
“them: I thought it my Duty (for the  
“discharge of my Confidence) to desire  
“you to let the said *Negro* Citizens know,  
“that such as for the future come out of  
“the City, shall be punish’d with Death.  
“This I thought fit to let your Excellen-  
“cy know, in hopes of moving you to  
“compassion. I remain for the rest  
“your Excellency’s Servant,

*Dated in the Dutch Camp  
before Columbo, Feb. 15,  
1656.*

Gerard Hult.

The 17th of February the Yacht the *Saphir* came into the Road from *Coremandel*, and brought a Letter from the Governor *Laurence Pit*, dated *January 29*. at *Paliacatta*: Her Cargo consisted in Rice and Gun-powder, tho not so much as was expected, the full quantity of *Brimstone* not being brought from *Taiouvan*.

But notwithstanding the before said Warning given to the *Negro* Citizens, many of them coming every day into our Camp, one of them was ordered to be hanged to deter others from doing the like; so that afterwards 15 and more died every day in the City of Famine, and a Scorbutick Dropsy began also to reign among the *Europeans* there. The 19th a *Misfice* Defeter brought advice, that they had equipp'd a Boat, which lay ready to sail against the next Night for *Manaar*; whereupon Orders were sent to Commodore *Roorhau* to intercept her, if possibly he could. The 20th Mr. *Johns* *Harvman* came with the following Letter from the Emperor to the General.

Famine  
Column

*Raja Singa Rajou.*

“ **Y**OUR Letter dated the 8th of Fe-  
 “ *bruary*, I received the next fol-  
 “ lowing Day, wherein you testify your  
 “ desire of being admitted into our Royal  
 “ Prefence, in order to allure me in  
 “ Person of the sincere Intentions of the  
 “ *Dutch Company* to continue in their  
 “ Confederacy with our Imperial Ma-  
 “ jesty, made from the time of your Ar-  
 “ rival with your Fleet in our Empire.  
 “ It has always been my hearty Wish to  
 “ see you in my Prefence, which I hope  
 “ will be fulfill’d with the arrival of your  
 “ Excellency in our Camp near *Raygsm-  
 “ warts*. You further mention the Mis-  
 “ behaviour of some of our *Lascaryns*  
 “ under the *Dissaves*; so soon as our Im-  
 “ perial Majesty arrives in the above-

“ said

Chap. XX

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"said Camp, these Forces and Officers shall be relieved by others, and such as have not done their duty to the Crown be punished, as is practised in the Camps of other Great Kings and Monarchs. Your Excellency did also give notice that you had sent away 9 Ships the 5th of this Month. God Almighty I hope will bless your Excellency's Designs with Success, according to the utmost of my Wishes, there being nothing that can more rejoice our Imperial Majesty than the Welfare and Prosperity of the *Hollanders*: And I hope, that after my arrival in the Camp, such Measures may be taken betwixt us, as may soon reduce the City. The refractory Party among my Troops you have mentioned, shall be branded with Infamy, not only for themselves, but also their Generation; so that their Names shall be despised hereafter for ever. Whenever I shall see your Person, I shall imagine to have the whole State of *Holland* before me; and since according to our Constitutions Matters of this nature are not to transact but on fortunate Days and Hours, your Excellency shall be advertised thereof by some Person of note. Just as I was leaving *Candy*, the Prince my Son, given me by God for the Welfare of my faithful *Hollanders*,

"took leave of me, desiring to be remembered to your Excellency.

*In the Camp of Guirambula, Feb. 18. 1556.*

*Raja Singa Rajon.*

*Baldew.*

The said Mr. *Hartman* was presented by the Emperor with a tame Elephant, and told the General, that the Emperor had given him some private hints, that the Prince his Son would take it as a peculiar Obligation, if the General would honour him with a small Present. The Emperor's *Disposes* coming the 21st of February to the General, in order to fetch the Answer to the Emperor's Letter, they were told, that the Letter was not finished, by reason of many things of moment to be inserted therein: But the General took this opportunity to advise with them what Present might be most acceptable to the Prince. They answered, they could not tell, but would consider of the matter. In the Afternoon they received the desired Letter sealed up under the Discharge of the Cannon, as is usual upon such occasions, when each of the Captains is presented with a piece of Sattin, and two of the *Disposes* with a red *Roan* Cap, a thing highly valued by them (called *Toppay Honday* in their Language) with a *Japanese* Buckler for one of the Prince's Attendants.

*Hartman presented with an Elephant.*

# CHAP. XXXI.

*The Besieged fire furiously upon the Besiegers. The Emperor's Envoys. Negro Deserters forced back. Letters intercepted. The Emperor presents the General with an Elk. A new Battery erected.*

THE 22d of February the Enemy play'd most furiously with their Cannon from the Baftions of St. Stephen and St. *John*, and kill'd us several Men. His Majesty being that day come to his Camp at *Reygammatte*, to take a view of the Quarters prepared for his reception, perceiving a more than ordinary Smoke, sent a Messenger to know the truth of the matter. In the Evening about Supper-time, word was brought that certain Deputies from his Majesty were arrived at a Farm about two Miles from the Camp, and that they had sent a Messenger to signify, that they were desirous to speak with the General that Evening; which being readily granted, an Ensign was sent thither with some Soldiers to conduct them to the Camp, and to make an Excuse, that the time of the Night had

hindered their Reception to be suitable to their Quality. They told the General; that his Majesty had received his Letter with a great deal of Satisfaction, and that they were sent to tell his Excellency, that his Majesty was at present at *Walewitty*, and that as soon as his Quarters were fitted up, he should be sent for; for which reason they were commanded by his Majesty to order the *Dispose* of *Saffragamne* to have the Roads leading to *Reygammatte* repaired. They would willingly have returned the same night; but it being excessive dark, their Quarters were assigned them in the Camp till next morning.

The same day *Edmund Ruyfch* sent word, that a great number of poor Wretches were coming out of the City: The Men, to the number of 50, were secured at *Afilagre*;

*Deputies sent into the Camp from the Emperor.*

*Baldau.* *Afilagve*; but the Women and Children being brought before the General, he order'd them (pursuant to their former Resolution) to be whip'd back into the Town near the Bastion of St. John, this being look'd upon as the most proper means to straiten the Enemy, and to bring them to our Terms. Towards the Evening the Men, with 20 more, who since had join'd them, being also brought into the Camp, the General took two of them aside, and told them, that they must look upon it as a particular Favour, to be sent back once more; but if they return'd they must expect nothing but the Gallows, unless they would engage with some of the *Aratches* that had deserted our Camp, to surprize some Bastion or other for our Service. They were likewise forced back with a good Whipping, and the 24th 150 more had the same Entertainment.

Deferters  
whip'd  
back into  
the City.

The 26th of February the *Dislave* of the four *Corles* came to tell the General, that those of *Saffragamme* were still busy in repairing the Roads and Bridges, and produced a Letter from certain Great Men of the Court, enjoining him to demand to certain Persons, that had made shift to get out of the City with the Enemies Troops, and sheltered themselves in the adjacent Villages, having deserted the King's Service before. The General was not unwilling to grant his Request; but withal told him, that if these Persons of Quality had been as forward in furthering their King's Service as we, there would not have been so many Deferters. The same day a Letter was deliver'd to the General written by one of our *Aratches* to the *Vidane* of *Pasdun-Corle*, as follows:

An intercepted  
Letter.

" *H* *Angedera Lionayde*, Son-in-law to *Ranatonge Aratchie*, wishes Health to *Vidane*, and the three Chieftains of the three *Pattos* of *Pasdun-Corle*. Immediately upon the receipt of these, you shall without fail or delay gather, in the time of 8 days, out of all the circumjacent Villages, 50 *Pingues* of Pullets, Butter, Pepper, *Atchiar*, and Earthen Vessels; and with them, in company of all the Heads or *Majors* of the Villages of *Anguratotte*, come towards *Horne*, and from thence into the Imperial Camp, there to pay your Obedience to his Majesty. Such as fail in their Duty must expect to receive condign Punishment. You must not publish my Name, what I do in this respect not being by my own Authority; but when you come to

" Court, you may then declare, that it was *Hangedera Lionayde*, *Ranatonge Rale's* Son-in-law, who gave you this Invitation.

The *Aratche* who had been the Author of this Letter, being seized and examin'd the same Evening by Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* and Major *van der Laan*, did not disown his Hand, but refused to discover (tho he was threaten'd with present Death) by whose Command he had writ it. The General being of opinion that there was some Mystery hid under this pretence, especially since this *Cingalese* liv'd under the Company's Jurisdiction, and had receiv'd signal Obligations from them, commanded his Head to be cut off, and deliver'd him up for that purpose to the Provost, in hopes of extorting a Confession from him by this means; but under-hand order'd him to be secur'd only aboard the Ship the Arms of *Amsterdam*, for fear, that, in case he should be executed on a sudden, they might be bereaved of the Opportunity of discovering the Truth.

February 27th being Sunday, the General sent a Letter to *Raja Singa*, to advertise his Majesty what had pass'd with the *Aratche*, and at the same time enclosed the Original of the intercepted Letter. The same day the *Dislave* of *Saffragamme* coming to the General to tell him, that the Roads and Bridges were now repaired according to his Majesty's Orders; he was commanded by him to employ the same People in perfecting the *Pallisadoes* intended for the new Redoubt near the Gate of *Rajuba*, which he promised to do. The General also told him what had happen'd with the *Aratche*; which he approving of, the General further desired him to provide some *Buffers* for the use of the Seamen, who were sorely afflicted with the Scurvy, which he likewise agreed to.

Word being brought that four Fishermen were coming over to us in a *Tony* or Fish-boat, they were forewarn'd not to come into the Camp, under the pain of being hang'd, unless they could engage all the Fish to come at once. About the same time a certain *Moor* Vessel came into the Road from *Puntegale* with a Passport from *John Kroon* our Head Factor there. They brought advice that the Lands and Villages under the Jurisdiction of *Gale* were farm'd out at 15849 Rixdollars, for the next Year, to be paid by four quarterly Payments, and that the *Areck*, which the Company had taken at the

A *Mootill* vessel brings Advice concerning the Condition of *Gale*.

the rate of last year, rate of 16 arrived at the

The last that the E the Gate d was sent w Workmen by an early turn'd wit About the f by the Yac 17th of F mandel, o dated the n not arriv'd Loads of F tity of Gu other Vess Pound-wei lets of d Pounds, 7 Stone-Bull of Lead, t zes, and 1 to the Va count of t same time Road, be South Poi lieved eve Pretty putes fro General v himself h an adjae with gre cy.

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the rate of 24 *Laryns* the *Ammenam* the last year, was now to be deliver'd at the rate of 16 *Laryns*. Five more Ships arriv'd at the same time laden with Rice.

The last day of this month, finding that the Enemy work'd against us near the Gate of *Rajuba*, Lieutenant *Alenbier* was sent with 6 Firelocks to secure their Workmen; but these saved themselves by an early Flight, and our People return'd without receiving any Damage. About the same time Letters were brought by the Yacht the *Armenyden*, dated the 17th of February, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, others being also expected, dated the 11th, with the Yacht the *Codfish*, not arriv'd as yet, having aboard 100 Loads of Rice of *Bengale*, a good Quantity of Gunpowder and 60 Soldiers: The other Vessels Cargo consisted in 18877 Pound-weight of Gunpowder, 2781 Bullets of divers Sizes, viz. 231 of 24 Pounds, 750 of 18, 1800 of 12, 1500 Stone-Bullets, and 10000 Pound Weight of Lead, besides some other Merchandizes, and 16 Loads of Rice, amounting to the Value of 6098 Guilders, on account of those of *Ceylon* only. At the same time the *Rabbit* sail'd out of the Road, being order'd to cruise on the South Point of *Negumbo*, and to be relieved every eight Days by another Ship.

Pretty late in the Evening, three Deputies from the Emperor presented the General with an Elk, which his Majesty himself had hunted the same Morning in an adjacent Wood, which was received with great Reverence by his Excellency.

The General and Mr. *van der Meyden*, hearing the Beat of Drum in the new Redoubt, near the Gate of *Rajuba*, they went thither in Person; and in their way met with 17 *Lascaryns*, and 2 *Aratches*, who being posted in an Outwork near the said Gate, had quitted the same; they being order'd to be secured in the Head Quarter, they went forward, and found that the Alarm had been occasion'd by the coming over of the *Lascaryns*, whom they mistook for Enemies. They reported that the City was provided with Provisions till May, their Allowance, viz. 25 *Mididos* to a Head, being given them for the Month of April: They added, that it was whisper'd about, that the Governor had embark'd all his Moveables, Money and Jewels in a Boat, and sent them in the Night-time to *Manaar*; which News was very unpleasing to us, because they had escaped the Sight of our Ships.

The 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th of March, we advanced bravely towards the Gate of *Rajuba*: two Portuguese Deserters, with some *Lascaryns* well armed, being examined apart, deposed, that the City could not hold out longer than towards the end of May, the Remnants of the Rice being very stony and unclean, nay wet and corrupted. Hereupon the General ordered that a Battery of two Guns should be erected opposite to the utmost Point of the Bastion of St. *Jo*. the better to batter and lay level the Flank of that of St. *Stephens*, and under favour thereof to open again the Trench leading to our Mine, and so working along the Wall, to take Poss upon the Counterfarp.

*Baldew.*

*Deserters give an account of the Condition of Columbo.*

### C H A P. XXII.

Many Deserters give account of the Condition of Columbo. Ysbrand Gotskens sent Envoy to the Emperor. His Letter to the General, and that of the Besieged to the Emperor.

About that time divers *Lascaryns* Deserters, and among them a Portuguese, made heavy Complaints that they were forced to feed upon corrupted Rice: The last told us, that there were no more than 40 left of our Prisoners, and that such of our Officers as were not slain in the Assault, died afterwards of their Wounds, except a Serjeant. He also discover'd to us, that the Besieged had carried all their Guns from the Bastions of St. *Stephen*, St. *Philip* and *Clerigos* into their Outwork, before the Gate of *Rajuba*,

in order to discharge the same the next following Night upon our Pioneers. Paul *Aano*, who was then upon the Guard here, was thereupon order'd to let the Labourers cease, till they had spent their Powder and Ball in vain, and then to let them return to their Work. In effect, they shot very furiously the next Night both with their Cannon and Firelocks upon our Works; and by break of Day the General went on Horseback to *Milagre*, to view the Works of the *Disfaves* on that Side, which he found

*Baldous.* to be well secured by a strong Set of Palisadoes, reaching from the Sea-shore to the Fens; and being guarded by four Companies, these were thought sufficient to oppose any Sally of the Enemy on that side.

One of our Soldiers being some days before missing, we understood that he had sought for shelter with his Majesty for a Crime he had committed, which at his Majesty's Request was remitted him, yet not without being discharg'd from our Service. The *Disgrace* who made this Request, told the General, that the Grapes sent to the Emperor had been very well accepted.

A Boy Deserter brings certain Advice.

The 13th of March a Boy, who had deserted the *Portugueses*, came to the General, and told him in private, that having been let down from the Bastion *Clergys* with a Rope, by some *Lascaryns* who kept Guard there, they intended the next Night with the rising of the Moon, to come all over to us, or else to deliver up the Bastion. The Boy according to his own Desire being soundly whipp'd, was sent back into the City, to take away all suspicion of a private Correspondence with us.

To second his Endeavours a Company of the Guards was posted in a convenient Place; but the Belieged fir'd so briskly from the Bastions of St. Stephen and St. Philip that Night, that there was no Opportunity of putting it in execution at that time. A *Toupas* Deserter reported the next Day, that the Bastion of St. Stephen was guarded only by 16 Men, having questionless disposed the rest in other Places, as being sensible that the gaining of that Bastion would stand us in no great stead. Six *Lascaryn* Deserters confirmed the same soon after, and two among them assured the General, that the Governor of *Columbo* had sent a Letter to the Emperor *Raja Singa*.

Dutch Soldiers go over to the Enemy.

The 14th *Edmund Ruysch*, whose Quarters were at *Milagre*, sent word, that *Henry William Boogare* a Corporal, and *Peter van Bruysingen* a common Soldier, were gone over to the Enemy. The same day ten *Lascaryns* well arm'd came over to us, and the same Evening with the rising of the Moon, two Cannon for Battery were planted upon the Battery against St. John's Bastion. His Majesty having desir'd, that some Person of Note might be sent to him, to confer with him in private, our Factor *Tybrand Gotskens*, a Native of the *Hague*, a Person equally dextrous with his Pen as the Sword, was

sent with all Expedition thither. About the same time some *Lascaryns* with their Wives and Children coming out of the City, were turn'd back again; a Letter being at the same time deliver'd to a certain Boy for *Simon Lopes*, lately gone over to the Enemy, intimating, that, if he would endeavour to make the Negroes in the City rise, he should not only deserve his Pardon, but also a good Reward.

At Midnight we made a false Attack, which put the whole City into such an Alarm, that there was nothing to be heard but ringing of Bells, and the noise of Drums, but in half an Hour all was quiet again. The next Day his Majesty sent three Deputies, to know the reason of such fierce firing; which being told them, they inform'd the General that *Tybrand Gotskens* had not as yet had Audience of the Emperor, but would questionless be admitted the next Day. A Letter was also sent to the General from the Emperor *Raja Singa*, wherein were enclosed 20 others, one from *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* Governour of *Columbo*, the other from the chief Citizens of that City, both dated the 10th of March, in which they implore his Majesty's Assistance.

#### RAJA SINGA RAJOU.

THE present Opportunity has invited our Imperial Majesty, to dispatch these few Lines to your Excellency: Two Days ago, being Wednesday the 15th of March, I broke up from *Guirambula*, and marching along the other side of the River by the way of *Walemitty*, have fix'd my Tents in this Place, from whence I have dispatch'd immediately some of my Great Courtiers, to notify my Arrival in the Camp at *Reygammatte*, and to enquire after your Excellency's Health. I commanded them at the same time (having not as yet an Answer to some of your Excellency's Letters directed to me) to desire you to send a Person of Note, unto whom I might by word of mouth give an Answer to the said Letters. It being Night when I arriv'd in the Camp at *Reygammatte*, I could not order the Disposition of my Forces till next Morning, when the two enclosed Letters were delivered to me, one from the Governor, the other from the Citizens of *Columbo*, the Contents where-

" of you  
" ginals.

At our Court  
of Regency  
17. 1655.

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" of you will understand from the Ori-  
ginals.

At our Court and Camp  
of Regamutte, Mar.  
17. 1656.

Subscribed,

Raja Singa Rajou, most  
Potent Emperor of  
Ceylon.

Most Potent Emperor Raja Singa, &c.

I Immediately after our Enemies did  
engage into this unjust War, which  
continues to this Day, I let your Ma-  
jesty know the Reasons which induced  
me to sollicite some Supplies from  
your Majesty; not questioning, but  
that you would not leave me in such  
an Extremity, it being always the  
Ambition of great Monarchs, to take  
the less powerful under their Protecti-  
on; tho thro God's Mercy, we have  
hitherto not only defended this City,  
but also at several times given the En-  
emy sufficient Proofs of our Bravery,  
in destroying and dispersing his Forces,  
of which we have sent an account to  
your Majesty. But perhaps these Let-  
ters never came to your Majesty's  
Hands, being intercepted by the En-  
emy; which seems the less surprizing to  
me, since they have treated the Natives  
of this Island (without any just Cause)  
that went out of this City like Slaves,  
forcing many of them to retire back  
without the least Mercy. The City  
of Columbo is an ancient Inheritance  
of the Portugueses, bestowed upon 'em  
by the Kings and Emperors, your Pre-  
decessors, who always were ready to  
honour them with their Protection;  
neither do we want Opportunity to  
make your Majesty (if you please)  
sensible of the manifold Services done  
by the Portugueses in this Isle, in case  
we did not believe the same to be still  
in the Memory of your Majesty, and  
many of your Great Ones. We don't  
know to have given the least reason of  
Displeasure to your Majesty, which  
makes us imagine, that you will be  
pleased not to leave us in this Extremi-  
ty, in regard it seems much more rea-  
sonable, to assist the Portugueses your  
ancient Friends, than the Hollanders  
your new Guests. Time has already  
discovered the Intentions of the Dutch,  
and Experience will soon convince you,  
that all their Aim is founded upon Lu-  
cre and Interest, which they dissemble  
for the present; but so soon as they  
are Masters of this Place, your Majesty  
will too late be convinc'd of the Truth

Vol. III.

" of what I say. I will not pretend to  
urge that matter any further for the  
present, leaving the Determination of  
the whole to your Majesty's Wisdom,  
and the Conduct of your Counsellors.  
" God preserve your Imperial Majesty.

Baldew.

Columbo, Mar.  
10. 1656.

Antonio de Souza Coutinho.

Most High and most Potent Emperor and  
Lord, Raja Singa, &c.

I Immediately after the Hollanders had  
laid Siege to this Place, our Magi-  
strates and Governors did give notice  
thereof to your Majesty, as likewise  
of the ensuing General Assault made  
by the Enemy both by Sea and Land;  
which being done in the Day-time, we  
let them advance into the City, but  
afterwards made them glad to ask for  
Quarter, which was granted them.  
According to the Confession of the  
Dutch themselves, they were 240 strong  
when they passed the Fens, the great-  
est part whereof with their Boats fell  
into our Hands, besides a Ship of 30  
Guns taken by us, and another much  
damaged, which they had enough to  
do to carry off, not to mention those  
that were slain in the Ships, and in the  
Assault. Being afterwards advanc'd  
to the Ditch, they fix'd their Miners,  
and were busy in bringing over their  
Gallery; but we forc'd them to retire  
with considerable Loss, and took the  
Gallery with the Loss of one Man on-  
ly. There remains nothing now but  
for your Majesty to vouchsafe us your  
Favour, which we heartily wish for  
and desire. From what has been said,  
we hope your Majesty is sufficiently  
convinc'd of our good Will and Zeal,  
in defending a Place, bestow'd upon  
us by your Imperial Majesty's Ance-  
stors, and that, if supported by your  
Favour, we shall never cease to persist  
in the same Resolution, in hopes that  
your Majesty will rather assist the Portu-  
gueses your ancient Friends, than the  
Hollanders. God protect your Majesty,  
and your Dominions.

The Citi-  
zens Let-  
ter to the  
Emperor.

Columbo, Mar. 11.  
1656.

By Order from

Diego Leitaon de Souza,  
Chief Secretary.  
Manoel de Fonseca.  
Diego de Souza de Cunha.  
Ruy Lopes Coutinho.  
John Coelho de Castro.  
Bento Fereiro d'Alvru.

Cccce

The

Baldens.

The 20th of March a Negro Pioneer came over to us, who having worked in the Ditch, discover'd the Place to us, and that four Portugueses being taken as they were coming to our Camp, had been hanged. That our new Battery had killed two Canaryns and a Gunner, and wounded several others upon the Bastion of St. Stephen. Concerning their Provisions, they confirmed what had been told

us before. The General went with the said Negro in Person to the Ditch, to see the Place where the Negro had been at work, and perceiving three Portugueses close together in the Ditch, he got upon the Wall, and discharged his Fusée twice at them; but soon got down again, without which he had been in great Danger, three Bullets passing immediately after that way.

The General in danger of being killed.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*Ysbrand Gotskens returns from the Emperor's Court, gives an account of his Transactions. Letters sent to Columbo. A Battery raised. A circumstantial account from Goa, and its Condition.*

A Boy taken at a Spy.

ABOUT noon a Boy was taken in our Works, where Paul Meno then kept guard, inquiring after our Strength; and being ask'd why, he answer'd that the Governor of Columbo had sent him to enquire after it: In consideration of his Youth and Simplicity, he came off with a good whipping, and so was sent back into the City. Major van der Laan sent word, that the Enemy having made a Hole thro the Wall, played from thence directly upon his Works, and had kill'd a Negro; and the same Night they play'd with a Cannon upon the same Works, but without hurting any Body.

Ysbrand Gotskens gives an account of his Negotiations.

The 23d of March towards Evening, the Factor Ysbrand Gotskens having taken his Leave the same day of the Emperor, return'd to our Camp, where he gave the following account in Writing of his Negotiation: "That in answer to five several Letters written by General Hulst to his Majesty, he had commanded him to tell the General, that having received a Letter dated the 16th at Columbo, he would let him know the Contents thereof. That his Majesty was well satisfied with the Proceedings against such as were fled out of the City; which tho it might seem somewhat cruel, yet was he contented to have the Blame thereof himself, as tending to his Service, and the speedy reducing of the City. That because his Majesty was sensible that whatever Presents he could make to the General of rich Apparel, and such like Ornaments, he was sufficiently provided with before, he had thought fit to bestow upon him the Title and Dignity of his Director-General, and that

for the future he should be acknowledged as such throughout his Dominions. That he further desired the General not to take it amiss, that after the *Disjaves* had notified his Arrival in the Camp of *Reygammawatte*, a Guide had been denied to the Captain of the Guard, it being contrary to the Custom of his Country for any one to be introduced at Court, without notice being given of his Arrival to the Emperor.

"What the General had alledged concerning the *Mousson*, and the Soldiers being fatigued by so tedious a Siege, his Majesty was very sensible thereof, and that when the General should come into his Presence (which he hoped would be within three or four days) they would confer upon that Point, and settle the matter to his Satisfaction: But his Majesty being inform'd that his Excellency frequently expos'd his Person, and regarding him with the same tenderness as his own Eyes, had desir'd his Excellency for the future to take more care of his Person, commanding all his Officers of what Quality soever, to be careful of him to the last degree.

"What his Excellency had alledged, concerning his Majesty's being constantly employed in Weighty Affairs, and that therefore he was unwilling to disturb him with frequent Letters, his Majesty replied, that the Subject of his Excellency's Letters being such, as most nearly concerned his Service, nothing could be more acceptable to him, than to bestow his time in perusing the Letters of the most truly Servant

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for Letters sent to Columbo.

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"that ever he had in his Life, desiring therefore, that his Excellency might supersede these Excuses. That what his Excellency had alledged in his behalf, concerning the mistake in commanding his Forces at *Reigamcorle*, as it was intended for his Majesty's Service, so it was very acceptable to him, and needed no farther Excuse; as was likewise the Punishment inflicted upon the Author of the Letter writ from *Paj-dun-Corle*, to deter others from the like Undertakings. Concerning the Treaty made with Mr. *Westerwold*, his Majesty declar'd, he would keep the same inviolably, notwithstanding that several Generals of the *Indies*, and *Dutch* Governours of the *Ile in Ceylon*, had done many things which had given occasion to no small Disturbances: but that as he call'd God to witness of his Innocence, so he was extremely glad to have met with a Person of Honour in his Excellency's Person, who having done already considerable Services to his Crown, he intended to enter with him into a strict Confederacy, which should stand firm as long as the Sun and Moon should furnish the World with Light.

"It was therefore that his Majesty was very desirous to know his Excellency's Intentions, whether, after the taking of *Columbo*, they should attack the Kingdom of *Tajnapatnam* or the *Ile of Manaoar*, and whether it were not convenient to send some of his Forces under certain *Disjaves* thither immediately: That he had received two Letters from the before-mentioned Places, which should be communicated to his Excellency. His Majesty also declared, that either next Sunday or Thursday (which of these two his Excellency should pitch upon) he would expect him at Court, and that he would send some of his Courtiers to conduct him thither.

At the same time certain Deputies from his Majesty brought along with them two Letters pen'd by Mr. *Hulst* our General, in answer to those sent from *Columbo* to the Emperor, and dispatch'd to his Majesty; which being well approv'd of by him, and signed by his Excellency in his Majesty's Name, were carried the next day into the City.

Soon after news was brought from *Montual*, that 400 *Portugueses*, commanded by four Officers, had been seen near the Sea-shore on the other side of the River, but hitherto had not made the

least attempt of passing the same. Abundance of the Inhabitants of the Inland Countries, who perhaps had never had a sight of a Man of War, or any well disciplin'd Forces, flock'd thither (with his Majesty's Permission) to see them. About the same time we received a Reinforcement of 50 men from *Puntegale*, being all they could spare.

The before-mentioned Letters sent in his Majesty's Name, and carried by some of his *Aratches* and *Lascaryns* into *Columbo*, were at first received with a general Salute of the Cannon and Small Arms; but being open'd, the Inhabitants sufficiently testify'd their Repentment, telling the Messengers, that in case their Condition was not so desperate, they would play them another Game before they return'd; of which usage the Messengers desired the General to make his Complaint to the Emperor.

The same day arose a violent Tempest, with Rain, Thunder and Lightning, which kill'd one of our Sentinels, and struck three Muskets, in the Church of *Quia de Lobo*, all to pieces. The Emperor was so complaisant, as to enquire the next day by one of his Messengers, whether we had suffer'd any damage in our Tents or Works, and was answer'd, that God had preserv'd us from all the Danger. The same day, being the 25th of March, two Europeans came over to us; one of them, a Native of *Marseilles*, was over-taken by the way, and received 9 Wounds, so that he narrowly escap'd to our Works, but died the next Morning.

The 26th a Serjeant, a *Mislice*, came over to us, and reported, that two more of the same Company watched only an Opportunity to desert: That they had already distributed to each Soldier his Quota of Provisions, viz. a *Parra* of Rice per diem, for the Month of April: That they were much afflicted with the Dropsy and the *Beribery*, a Swelling in the Knees, which takes away the use of their Legs.

Soon after Commodore *Roothaus* sent in three Fishermen taken by our Boats within Muskets-shot of the Water-Fort. The Seamen had 50 Crowns given them (the usual Reward for every *Tony* or Fishboat) and 25 more as an Encouragement, these Fishermen being the chief Persons who supply'd the City with Provisions. Orders were also sent to the Commodore, not to expose his Seamen without an absolute necessity.

Some of our best Workmen were also consulted about the erecting another Battery

*Baldous.*

A Supply of 50 men comes to the Dutch Camp.

How these Letters were received there.

A violent Tempest

Some Fishermen taken.

See Let. to the Co.

Baldew.

A Portuguese Merchant comes into the Camp.

News from Goa advised by Leonard Wilkine.

tery against the Bastion of St. John, in order to destroy their Pallisado Work in the Ditch, and to facilitate the bringing over of the Gallery. The General told the Emperor's *Disfave*, that he stood in need of 4 or 500 Pioneers and Workmen; but he declined the matter, telling him, that when he came to the Emperor, he would doubtless not deny his Request.

About the same time a Portuguese Merchant came in a Boat cross the Bay into our Camp, in company of a Negro Trumpeter: They reported, that they were reduced to great extremity in the Place; that no less than 130 had been buried yesterday; and that if most of the Portuguese had not their Legs swell'd by the Dropsy, they had deferted long before this.

The 29th of March the Enemy were preparing to attack the Redoubt of Paul Meno two hours before day; but the Negro Pioneers with the Sentinel retreating in time, and giving the Alarm, they retired, after having exchanged some Musquet-balls without doing any harm. Four Deputys arriving soon after to enquire the occasion of such smart Firing, they were shewn the Works, and told, that we wanted 4 or 500 Colys or Labourers. Three other Fishermen were also brought up by the Seamen, who had the usual Reward given them.

At the same time the Popkensburgh Yacht arriving from Wingurla, brought the following Advice:

That Don Rodrigo de Lobo, Conde de Se-credo, Viceroy of Goa, and his Secretary, with three of his Domesticks, having been poisoned, died within 4 or 5 days after. His Death being concealed for some time, Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, formerly Governour of Ceylon, was (pursuant to the King's Orders) constituted two days after Viceroy in his stead: But the *Fidalgos* or Gentlemen not being satisfy'd with his Person, they expected daily a Revolt (just as it happen'd against him at Columbo, 1652.) However, not long after the Viceroy's Death, the Merchants of Goa began to load all the Yachts that were there, as also one Galeon and a *Carack*; whilst the Governour was busy in equipping of Men of War and other Vessels, intended for Ceylon, offering 20 *Scrapphyns* (or Dutch Guilders) to every Soldier that would lift himself. Our Resident of Wingurla further advis'd, that they had sent from Goa 160 Ships, and among them 16 Men of War, the 8th of February, to the North, to fetch Provisions and some other necessary Commodities; and that the said Fleet had carried

four or five days in sight of Wingurla by reason of the contrary Winds. That three *Patachos* or Yachts were failed for *Mofambique*; but one being leaky, was forc'd to return to Bombassa: Two more to Macassar, two more to China; and one *Carack* and a Galeon, viz. the *Bon Jesus* and *Nossa Senhora de Gratia*, set sail the 19th of February for Portugal; aboard of which were carried the following Gentlemen, being accused of certain Crimes against the Government, viz. Don Bras de Castro, late Governour General; Don Lewis de Souza; Don Pedro de Castro; Manuel de Souza Cabraer, Master of the Artillery; Diego de Salvaar, Captain Major; Este-vaon de Melo, late Governour of Bassyn; Charles Hudjart, a rich Merchant; Dr. Caldero; and Jeronimo Lobo de Falheita. In the Bassyn (under the Jurisdiction of Goa) remained Prisoners, on account of being concern'd in the declaring Don Bras de Castro Viceroy, Don Rodrigo Monfanto, a Captain in the Bassyn; the *Veador de Fazendas*, or Sur-Intendant of the Merchants; and Leon Corre.

He advis'd, that the before-mention'd *Carack* and Galeon had aboard a very large Cargo of Stuffs and Callico's, of Cinnamon, Indigo, Pepper, Bezoar-stones, Cloves, &c. And that several of the richest Merchants of Goa having embark'd all their Effects aboard the said two Vessels, were gone privately along with them to Portugal.

Two days before the Yachts the Zie-rick-see and Naerden arrived before Goa, 4 *Patamars* \*, with a Portuguese, came to that Place to bring advice of the desperate Condition of Columbo, and that they stood in great need of the so long expected Succours. But the Government of Goa finding a great averfion in the Portuguese Soldiers, as well as the Negro Seamen, to go to Ceylon, especially in this dangerous Season; they pretended to have receiv'd Letters from Don Antonio de Souza Coutinho, Governour of Columbo, with advice, that the Dutch had bin forc'd, with the assistance of Raja Singa, to raise the Siege; and to make this News pass for current, the new Viceroy Manuel Mascarenhas Homem got the Governour of Columbo his Hand counterfeited, and order'd for three days successively Ringing of Bells, Illuminations, Bonfires, and

\* *Patamars* are Indian Advice-boats cover'd all over for the Carriage of Letters, which they tie round in Wax Cloths to the Masts. *Patamars* are also flying Post-Posts.

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other Demonstrations of Joy to be made for its Relief.

By the same Letters from *Winguria* Advice was brought, that our Ships design'd for *Perfia* and *Suratte*, were sail'd from thence; and that according to the Intelligence received from *Disfely* (a *Mabometan* City not far from *Goa*) the so long expected Squadron, consisting of between 20 and 30 Ships, was to sail within three days with Men and Provisions for *Ceylon*; tho' this proved afterwards only a *Rhodomontade*.

He further added, that after the departure of the before-mentioned Vessels bound to *Perfia* and *Suratte*, frequently Yachts had been sent to the River of *Goa*, to get intelligence of the motion of the said Squadron. That as far as they could learn, they stay'd only for the return of the before-mentioned Fleet sent out to fetch Provisions from the North; when they intended to force all the Seamen, before they could set foot ashore, aboard the Men of War, in order to carry them,

together with 7 or 800 *European* Soldiers, and good store of Provisions, to the Isle of *Ceylon*, for the Relief of *Columbo*. According to the Governour of *Winguria*'s Opinion, the said Succours could not be ready before *April*; and that, if by that time they had no certain news at *Goa* of the Surrender of *Columbo*, they would besides the before-mentioned Squadron gather all their Naval and Land-Forces, and endeavour to penetrate, with the strong North Wind, which commonly blows in that Season, into the Harbour of *Columbo*, for its relief.

He further added, that there lay two Galeons and a *Carack* at anchor in the River of *Goa*, one whereof, which lay near *Marmagon*, would scarce be fit to go out this Season. Lastly, that the Yacht the *Roman* lay ready to sail upon the first News he should receive of the going out of the said Squadron for the relief of *Columbo*, to give us timely notice of their Coming.

C H A P. XXXIV.

*Letters betwixt the Emperor and General. Several Deferters come over to us. The General invited to the Emperor's Camp.*

THE 30th of *March* a good number of *Portuguese* palling the Fens in two Boats, call'd *Manchous*, attack'd our Forces in their Works near the Gate of *Mapane*, but after some firing on both sides, were forced to retire in confusion. Soon after a certain Captain of a Village was taken by our People, who was sent out to fetch in some *Falcines*, intended to be made use of in strengthening the Cortyn betwixt the Bastions of *St. John* and *St. Stephen*. Two *Tonys* or *Fisher-boats* were likewise brought in with 5 *Fishermen*, and the Seamen rewarded according to Custom.

At the same time the General writ a Letter to the Emperor, wherein he imparted to his Majesty the News he had received concerning the intended Relief of *Columbo*. In the Evening two *Portuguese* Deferters that came from the Bastion of *St. Stephen* (having sent the Sentinel upon an Errand) gave us a tolerable account of the Condition of the City; and the next day another *Portuguese* Deferters bore the Marks of their Extremity in his Countenance, which was very meager. The Seamen also brought in 4 *Fishermen* more, who making up the

number of 15 in all, they were sold for Slaves by the Sound of Trumpet, to reimburse us the Money that was given to the Seamen for the taking of them.

The 1st of *April* the *Dislaves* of *Ouve* and the four *Corles* came at the head of a Troop of 100 *Lascaryns*, divided into certain Companies, into the Camp; and bringing along with them a Letter from his Majesty to the General, neatly laid together, they were received with all possible Marks of Honour. The Letter ran thus:

YOUR Excellency's Letter, dated the 24th of *March*, I received the same day, wherein you declare your readiness to serve our Imperial Majesty upon all occasions; which, together with the Proofs we have received thereof ever since your Landing in this Island, could not but be highly acceptable to our Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency declares, that you will reserve what you have further to propose till the time you shall be admitted into our Prefence. Our dearly beloved Director General being so near our Camp, has

*Baldus.*

*Fifteen Fishermen sold for Slaves.*

*The Emperor's Letter to the General.*

*Letter from the General to the Emperor.*



*Baldens.* "nevertheless not as yet appear'd in our Prefence, which we easily pass by in regard of the Affection our Imperial Majesty bears to your Person. We have sent the *Diffaves* of *Ouve* and of the *Four Corles* to conduct you hither. When they are arrived, your Excellency may order the *Diffaves* of the *Four Corles*, and of the *Seven Corles*, and of *Saffragamme*, to take care in the mean while of the Forces, and what else you shall find most requisite for our Service, and to chuse one of them (whom you please) for your Conductor, not questioning, but that (according to your Wisdom and Experience) you will provide for the Security of our Forces, and our dear *Hollanders*. God conduct your Excellency with his Blessing, that our Imperial Eyes may see your Person, which happy Hour and Day I expect with joyful Eyes; alluring your Excellency, that whatever you shall propose to us will be as acceptable to our Ears as the most harmonious Musick in the World.

At Reygamwatte, April 1. 1656.

Consultations about the General's going to Raja Singa.

Two more Cannon planted on a Battery.

Sixteen Delecters.

It was then consulted what Method was most convenient to be taken, and what Preparations were necessary in order to attend the Emperor with the utmost Splendour; his *Diffave* having (by his Majesty's Orders) appointed the next following Wednesday for the General's reception. But before his Departure he order'd two twelve Pounders to be planted upon the Battery against St. John's Bastion, where the next day a Seaman was kill'd, and a Souldier shot by the same Ball thro the Hat, without touching his Head, or any other part. The same day 16 *Lascaryns* well arm'd coming over to us from the Bastion of St. Stephen, were overtaken by some *Portuguese* Forces, with whom there happen'd a smart Skirmish before they could get clear, two of them being wounded. They were employed in our Works near the Gate of *Rajuba*.

In the Afternoon the *Diffaves* of *Ouve* and the *Four Corles* came with a numerous Retinue to attend the General, leaving it to his choice whom of the two he would pitch upon to conduct him to his Majesty. After some Discourse the *Diffave* of *Saffragamme* was named by his Excellency for that purpose, and order'd to get every thing in readiness for their departure against the next Morning. News was brought at the same time that seven *Canaryns* were taken by some of the Em-

peror's Forces above *Negombo*, coming in a Fisher-boat from *Columbo*.

The 4th of April in the Afternoon, Advice being given that his Majesty was come on Horseback to the Pass of *Walcande*, the General was preparing to meet him there; but as they were just ready to take Horse, certain *Diffaves* came Post with a Message from the Emperor, desiring the General not to come till to-morrow, because his Majesty was return'd immediately.

Accordingly the 5th of April the General set out on his Journey, in order to wait on his Majesty, attended by the two Factors *Edward Ooms* and *Ysbrand Gotskens*; the Fiscal *Lucas van der Dussen*, *Cornelius Valkenburgh* Secretary, *James van der Rhee*, the Interpreter *George Bloom*, and *Don John de Costa*; accompany'd by the Imperial *Diffaves* of *Ouve* and *Saffragamme*, and a Company of Firelocks under Capt. *John Hartman*; Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, Major *van der Laan*, the *Diffave* of the *Four Corles*, besides several Officers of Note; conducting them as far as to the Pass of *Nacolegamme*, his Majesty being then encamp'd upon the River of *Reygamwatte*.

The first Testimony of Respect shew'd to the Director General of his Majesty, was the offer of three fine and well-accounted Horses, for the Courtiers to make use of them at pleasure. These were follow'd by five tame Elephants, with their Guides, who were order'd to keep in the Van. Then came a considerable number of Noblemen and Officers, at the head of their respective Troops, paying their Respects to his Excellency, and asking after his Health. As they approached the Imperial Head Quarters, they were met by some of the chief Men of his Majesty's Court, accompany'd by a vast number of Soldiers, Umbrello-Carriers, Trumpets, Musicians, 11 Elephants, and two fine Horses, with Saddles, Bridles, and other Ornaments beset with Gold and precious Stones, to complement his Excellency in his Majesty's behalf. Thus they marched on thro a Guard of Fusiliers and Bowmen ranged on both sides, for a quarter of an hour together, till they came to a House prepared for the General's Reception, neatly furnish'd, the outward Rooms being hung with Hanging of a white Linen Cloth, and the Bed-Chambers with Gold Stuffs. Here the General entred with his Retinue under a Salvo of Fire-locks, placed on the other side of the River near the Imperial Palace. They had scarce arrived here

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two hours, but his Majesty's *Diffaves* came to enquire after the General's Health, being inform'd that his Excellency was seiz'd with an Ague, which had made him resolve to come to him in Person, had he not received nearer Advice, that his dearly beloved Director was on the mending hand, of which he expected the confirmation with the utmost impatience. These Compliments were return'd by the General with the utmost demonstrations of Respect and Duty, telling the *Diffaves*, that he was highly desirous to appear in the Presence of so famous and potent a Monarch so soon as possible could be, his Presence being absolutely necessary in the Camp.

Next day being the 6th, great store of Provisions of the best kind were brought in Boats from the General and his whole Retinue. In the Afternoon some Courtiers brought word to the General in private, that his Majesty being seiz'd that Morning with a sudden Illness, could (to his great Affliction) not speak with his Excellency that day. His Excellency reply'd, that he was heartily sorry, his Presence was so absolutely necessary in the Camp, that he could not without great hazard stay, since it was uncertain how soon his Majesty might recover; for which reason he desired leave to depart for this time, till a better opportunity, desiring, that four Horses might be laid by the way, which, as soon as his Majesty thought convenient, might carry him with all speed to Court. Whereupon Orders were given to *John Hartman* to prepare for the March, which was done accordingly the same Night.

Soon after we understood, that his Majesty had been forc'd to have been let blood in the Arm, and that he had shew'd a great deal of Sorrow for the intended departure of the General; telling his Courtiers, that being sensible how necessary his Presence was in the Camp, he would either the next morning, or at furthest in the Evening, admit him into his Presence, in case he found the least abatement of his Illness. In the mean while the General sent the following Letter to his Majesty:

Most Serene Emperor,

THREE days being already pass'd since I came hither by your Majesty's Command and Desire; but not being able hitherto to appear

in your Majesty's Presence, I most humbly beg leave to return to the Camp, the whole Burden whereof rests upon my Shoulders; promising to be ready to attend your Majesty whenever you shall think fit to send for me, and living in constant hopes, that in case some Misfortune or other should happen in my Absence, the same will not be alledged against me, and put upon me as a Blemish to blot out the remembrance of my former Service. God protect the Emperor.

April 7. 1656. Your Majesty's most humble Servant,

*Gerard Hulst.*

This done, the General order'd *Jbrand Gotskens* and *Don John de Costa*, with some of his trusty *Lascaryns*, to take a view of the King's Guards upon the Road, with an intention, that in case he saw no certain Prospect of going to Court to day (as indeed there was but little appearance he should, considering the Emperor's Indisposition) he would privately go Post to the Camp. The 8th of April the following Letter was delivered to the General from the Emperor.

THE Persons sent to enquire after your Excellency's Health, deliver'd to me with a great deal of satisfaction your Excellency's Letter wrote on Friday last at 4 a Clock. I was extremely pleas'd to hear you were in health, and retain'd the same Inclinations for our Service. It was on the other hand no small Affliction to me that you had stay'd so long in my Court, without being able to see you. I assure you, that the same has happen'd far beyond my Wishes or Intention; but it seems to have been so ordain'd by God, that your Excellency should be a Witness of my Illness, and at the same time have an opportunity of receiving the Present sent to you by the Prince (born by God's Providence for the Welfare of my Subjects) and deliver'd into my hands before my Departure from *Candy*. Your Excellency may prepare your self against to morrow, when I will send word for your Appearance in my Presence; which done, you shall have liberty to return into the Camp, when I will also issue my Orders for the furnishing

*Baldew.*

*The Emperor's Letter to the General.*

*Baldau.* "nishing you with all things requisite for the accomplishment of such Measures as shall be taken betwixt us. After my Recovery I intend to come in Person into your Camp, for which reason I have commanded the *Disfave* of *Ouwe* to prepare my Quarters there.

"No more, but that our Imperial Majesty does not cease to pray to God for your Excellency's Welfare.

April 7. before break of Day. *Raja Singa*, most potent Emperor of Ceylon.

## C H A P. XXXV.

*The General's most magnificent Entry. He is admitted into his Majesty's Presence. What pass'd at their Interview. The General's Return. His unfortunate End.*

*The General's Entry.*

ABOUT Noon, just as the General was at dinner, we heard a Noise of Drums, Trumpets and other Musick on the other side of the River, and soon after saw some of the chief Courtiers of the Emperor, with three of the choicest Horses of his Stable, adorn'd with most magnificent Saddles, Bridles and other Accoutrements, to advance in very good order towards us; some Persons of the first Quality marching before to invite his Excellency to Court. The General or-

der'd immediately his Guards to pass the River with the Presents, with an intimation to follow them in Person with his whole Train, where his Excellency was complimented by the *Disfaves* of *Ouwe* and *Matule*, the Captain of his Majesty's *Guard du Corps*, and a great number of other Courtiers. The whole Cavalcade was order'd in the following manner: His Excellency's Guards led the Van, 15 Ensigns and Standards being by the first Ranks carried trailing upon the Ground,



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to shew the Spoils of their Enemies. These were follow'd by his Majesty's Horses and Musicians, and then by five tame Elephants; without the Gate of the Palace were ranged a vast number of Musqueteers, and passing over the Bridge they found the Guard in the outward Court ranged on both sides, through which they marched into the Imperial Palace.

The Doors being shut after them, all the *Hollanders* there present were conducted through a large Square into a spacious Hall (call'd by them *Mandonoe*) on the West-side whereof they found his Majesty seated in great Pomp upon a Chair of State, mounted some Steps from the ground. No sooner had they enter'd the Hall, but all the great Courtiers paid their Reverence by falling flat with their Faces upon the ground, and the *Dutch* upon their Knees, till his Majesty was pleased to order them to rise by a Nod. Then they began to approach the Imperial Throne, adorn'd with most precious Tapestries of Gold (call'd by them *Alcavies*; ) coming to the middle of the Hall, they fell upon their Knees a second time, according to the Custom of the Eastern Nations, till his Majesty was pleased to arise from his Seat, and commanded the General to come nearer, who made the following Speech to his Majesty.

"Most Potent Monarch! Your most humble Servant approaches your Imperial Throne with a most violent Passion, in confidence of your generous Inclinations, and wonted Clemency, which has encourag'd me to address my self to your Majesty (whose Name is Renown'd throughout the World) with a most sincere wish that God Almighty will be pleased to bless your most Illustrious Imperial Majesty, and the Prince, with a long and happy Life for the Welfare and Protection of your Subjects.

"I am come hither to renew and confirm the most sincere Confederacy establish'd betwixt your most Potent Majesty and the *Dutch* Nation; and to desire that whatever Differences or Disturbances may have happen'd hitherto betwixt your Imperial Majesty and our Nation, may be buried in eternal Oblivion, in order to establish an eternal Peace and Confederacy, which may be as durable as the Bodies of the Sun and Moon. It can't be deny'd but that several Misunderstandings have happen'd betwixt your Majesty's Officers and those of our

Vol. III.

"Company; but these ought now to be remov'd even out of our Memory, at a time when we are so profuse of the Blood of our Countrymen, to force our common Enemies out of this Isle, and ready to give your Majesty every day new Proofs of our Sincerity and hearty Inclinations towards you.

His Majesty appear'd highly satisfied with what his Excellency had said, ordering him at the same time to rise, which he seem'd not to understand, and at the same time offer'd certain Presents, being, as he said, of little Value in themselves, but nevertheless much regarded by the most Potent Emperors and Monarchs, to wit, some Standards taken from those very Enemies who had for many years together so cruelly and barbarously oppress'd his Majesty's Subjects, especially in the *Low-Lands*. His Majesty then, speaking of the Presents sent to his Excellency by the Prince his Son, his Excellency acknowledg'd the same with extraordinary Reverence, pointing at the same time at a Jewel he wore upon his Breast, presented him before by his Majesty; and so approaching the Throne, he kneel'd upon a Cushion laid upon the Step of the Throne, and touching his Majesty's Hand, told him, that he thought it the greatest Honour he ever was capable of receiving, to be admitted to kiss his Majesty's Hands.

The Emperor took a *Gargantinho*, or Collar of Gold, which he threw about his Excellency's Neck, and drawing his own Ring from the first Finger of his Left-hand, he desir'd he should extend his Finger, and wear it in remembrance of his Majesty, who put it upon his Finger. His Excellency was so surpriz'd at this extraordinary favour, that he had scarce power to put out his middle Finger of his left-hand, telling his Majesty, that this Finger having had the misfortune to be disfigur'd by his Enemies, was now abundantly recompens'd for his pains by the Honour his Majesty had been pleased to bestow upon him. Then retiring somewhat backwards, and standing upon a Tapestry, he declar'd to his Majesty, That he was sent into this Isle with full Power by the General and Council of the *Indies* to propose to his Majesty, whether he would be pleas'd to continue the antient Alliance (made with Mr. *Westerwold*) or have the same renew'd, and some other Articles added, assuring his Majesty, that whatever should be agreed upon should be kept inviolably on their side. Unto which

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Baldew.

What pass'd betwixt him and the Emperor.

Extraordinary Honour done to the General.

Certain Propositions made by the General.

*A Draught of the most Splendid Audience given by the Emperor of Ceylon*





his Majesty reply'd, that he was highly satisfied with his Proposal.

Then the General giving a short account of their Success against the Enemy, his Majesty said, that he had heard of the same to his signal Satisfaction, and that he had a Present from the Prince his Son for his Excellency: Whereupon approaching the Throne a second time, his Majesty presented him with a Garter of Gold, which he said had been worn by the Prince himself.

Is presented with a Garter.

This done, our Presents being order'd to be brought in, Capt. *Hartsman* enter'd with 15 of his stoutest Soldiers, each of them trailing one of the Enemies Colours upon the ground; which being thrown carelessly down in the Hall of Audience, a white Buckler formerly belonging to the Portuguese Governor *Antonio Mendes d'Arenha*, was laid upon them, as also an Indian Scymeter, the Hilt whereof was of Achet and Gold curiously wrought, which his Excellency declar'd to be intended for the Prince, wherewith to defend his Subjects (when come to riper years) against all the Enemies of the Crown, not excepting the *Hollanders* themselves, if they deserv'd it. Wherewith his Majesty seem'd so highly satisfied, that he put the Scymeter next to his Throne.

The Presents sent by the Company to his Majesty were as follows.

Two very fine *Persian* Horses, one *Turky* Gun, two *Persian* Bows, with their Arrows and Quivers richly embroidered; one *Japoneze* Gown, very rich; two *Greyhounds*, two *Persian* Sheep, two *Rock-goats* of *Visiapour*, one piece of *Sandelwood*.

Those for the young Prince were:

One very fine *Persian* Horse, two *Futes* with very curious Barrels, one *Silver Basin*, wherein were laid two pieces of *Persian* Stuffs wrought with Gold, two *Silver Boxes* of *China*, one *Hog Stone* call'd *Pedra de Porco*, one piece of *Sandelwood*, &c.

Whilst the Presents were deliver'd, his Excellency begg'd his Majesty's Pardon for having detain'd him so long; and as the time of his stay could be but short, he told him that he had three things more to propose to his Majesty (whereof the want of the *Pioneers* was one) desiring that he would be pleased to hear the same from the mouth of *Tsbrand Gotskens* in private, he being the only Person whom he had entrusted with the Secret. The Emperor then commanded all his Courtiers to withdraw, desiring that our

Officers might be order'd to do the same; which being done accordingly, his Excellency again approach'd the Throne, and having by his Interpreters *George Bloem* and *Cottemaley*, discours'd with his Majesty a quarter of an hour, he desir'd leave to depart to the Camp, which being granted, he was reconducted with the same Pomp to his Lodgings.

The Emperor leave the Emperor.

The same Evening the General sent to the Emperor by *George Bloem* two noted Partisans, who had done a great deal of mischief in the Country under *Gaspard Figeiro*, to dispose of them at pleasure. Mr. *Bloem* was receiv'd by the Emperor in a private Room, and presented with a Golden Chain and Ring.

The 9th of April early in the Morning the General took Horse, and came pretty early with his whole Retinue to *Naccagamme*, from whence he was conducted by Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* and Mr. *John van der Laan* with two Companies to the Camp. At his arrival there he found the Gallery fix'd in the Ditch (without any considerable loss) and every thing else in a good Condition.

The General view to the Camp.

The 10th in the Afternoon the General took a view of all the Works, and among the rest commanded Capt. *Henry Gerard* to set up a Ladder, and take a view of the Condition of the Enemy on the other side of the Ditch; he found the Enemy had made an Entrenchment extending towards the Sea-shore, with a Ditch before it, 8 foot deep, upon which having planted two pieces of Cannon, they were likely to prevent our fixing the Miners on that side, our Trenches being carried on directly against that place; whereupon it was agreed to make a Breach in the Wall on this side of the Ditch, and to plant a Cannon there in order to ruin the said Entrenchment.

Takes view of Works.

About Sun-set his Excellency returning to the same place to encourage the Workmen both by his Words and Example, the Portuguese began to use their utmost endeavours to set fire to the Gallery, throwing all sorts of combustible Matter upon it, which the General perceiving, he advanc'd with the rest to assist in extinguishing the Fire; but whilst he was busy in the midst of the Gallery in performing his Duty with his Breast open, he was heard on a sudden to cry out, *Good God help me! O help me!* which Capt. *Joachim Block* who stood hard by hearing, and finding him all over bloody, he carried him with the assistance of Major *Van der Laan* from thence to a Bed, where without speaking one word more he expir'd.

The Portuguese fire to the Gallery.

He is wounded.

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His Excellency GERARD HULST, first Coun-  
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to CEYLON, and the Coast of the INDIES.



*Baldæus.*  
*Dies.*

*His Character.*

pir'd. His Wound being searched, they found it to be done by a Musquet-Bullet, which passed in under the right Shoulder, quite through under the right Arm.

This was the unfortunate End of this most excellent Person, in the Vigor of his Age, descended of a good Family, and of great Experience both in Civil and Military Affairs; being for the rest of a

very affable Conversation, eloquent and well-vers'd in divers Languages: He was besides this of a very good Aspect, tall, and well-made, brisk and indefatigable in what he undertook; and to be short, *Nature and Industry had fram'd so exact an Harmony betwixt his Soul and Body, that few Men can pretend to the same degree of Perfection.*

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*The General's Death notified to the Emperor, who sends his Envoys into the Camp. Mr. Adrian van der Meyden succeeds him. A Portuguese Captain comes over to us.*

*The General's Death notified to the Emperor.*

*His Corps carried to Gale.*

*Envoys sent from the Emperor.*

*Take a view of the place where he was wounded.*

THE same night George Bloem Interpreter being dispatch'd with a Letter to the Emperor, to carry the doleful News of the General's Death, his Majesty sent the 11th of April the *Dissaves* of the five and seven *Corles* to take a view of his Corps. It being also agreed in a Council of War, that the same should be conducted by the Factor *Tsbrand Gotskens* and Capt. *John Hartman*, under a Guard of 20 Fire-locks, to *Punegule* (5 German Leagues thence) the same was done accordingly with a great deal of Splendor. The same night his Majesty sent the *Dissaves* of *Masule* and *Adigar*, attended by divers other Courtiers, to condole the Death of his dearly beloved Director-General. They were very inquisitive, whether he was slain by some of his own People, or by the Enemy, or by some unexpected Accident: Being shewn the place where he receiv'd his Wound, they crawl'd thither trembling for fear upon the ground, from whence they took a handful of Earth, and desir'd that no body should set a foot in that place.

His Corps was deposited in a Vault under ground at *Gale* till 1657. when by order from Mr. *Van der Meyden* it was inter'd with great Solemnity in the Church there near the Pulpit; his Arms, Buckler, Sword and Spurs being hung against the Wall. In the year 1658. the said Corps being transported from thence to *Columbo*, was put into a stately Monument there, with an Inscription upon it, containing in substance, *That he had purchased the Conquest of Columbo by his Death, for the honour of his Native Country.*

After the Decease of the General, the Burden of the supreme Command of the

Siege was laid by unanimous Consent upon the Shoulders of Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* Governor of *Gale*, who had the good fortune to see the City reduc'd in the next following Month of May.

The 13th of April a Letter was brought to the Camp from *Leonard Johnson*, dated the 2d at *Wingula*, intimating that 22 Frigates under the Command of *Francisco de Seix Cabreira*, with all sorts of Provisions, and 800 Portuguese Landmen aboard, were sail'd from *Goa*. Whereupon the Commodore *Rothaus* and *Peter de Bister* being sent for, to consult what was best to be done, it was resolv'd (in order to prevent their bringing into the City the intended Succours) to attempt a vigorous Assault upon the Battalion of *St. Stephen*, for which purpose four brave Officers were chosen, who with 80 Volunteers (who had offer'd themselves for a Reward of 50 Crowns a piece) were to make the Attack.

The same Evening the *Flussing Yacht* coming to an Anchor in the Road, soon after *Adrian van der Meer* her Captain came ashore, and told the General, that about three days before meeting with the Portuguese Squadron near *Conlang* and the Cape *Comorin*, he had attack'd one of their Frigates so successfully, that he saw her sink before his Eyes, 16 Portuguese only with Capt. *Simon Souza* being sav'd of all that were aboard her. That soon after he had lost sight of them all, supposing they were return'd to the Cape *Comorin*, it being his opinion that as the Wind stood, they must before this have been near *Columbo*. In the night time a certain Portuguese Captain, one of the *Fidalgos*, or Gentlemen, who had been concern'd in declaring *Don Bras de Castro* Viceroy of *Goa*, came over to us, having

*Mr. Van der Meyden succeeds the General.*

*A Letter from Wingula concerning Portuguese Courts.*

*The Flushing Yacht meets the Portuguese Fleet.*

*A Portuguese Captain comes over to us.*

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been detain'd Prisoner in the Bastion of S. Stephen, and made his escape with four of his Servants through Don Francisco de Rolyn's House by means of a Boat. He entertain'd the new General for a considerable time. It was in the mean time resolv'd to delay the Assault upon the Bastion of S. Stephen's for two or three days. Our Interpreter George Bloem return'd also with the following Letter of Condolence from his Majesty.

Raja Singa Rajou, most potent Emperor of Ceylon, wishes Health to Mr. Adrian van der Meyden, Governor of the Imperial Fortrels of Gale.

“ strict Orders to keep a strict Guard  
“ both by Sea and Land.

In the Camp and  
Court of Rey-  
gamwatt, 15  
April 1655.

Raja Singa Rajou,  
Most Potent Emperor  
of Ceylon.

In the night 2 Portuguese, 3 Topasses, 11 Lafcaryn, 3 Topasses, 2 Portuguese Deferters gave a doleful account of the miserable condition of the City, and of the Sickness and Mortality that reign'd there. The 16th we play'd most furiously against the Gate of Rajou, and the General having sent Advice of the expected Succours in the City to the Emperor, gave Orders to Commodore Roothaus to keep the Flushing, Popkensburgh and Lion Yachts in readiness to pursue the Enemy's Squadron. About the same time a Portuguese Captain came over to us with 18 Lafcaryns and three Topasses; his pretence was, that having receiv'd an Affront from the Governor, he had taken this method to revenge himself. Diedelof van der Beek writ from Mapane, that the poor starv'd Wretches in the Plain betwixt our Works and the City butchered one another, two Women having lately devour'd their new-born Babes. The 19th of April a Letter was deliver'd to the General from the Emperor.

“ YOUR Excellency was deliver'd  
“ to me after Midnight, by which  
“ you declaring your readiness to serve  
“ me, the same was receiv'd with sin-  
“ gular satisfaction, knowing that your  
“ Excellency ever since your landing in  
“ this Isle has shewn a more than ordi-  
“ nary Inclination for our Service. Your  
“ Excellency being now through God's  
“ Mercy put into this high Station, it is  
“ expected you should give more signal  
“ Proofs thereof than before. You also  
“ mention the expected Portuguese Suc-  
“ cours, and the Success of our faithful  
“ Hollanders against them. I hope in  
“ God that this Victory will prove the  
“ forerunner of others. What I writ  
“ in my last concerning your care in  
“ the Camp, was not intended as if I  
“ question'd your Conduct, but because  
“ it belong'd to me to mention it. You  
“ further advise, that the Enemy's Squa-  
“ dron has orders to sail directly for  
“ Columbo, but considering the ill Treat-  
“ ment Marnet Mascarenhas Homem the  
“ present Viceroy of Goa met with at  
“ Columbo (whilst Governor there) it  
“ seems to me most probable, that he  
“ has sent this Fleet rather to be worsted  
“ by

“ YOUR Letter dated in the Evening  
“ at seven a Clock on Monday the  
“ 10th of April, did arrive in the Impe-  
“ rial Camp about Midnight, and was  
“ deliver'd to our Imperial Majesty on  
“ Tuesday about Noon. The Death of  
“ our Director-General has caused an ex-  
“ cessive Affliction in our Imperial Heart.  
“ Whilst our beloved Director was at  
“ our Court, I was unwilling (accord-  
“ ing to the singular Love I bore to his  
“ Person) to let him know my Illness;  
“ but being now on the mending hand,  
“ I am forced to hear of his Death,  
“ which now we must commit to Provi-  
“ dence, and submit to his Will. Our  
“ Imperial Majesty has likewise under-  
“ stood by your Excellency's Letter that  
“ you are invested with the same Power  
“ as our beloved Director-General was.  
“ It is a general receiv'd Custom in the  
“ Courts of all the great Monarchs, that  
“ in case a Person of note, and in good  
“ esteem with them dies, his Successor  
“ appears before the said Monarch, and  
“ receives his Confirmation and Blessing  
“ at his hands. As you have always  
“ been serviceable to us, it is our Plea-  
“ sure that you come to Court (in the  
“ same manner as the Director-General  
“ did) in order to receive the Honours  
“ due to your Merits; being sensible that  
“ you have render'd us considerable Ser-  
“ vices, without having receiv'd any Re-  
“ ward hitherto; wherefore it is my  
“ Pleasure, that when you resolve to  
“ come, you give notice thereof before-  
“ hand what day you have pitch'd upon,  
“ in order to receive you with the same  
“ Respect as the Director-General your  
“ Predecessor. I doubt not in the mean  
“ while but you will be very careful in  
“ your high Station. At the closing of  
“ this Letter Advice is brought that  
“ the Portuguese expect every day  
“ Succours, which has made me give

Baldous.

More De-  
ferters.

The Empe-  
ror's Let-  
ter to the  
new Gene-  
ral.

*Baldæus.* "by the *Hollanders*, than with a real intention to relieve *Columbo*.

“ Your Excellency says that one *Nicolao de Moura* Captain-Major of the City is come over to us; I desire you would give a good Entertainment to all such as come to us with a sincere Intention. The other News has been very acceptable to me, God I hope will crown our Endeavours with Success. Your mentioning the late deceased Director-General's Name has renew'd my Grief; and as I lov'd him entirely, so I must recommend to you the Jewels which were presented to him (whilst living) from our Imperial Majesty, that the same may be sent into *Holland* to his next Kindred; it being our Will and Pleasure to give upon this occasion a convincing Proof to our *Hollanders* of the most sincere Affection we bear them. For, tho the unfortunate Death of the said Director has rob'd him of the opportunity to execute those Designs he had projected for our Services, yet his Counsels, Care and Watchfulness will remain for ever in our Memories. I am very solicitous to know what method you intend to take in reducing the City, whether by Force or Famine: If you intend to take it by Assault, let me know of it two or three days before-hand secretly. My Illness has hitherto prevented me from prosecuting my Resolution of coming into the Camp, to take a view of all the Works of the *Hollanders*; however I am resolv'd to come nearer to the Camp, which as soon as it is done I will give you notice thereof, and desire your Presence there, in order to concert Measures with you before you return to the Camp. No more, &c.

Reygamwatte 28  
April 1656.

**Raja Singa Rajou,  
Most Potent Empe-  
ror of Ceylon:**

P. S. " It is defin'd that the Captain  
" who sunk one of the Enemy's Frigats,  
" and forced the rest to return back,  
" may come along with the General to  
" the Emperor, in order to make himself  
" known to his Majesty.

The Superscription was,

Raja Singa Rajou, Most Potent Emperor  
of Ceylon, wishes Health to *Adrian  
van der Meyden*, Governor of our Im-  
perial Fortrefs of Gale.

In the Afternoon a Cessation of Arris being order'd for some time, the following Summons were sent into the City.

“ Having by the present Siege reduc’d  
the Citizens of *Columbo* to the last  
“ Extremity, and bereaved them of all  
“ Hopes of the so long expected Succours  
“ from *Goa*, we thought fit to summon  
the City a second time in the Name of  
“ his Imperial Majesty *Raja Singa*, and  
“ of the Honourable the *Dutch East-*  
*India*. For the Squadron sent the 11th  
“ of this Month from *Goa* by the new  
“ Viceroy *Manoel Mascarenhas Homem*  
(*Conde de Secredo* his Predecessor dying  
“ the 13th of *January*) to the relief  
“ of *Columbo*, being pretty well provi-  
“ ded with Provisions, but very indiffer-  
“ ently man’d, was engag’d so briskly  
“ by our People, that some of their  
“ Frigots were lost, others much da-  
“ mag’d, and the rest forc’d to retire in  
“ Confusion to *Tutecoryn* and *Manaar*.  
“ According to the Opinion of your  
“ own Captain *Simon de Souza*, and some  
“ others, that are our Prisoners, most  
“ of the Men aboard them are likely to  
“ desert, for fear of falling into the hands  
“ of our Ships that are cruising there-  
“ abouts; and the rest will scarce be  
“ able by reason of the *Mousson* to reach  
“ this place. Perhaps you may flatter  
“ your self, that the same *Mousson* will  
“ oblige our Ships to leave before long,  
“ as well those Parts as this Bay; but if  
“ you rely upon this Point, we declare  
“ our selves innocent of all the Grievan-  
“ ces and Sufferings put upon the poor  
“ Citizens, who will besides this be there-  
“ by put in danger of losing all they  
“ have, whereas at present they may ex-  
“ pect honourable Conditions, which  
“ they can’t hope for hereafter. We  
“ recommend this to your Excellency’s  
“ Consideration, and your Person to  
“ God’s Protection.

In the Imperial  
Camp before  
Columbo, 18  
April 1656.

The following Letter was sent in Answer to the former.

THE Letter sent to me by the most noble General *Gerard Hüßli*, dated the 9th of *Novemb.* last, I answer'd at that time; which, as it can't be unknown to your Excellency, so the same Answer may serve to your Letter; neither the Change of War, nor want

" of Provisions having given me sufficient  
" Occasion hitherto to alter my Resoluti-  
" on, which is, to take care of and de-  
" fend the City to the utmost of my Pow-  
" er, for the Service of the King my  
" Master. God protect your Excellency.

Columbo, Apr.  
19. 1656.

Antonio de Souza Coutinho.

Being convinced by this Letter, that  
nothing but Force could reduce them to  
reason, the Cannon were order'd to play  
again as before.

Baldæus.

C H A P. XXXVII.

*Many Deserters. Letters from the Emperor. Ysbrand Gotskens sent to his Majesty. Resolution taken to assault the City. Succours arrived from Batavia.*

THE 21<sup>st</sup> of April, 7 *Lascaryn* Deser-  
ters reported, that the Citizens and  
Soldiers beginning to murmur for want  
of Rice, it was resolv'd to give to each  
Citizen and Soldier  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and to each *Topas*  
and *Lascaryn*  $\frac{1}{2}$  *Medide per diem*, besides  
their former Allowance. Soon after a  
*Portuguese* Deserter related, that they  
had barricadoed up most of the Streets,  
and planted Cannon in them. About the  
same time the new General received the  
following Letter from the Emperor.

RAJA SINGA RAJOU, &c.

" OUT of your Letter dated the  
" 19<sup>th</sup> of April, I have (with a  
" great deal of Satisfaction) understood  
" your good Health, and good Inclinati-  
" ons for my Service, as well as of Ma-  
" jor *John van der Laan*, and the rest of  
" the Chief Officers. Before the Arri-  
" val of the late Director-General (of  
" Blessed Memory) I had taken a Reso-  
" lution within my self, to come and take  
" a View of your Camp; but being then  
" prevented by my Illness, I still continue  
" in the same Resolution, not only to  
" view the Works there, but also to be  
" a Spectator of the brave Actions per-  
" form'd there for my Service. My faith-  
" ful *Hollanders*, who are come hither  
" from far distant Countries, have for  
" several Months last past endured many  
" Miseries, not without much effusion of  
" Blood; and as I am stedfastly persua-  
" ded that both I and our Imperial Fa-  
" mily may promise our selves the same  
" and more for the future, so shall I think  
" it no Trouble to come so far into the  
" Camp, to be an Eye-witness (to my  
" great Satisfaction) of the brave Acti-  
" ons performed there for our Imperial  
" Majesty's Service. That no notice has

" been taken hitherto by this Court of  
" the Captain-Major, is to be attributed  
" to his being employed Day and Night  
" in the Company's Service. Some foo-  
" lish People are much deceived, if they  
" judg that there can be the least Sepa-  
" ration of Interest betwixt our Majesty  
" and the Company, the wiser sort be-  
" ing convinced that our Interest is the  
" same. The said Major *John van der*  
" *Laan* has done me considerable Service  
" ever since his coming into this Isle;  
" and therefore I declare, that since the  
" late Director-General appear'd at this  
" Court, I did lay aside all Animosity,  
" in consideration of his great Qualities  
" and Services; so that now the said  
" Major who has spill'd his Blood more  
" than once, and been wounded with Bul-  
" lets in my Service, shall be made sen-  
" sible of the Love and Affection I bear  
" him, whenever he comes into my Pre-  
" sence. What you mention about *Maj-*  
" *carembas*, is no less than the Truth,  
" and an undeniable one, to convince the  
" World, that God will take Revenge  
" of such as offend their Sovereigns,  
" which induces me to believe, that this  
" War we jointly carry on against our  
" Enemy, will be blessed by God with  
" Success. I was very glad to understand  
" by your Excellencies Letter, that the  
" Jewels presented by me to the Direc-  
" tor-General have been sent to *Batavia*,  
" in order to be transported from thence  
" by trusty Persons into *Holland*. The  
" said Director-General having done me  
" such Signal Services, ever since his  
" Coming into this Country, I intend to  
" soon as the War is brought to a Con-  
" clusion, to send a Letter with the first  
" ship to the States General of *Holland*,  
" to give them an ample Testimony  
" thereof. The Resolution taken in  
" the

Baldew. " the Council of War is very acceptable to me: But as your Excellency in his High Station has the chief Management of such Matters, as tend to our Majesty's Service, in your Hands, so I am most inclined to follow your Advice. The Method proposed for the reducing of the City has been debated in our Imperial Council; but as the same must be expressed in a different Language (which carries along with it a considerable Alteration) I will pass it by in silence, earnestly requiring you, that whenever the said Resolution is to be put in execution, to send me Advice of it, that I may assist you therein Person. You are of Opinion that it would be more convenient for me not to come into the Camp, till after the taking of the City; but what Business have I in the Camp then, unless it be to see the Conditions performed? whereas the late Director-General had given me his Word, that the City should be delivered into my Hands. In the Letter I sent to your Excellency, I desired that the Captain who had sunk the Portuguese Ship should come along with you to our Court; and you having made no mention of him in your Answer, I am at a stand to guess the Reason thereof. The awkward Answer of the Portuguese in Colombo to your Summons, shews them to be void of Sense; and I, who am well acquainted with their Bravadoes, look upon it as an infallible Sign of their Distress; being convinced by my own Experience in divers Engagements, that when they were most at a pinch, they would brag most. I have for a considerable time considered with myself, whether I should write a Letter to those in the City, but for fear of a haughty Answer, I resolve to let it alone. No more, &c.

The 22d of April, Raja Singa Rajou, Most Potent Emperor of Ceylon.

The following Letter was enclosed, and directed to the Sabandaar of Gale, Don John de Costa.

HAVING been inform'd by several of our Messengers sent from hence with Letters, that since the Arrival of the late Director-General of Blessed Memory, you have given all imaginable Satisfaction in reference to his Person, I intended to have sent you a Pre-

sent at that time, but that the said Director's Departure (which was so sudden, that my Servants did not overtake him before he came to Krabenhof) prevented it. But when the new General shall appear at Court, you as well as the rest of the Officers shall not be forgot. You have been an Eye-Witness of the Respect paid by me here to the Director-General; and whenever the new General makes his Appearance before us, the same shall (not without great Reason) be increased, our Imperial Majesty having received more Signal Services from his Excellency, whereof I would have you give notice to him at the first Opportunity. If you should happen to discover any Error in such Letters as are sent from this Court, you shall excuse them to the General. You shall also put him in mind, that we stand in need here of an Anvil, and a pair of Smiths Bellows; and as there is frequent Occasion for Writing, don't forget to let us be furnish'd with some white Paper; you may send also some China Ware. Farewell.

At the Court of Reygamwatte, April 23. 1656.

The 24th of the same Month, a To- A Topo pas Defenter, named Lazaro Henrico, who came over to us during the Siege of Calcutture, but afterwards run over again to the Enemy (notwithstanding he was well entertained by the late Director-General) brought a Letter from Manoel Fonsque de Monis, a Merchant of Colombo, directed to Major van der Laan.

Mr. van der Laan.

I Beg of you to believe what I am going to tell you, concerning the present Condition of the City. Be careful not to venture a Storm, they having provided Retrenchments in all Posts, well provided with Cannon, besides four Mines, to be discovered to my Servant. The Rice is sold still at three Seraphyms, and is very scarce. If you intend to hasten the Surrender of this City, send some body from Calcutture hither, to convince them that they are still living there; this being the Reason why they would not hitherto hearken to any Conditions. I send my Servant with this Letter to you, to shew the same to the General, tho it is rumoured abroad here that General Hulst is dead, but I don't believe it.

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"The next thing I have to request for God's sake, and as you tender our Friendship, is to preserve and secure the Bearer hereof, being resolv'd like a wife to come over to you, which I can't do at present, being so narrowly watch'd, but hope to be with you in a few Days. God grant you a long Life.

Your Servant and Slave,

Manoel Fonsique de Moniis.

Whereupon it was resolv'd to secure the said *Topas* aboard a Ship till further Order.

Soon after *Tsbrand Gotskens* was dispatched to his Majesty, to represent to him some matters of the greatest Consequence, and to know his Sentiments. It was not long before he return'd in Company of the *Diffaves of Saffragam*, and the *Four Corles*, and the *Curupele Apobami*, and gave an account of his Negotiation to the General *van der Meyden*; and among other things, that his Majesty was well satisfied with the Resolution taken April 21. but seem'd to be inclin'd to have the Assault delay'd till Sunday the last Day of the Month, when he intended to be an Eye-Witness of it.

The 23d of April, it being resolv'd to give the General Assault the next following Night, especially upon the Bastions of *S. Stephen* and *Clergos*, and (in case they succeeded) afterwards upon that of *S. Philippo*, every thing was preparing for the execution thereof, and every one order'd to his Post. The following Instructions in Writing were given to each commanding Officer in Chief, which they were strictly to obey.

"Those that are order'd to give the Assault upon the Bastions, shall be oblig'd to fix the scaling Ladders themselves, and use their utmost Endeavours to make themselves Masters thereof, and to maintain themselves there: In case the Bastion of *S. Stephen* be taken, the commanding Officer shall let the Trumpeter sound the Tune *William of Nassau* as a Signal, that God has blessed us with Victory on that side. So soon as the Assault begins from the Redoubt, betwixt *St. Stephen* and *St. John's* Bastion, the Companies of *John Hartman*, *George Gebel*, *Henry Gerard*, and *James Baker* shall be in a readiness to second them, as Occasion requires.

"During the Assault, the *Javanefes*,  
Vol. III.

"*Bandanefes*, *Lascaryns*, *Topasses*, with some Europeans, shall endeavour to pass the Ditch, in order to force the Enemy from their Works at the Foot of the Bastion of *St. John*, and shall be commanded by Captain *N. Scherf*, *Arent Johnson*, *N. de Wit*, *N. Chample*, and *James van Diehl*. Whilst the Assault continues upon the Bastion of *St. Stephen*, Major *van der Laan* shall with his Forces attack the Gate of *Rajuba*; and in case God blefs us with Success, no Officer of what degree soever shall presume to grant leave or suffer any of his Soldiers to leave their Colours or enter the City, being forewarn'd that the Enemy have planted their Cannon there, charged with small Shot.

Dated Apr. 27. Subscribed by Command from the General,

*Adrian van der Meyden*,  
*James van Rhee* Secretary.

Immediate notice of this Resolution was given to the Emperor, but there happening no small Differencers and Heats in the Council of War that was held that Evening about the Execution of this Design, the same was thought fit to be defer'd to another time. Scarce was the Council broken up, but a *Lascaryn* Defter coming from *St. John's* Bastion, reported, that this Evening they had reinforced the ordinary Guard of the Bastion of *St. Stephen* with 30 of their choicest Men, called *Vallantons* or *Braves* by them, besides 10 other Soldiers, which made us imagine that a *Javanese* Defter, who had got perhaps some scent of the matter, had discover'd our Design to them.

At the same time News was brought of the Arrival of the Yachts the *Red Lion*, *Avenborn* and *Pelican*, who left *Batavia* in *March*. The 28th of April, the Lieutenant *Christopher Egger*, *James Pny*, *Martin Scholtes*, and *Enigh Brewer* were sent in the Night-time to view the Assault to the Bastion of *St. Stephen*; they gave an account that they had found them well upon their Guard there, and the Ground being sandy would afford no firm footing. The 29th of April a Letter was brought into the Camp from *Abraham van der Marr*, sent by the *Laan* Yacht from the Isles of *Tutecoryn*, with the joyful News that the Portuguese Squadron being met by the Dutch the 19th, off of *Tritchiansdour* and *Caylpamam*, they were forced to retreat betwixt the Isles of *Tutecoryn*,  
E e e e e where

*Baldous.*

*Is delayed till another time.*

*3 Ships arrive from Batavia.*

*The Condition of St. Stephen's Bastion viewed.*

*Baldau's  
Great News  
from the  
Dutch  
Fleet.*

where they were block'd up by our Ships, and *van der Mart* gave no small hopes of preventing their coming out again, provided he were reinforced in time with two or three nimble Yachts. Letters were at the same time deliver'd from the Head Factor *Reynier Serooskerke*, concerning the Preparations of the *Portugueses*, and that they intended to pass the *Mousson* on the Coast of *Malabar*. That the Traffick of the Company at *Calicoulang* was in a good Condition, and that he intended to buy up a good Quantity of Pepper and other Commodities against the Year 1657. News was also brought from *Batavia*, that a Succour of 225 Men was sent from thence to *Ceylon*, who within a few Days were to come by Land hither from *Gale*. At the same time we received a Letter written in *Latin* by the Serjeant *Severin Dolander*, which being thrown over the Ditch, required a speedy Answer.

*A Succour  
of 225  
Men from  
Batavia.*

*Severin wishes his Ensign Health: A Letter  
The Message brought me by the  
Father was very acceptable to me. I  
and my Comrades are above half dead,  
of 74 there being no more than 10  
left, and these in a most miserable  
Condition, for want of Bread, Wine and  
Meat, being not used to feed upon Rice,  
therefore we desire to be supply'd with  
the same (if possible) for the Prefer-  
vation of our Lives, and the Recove-  
ry of our Strength; in return where-  
of I will acknowledg you the Prefer-  
ver of my Life, as long as I live. Mr.  
Cornicularius is also very near Death's  
Door, but perhaps a little Bread and  
Wine might recover him. I beg you  
once more for God's sake not to for-  
get us, and to deliver it to the before-  
mention'd Father, who is our trusty  
Friend. God protect you.*

*Severin Dolander.*

### C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Ships sent to Tutecoryn. Raja Singa dissatisfied. Prisoners exchanged. Letters from Raja Singa. The Bastions of St. John and St. Stephen taken by Storm, not without a considerable Loss.*

*A Rein-  
forcement  
sent to the  
Dutch  
Fleet near  
Tutecoryn*

THE Council having taken into Deliberation, the Condition of the Enemies Fleet near *Tutecoryn*, it was resolv'd to dispatch thither forthwith the Yachts the *Mars*, *Rabbit*, the *Roman* and *Lyon*, besides two other Vessels under *Commodore Roothaus*. At the same time an Answer was order'd to be sent to the Dutch Prisoners in *Columbo*.

**YOURS** we have receiv'd by the Father, and understood your miserable Condition; these are the chances of War, the best Comfort you can have in this Extremity with your Fellow-Prisoners. At your earnest Request we send you a Bottle of Spanish Wine, ten new-bak'd Loaves, and a piece of Meat and Bacon; the Effects and Money design'd for Captain *Simon de Souza*, who is kept among the Prisoners at *Caleture*, are put aboard the Ship: and because one of the Portuguese Soldiers did this Forenoon call from the Bastion of *St. John* to one of our Sentinels, that the Governor was willing to exchange 10 of his Men, that are our Prisoners, for your ten;

we have sent Word to the Governor *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, that as soon as he will discharge you, we will send back 10 Portuguese Prisoners from *Caleture*.

May 1. 1656. *Adrian van der Meyden.*

Accordingly the 2d of May in the Forenoon, a Portuguese Captain, named *Domingo Coelho*, deliver'd a Letter to *Ensign Peregrin* in our Service, offering, that in case we would exchange eight Portuguese Prisoners at *Caleture* for the Serjeant and seven Soldiers, they would send them to us, which was denied, and in lieu thereof offer'd seven common Soldiers and one Officer in exchange for them. About the same time his Majesty sent back a Letter, which he seem'd highly displeas'd at, with another as follows.

**YOUR** Letter writ to some of my Courtiers last Monday, was deliver'd to them before Sunset; what you relate of Major *van der Laan's* going to *Mapane*, to observe what pass'd there, and that finding those that were

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"come out of *Columbo*, to be supplied underhand with Provisions, he commanded to fire among them, and to secure the *Modeliar Jazandere*, who had been accessory to the matter; has been very acceptable to me, as tending to my Service. The Letter deliver'd to me by *Curupule Meynde*, written upon half a Sheet, I did not think fit to read, much less to answer, being fill'd with nothing but insipid Stuff: If perhaps a sudden Mutiny or Accident, or any other Misfortune had happen'd in the Camp, I could have excus'd such a Letter, in respect of the Love and Inclination I bear to the *Hollanders*, my most trusty Servants; but every thing being in a very good Condition, I can't sufficiently admire what could induce *George* to write such a Letter. Truly the General (who has the supreme Command there) ought not to have been so careless in this matter, such a Neglect being not very suitable to the Conduct that may be expected from a Person entertain'd in the Service of a Great Monarch; wherefore I send you this Letter, together with the *Ola* (Letter) in order to have it read in the Presence of the General, and to let him know word by word the true Contents thereof.

Thursday, May 2. 1656.

Considering the nicety of the *Cingaleses* and *Malabars* in this Point, it must be confessed, that more caution ought to have been us'd in this respect.

Towards Evening the *Portugueses* sent our eight Prisoners out of the City, half dead for want of Food, three of them being so weak, that they could neither go nor stand; they unanimously depose, that there had been a great Disorder among the Officers, which had prevented their marching to the Bastion of *Clergor*, after they had enter'd the City, as they ought to have done, the same being guarded only by 15 Men. But whilst they staid in expectation for Orders from the Sea-Captain *Lippens* (of whom they spoke very indifferently) they were attack'd both in Front and Rear by a great Number of *Portugueses*, and charg'd so furiously, that scarce 26 of them escap'd, without being either kill'd or wounded, after they had spent all their Powder and Ball. They added, that what had been related of their having fell to plundering was not true, that they were secur'd in a Warehouse belonging to *Lewis Tavera*,

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where they had the same daily Allowance of Rice with the King's Soldiers, and that they had fed as well as the rest of the Inhabitants upon the Flesh of Elephants, Bufflers Hides, nay upon Dogs, Cats and Rats. That most of the 74 Prisoners died for Want of good Food, and according to all Appearance these 8 would not live long. They further said, that as they were going out of the City, they saw a Body of 400 or 500 Men, some *Europeans*, some *Negroes*, near St. John's Gate.

The 4th of May the Emperor *Raja Singa* sent the following Letter.

"About three Years ago Captain *Joris Hervendonk*, with some other Officers and Soldiers entering into our Service; and their time being expir'd since, for which they had agreed with the Company, I resolv'd with my self (since I had no great Occasion for them here) to send them to the Camp. An Account of what Services the said Captain had done me, may be seen in a Letter written by him (according to my Command) to the late Director-General, immediately after his Landing near *Columbo*. He had neither before nor since the same Sense he had when he writ that Letter, which then induc'd me to a Resolution to bestow certain Favours upon him before his Departure. But his insolent Behaviour having drawn upon him several Chastisements, without any hopes of Amendment, I thought fit to remove him from his Station, and to put *Francis Has* (who happen'd then to come as a Messenger with Letters to our Court) in his Place. This Man having lived for some time among the *Portugueses* our Enemies, seem'd to have laid aside all the Modesty of the *Portugueses*, and addict'd himself to all sorts of Villanies, which made me discharge him from my Service, and to restore the before-mention'd *Joris Hervendonk* to his former Place. I would not have my *Hollanders* entertain such an Opinion of me, that I would let any one who has serv'd so long in our Imperial Court, be dismiss'd without a Reward; for whoever gains our Imperial Favour, shall never depart unrewarded: But such as are not willing, or can't apply themselves to that Study, may be sure that they will be sent away like this Person. The reason why the said *Francis Has* stayed in *Candy*, is not unknown to your Excellency; "but

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*Baldew.* "but as he is a *Hollander*, it is but just he should be dismissed at his due time. I won't say all concerning him, what I could; my *Disfavours* will give your Excellency a more ample account of him, or when your Excellency appears at this Court, you will be further satisfied in this matter. No more; God protect your Excellency.

At Reygamwatte,  
May 4. 1656.

Raja Singa Rajou, Most  
Potent Emperor of  
Ceylon.

It is beyond all question, that the Differences arisen betwixt this *Joris Hervendont* and *Francis Has* gave occasion to many Disturbances; *Hervendont* being accused, of having by his Insinuations been the Occasion of *Francis Has* his detention in *Candy*, even to the Year 1656, from whence perhaps he may not be discharged whilst he lives. These and some other Accidents had put the Emperor's Mind into such a ferment, that for three Days together he show'd all the Marks of a severe Displeasure, even to the best of his Courtiers, so as to turn even his Face from them. But his Majesty's Letter deliver'd to the new General, May 6. seem'd to leave him in a much better Humour.

RAJA SINGA RAJOU, &c.

Another  
Letter  
from the  
Emperor.

"YOUR Excellency's Letter dated the 3d, was deliver'd to me on Thursday the 4th, wherein you express your Sorrow for the Mistake in the Letter I sent back with my last Letter: As among all other Foreign Nations, our Imperial Majesty has chosen the *Hollanders*, as the fittest to be employed for the increase of our Glory, Fame and Empire, by reason of their Fidelity (which renders them very dear to me, beyond my own Subjects) so when they commit any Mistake, it touches me so sensibly, in regard of the other Nations that frequent our Court, that I can't forbear to make them sensible of their Error, even upon the least Occasion, in order to their Amendment for the future. If therefore your Excellency will apply yourself to such things as tend to our Imperial Service, the same will be highly acceptable to us. Our Beloved Director-General of Happy Memory did, during that small time he continued in our Empire, follow this Rule with the greatest exactness imaginable: But

being snatch'd away on a sudden by Death, we were depriv'd of the Opportunity of rewarding his Services, according to our Wish. And as the said Director-General has not been wanting, in leaving certain Marks of the Methods and Customs to be made use of in our Service, so it will be no difficult Task for your Excellency to follow his Footsteps. Your Excellency mentions the Resolution you have taken of attempting a second Assault upon the City, by reason of the approaching Season, which does not permit our Ships to tarry longer with Safety in that Road; and that the Enemy is much lessened in his Strength since the last Assault: all which as it is altogether reasonable, so I approve of it with much Satisfaction. On the other hand, our present Illness is no final Affliction to us, which bereaves us of the Opportunity of appearing there in Person, and being an Eye-Witness of this Engagement, and to be nearer at hand to second you with our Troops, in case there should be Occasion; but let come of it what will, we are resolv'd to be in the Camp by next Sunday. If your Excellency thinks fit to stay for our Coming, it is well; but if not, and that an Opportunity presents of gaining the Place, without impairing our Honour and Reputation, I am satisfy'd, living in hopes, that God Almighty will crown our Endeavours with Victory. Your Excellency mentions at the end of your Letter, that you have exchanged eight of your People that were Prisoners in the City (the Remnants of 74) for as many *Portugueses* your Prisoners. I am very glad you sent word of it, that it may not be alledged against the *Hollanders*, that they treat with the Enemy without our Knowledge. In the mean time I am desirous to know how the rest died, whether for want of Food, or being well look'd to in their Sickness; and further, what Instructions you have sent to the *Portugueses* by those that were sent into the City; if it be a Secret worth knowing, your Excellency will be pleas'd to reveal it to us. Ever since the Death of our Director-General, no sound of the Drum has been heard in our Camp; but in our March nearer to the Enemy and your Camp, it will be requisite to make use of our Drums and other Warlike Musick; whereof we thought fit to give notice to your

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" your Excellency. No more for the  
" present ; God protect your Excellen-  
" cy's Person.

*Raja Singa Rajou, most potent  
Emperor of Ceylon.*

This Letter being read in Council, it was resolv'd to give the Assault the 7th of May about 7 or 8 a Clock in the Morning, and to make the fiercest Attack upon the Bastion of St. John; which was put in execution accordingly, *Martin Scholtes* Lieutenant of the Fusileers of *Gale* (now Captain in *Gale*) being the first who with undaunted Courage mounted the Breach, and being bravely seconded by his Men, they entred even into the City; but being surrounded on all sides by a great number of *Portugueses*, were forc'd to retreat to the Bastion of St. John, where at last they maintain'd their Post, after having three several times repuls'd the Enemy, who endeavour'd with all the Force they could bring together to dislodge them from thence, (our Men being constantly reliev'd with fresh Troops) till the Evening, when the Firing somewhat ceasing, they took that opportunity of entrenching themselves with Fascines and Earth towards the side of the City, being nevertheless still expos'd to the Enemies Shot from the Water-Fort and the Bastions of St. Stephen and *Couras*, which cost us many a brave Soldier.

In the beginning of the Assault the *Disavoes* of *Saffragamme* and of the *Four Corles* came into the Trenches with the *Cingalese* Forces; and soon after his Majesty sent likewise the *Disavoes* of *Ouve* and *Matuke*, the *Adigar Amracon*, and *Curupele Apobamy*, at the head of a great number of *Lascaryns*: but these brought along with them more Confusion than real Assistance, the *Cingalese* being always better at making a noise and

plundering, than fighting.

We had no sooner fix'd our Guards upon the Bastion, but a *Negro Slave* (call'd *Cassers*) brought us advice, that in the last Assault the Enemy had the Captain Major, the City Major, and a good number of their best Men wounded, and betwixt 40 and 50 kill'd. We employed the greatest part of the Night in fortifying our selves with Pallisadoes and Earth-works on the Bastion, in discovering the Mines, and planting some Cannon; to facilitate which, it was order'd that a false Attack be made at two a Clock in the Morning, and with break of day we saw the Prince's Standard display'd there in token of our Victory; which however we had purchased at a dear rate, being even then much expos'd to the Enemies Shot from three Bastions. Upon a general Muster we found 290 Wounded, 80 Sick, and 86 Kill'd; so that we had in all not above 1287 *Europeans* left fit for Service. However *John Maatzuyker* a Lieutenant brought a Supply of 75 Men into our Camp, and 30 more from *Candy*; besides the Lieutenant *Didelof* was posted with 66 men at *Milagre*, and at *Montual* 68.

Among the Slain were the following Officers, whose Names well deserve to be transmitted to Posterity: *Christopher Egger*, *Jurian Gebel*, *James Viry*, *James Scherf*, *Jurian Smith*, *Paul Meno*, *Wijnnaer vander Heyde*. Among the Wounded, Major *van der Laan* wounded by a Splinter on his Shoulder, and near the Ear; Capt. *Henry Gerard Gluwingsh* mortally wounded in four Places; *James de With* wounded with a ten Pounder in the Thigh, of which he died afterwards; *Martin Scholtes* in the Arm; *John Cowper* in both hands; *James Allenbier* in the Leg; *Paul Ketelaer* in the Hand; *John Bartels* in the Belly; *Herman Wynantz*, &c.

*Baldew.*

C H A P. XXXIX.

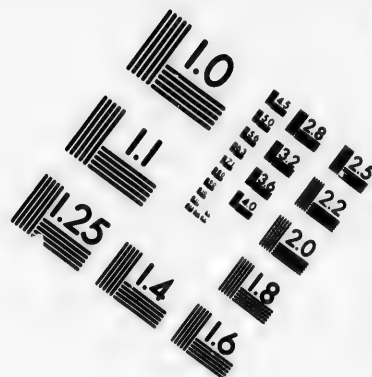
*Our Cannon upon the Bastion of St. John turn'd against the City. The Portugueses offer to capitulate. Articles for the Surrender of the Place. The Ratification. The Portugueses march out of the City.*

THE 10th of May having planted our Cannon upon the Bastion of St. John against the City, the General and Major *van der Laan* came in the Afternoon to take a view of them. Soon after we saw the Enemy put out a white Flag, and

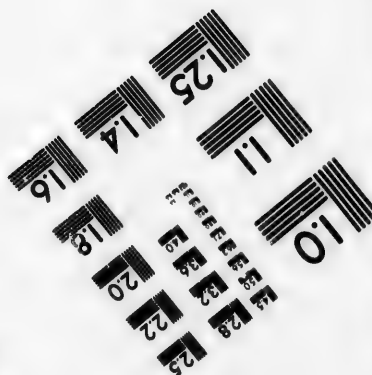
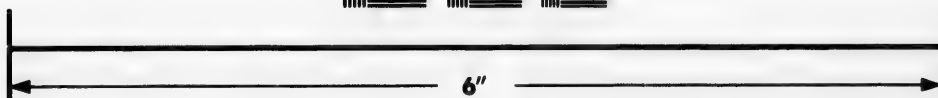
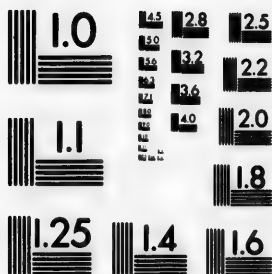
Capt. *Manuel Cabreira de Pontes* deliver'd the following Lines to Major *van der Laan*:

" Capt. *Manuel Cabreira de Pontes*, the  
" Bearer hereof, comes to desire a  
" Passport for three Persons of  
" come





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*Baldens.* " come into your Camp to treat with you  
" concerning some Matters of moment.  
" God protect your Excellency.

Columbo, May 15.  
1655.

Antonio de Souza Coutinbo.

Major van der Laan having told him, that he would deliver it to the General, ask'd him, whether he desired a formal Passport in Writing, or would be satisfy'd with his Parole. The Portuguese Officer reply'd, that his Parole was sufficient; so they parted, and all Hostilities ceased.

Within two hours after our People were order'd to call to those in the City, and to ask them why they did not send their Deputy's; but they answering, that they would not come without a Passport, the same was sent with all possible speed; but it being then pretty late, they excused themselves, that it was not customary to stay a Night out of a Fortrefs at such a Conjunction. Whereupon we began to fire again till next Morning about 8 a Clock, being the 11th, when the Deputy's came into the Camp, viz. *Laurenzo Fierri de Britto* late Captain Major of *Ponteale*, *Hieronimo de Luzena Tavares*, late *Visador das Fazendas*, i. e. Sur-intendant of the Merchants in *Columbo*, and *Diego Leitao de Souza* Secretary of the City, who delivered to the Council the following Articles:

Articles  
negotiated by  
Philip I.  
Columbo.

I. THAT a Cessation of Arms shall be agreed on till the 20th of May next, in order to see the Issue of the expected Succours, which if it arrives before that time, and is strong enough to raise the Siege, this Treaty shall be of no effect. In the mean time no Correspondence or Commerce is to be allowed on either side, except what is done by Messengers, for the Performance whereof Hostages are to be given on both sides.

II. In case of a Surrender of the City, the Churches and Images shall not be defiled, and the Priests and Friars shall have full liberty to take along with them, without any molestation, all the Images, Relicks, sacred Vessels, Silver Lamps, and other Church Ornaments belonging to the Performance of Divine Service, not excepting the Moveables belonging to each Clergy-man in particular.

III. The Governour and Deputy-Governour, *Antonio de Souza Coutinbo* and *Francisco de Melo de Castro*, as likewise the Son of *Antonio de Souza Coutinbo*, shall be treated with all due Respect and Civility, and have full liberty to leave the City

with all their Moveables, Gold, Silver, Rings, Jewels, Servants, Portuguese Pages, and Slaves of both Sexes; and to remain in their Houses till they embark, under the special Protection of the General, who shall be obliged to provide them (for their Money) with Provisions during their stay here, and with Necessaries for their Voyage, as likewise with convenient Shipping for themselves and their Families, with able Seamen, Arms, Ammunition, and what else may be requisite for that purpose, whenever the same shall be required.

IV. The Major of the City, Captain Major of the Garrison, and Sergeant Major, and the late deceased Captain's Family, shall receive the same Treatment.

V. The Captains of Foot, Reformado's, and other Officers of what degree soever, shall march out with all the Marks of Honour, Ensigns display'd, Maces lighted, Balls in the Mouth, and with their Baggage, and shall be provided with Shipping to transport them beyond Sea to the Indian Shore. They are in the mean while to be maintain'd by the Dutch General, out of the Superplus of the Money belonging to the King of Portugal, or for want of such, at his own Charge, or of the Company, till the time of their Transportation, and they shall not be molested either by Sea or Land.

VI. The Ovidor, Judge, and other Officers of the Exchequer, the Head Factor, Alcade Major or Chief Magistrate, and the Farmers of the King's Demesns, shall enjoy the same Favour granted to the Major of the City.

VII. All Gentlemen, Cavaliers, and the chiefest Citizens and Inhabitants, shall have liberty to challenge the same Conditions granted to the City Major, and, if any of them are inclin'd to remain under the Jurisdiction of the *Hollanders*, they shall be left undisturb'd in the full Possession of their Houses, Estates, Villages, and every thing belonging to them, and be treated in all other respects like the Natives of *Holland*. For the free exercise of their Religion they shall have a Church, with a convenient number of Clergymen allow'd them; and if hereafter any of them shall think fit to go to some other part of the *Indies*, they shall be at liberty to sell both their real and personal Estates, or otherwise dispose of them without molestation. They shall also be provided with Shipping at the publick Charge, except such as have Ships of their own, who shall be free to traffick where they please, paying the usual Customs.

All

VIII. All Foreign Merchants, both Europeans and Negroes, that were come to Colombo to traffick, shall be free to depart with their Vessels, Goods, Gold, Silver, and other Merchandizes bought up here, especially the Cinnamon bought for the King or the City's use, whether aboard a Ship or not: Provisions shall be likewise provided them for their Money, and a safe retreat; and in case they stand in need of Seamen, they shall be supply'd with them.

IX. The Negro Inhabitants both married and unmarried, and even the Foreigners of what Condition soever, shall enjoy the same freedom granted to the Portuguese Citizens.

X. All the *Modeliars*, *Aratches* and *Lafcarays* that have hitherto been in the King of Portugal's Service (notwithstanding they have left the Service of the Company, or of his Majesty) shall be at liberty to depart with their Moveables whither they please.

XI, XII. *Simon Lopes de Basto*, a Portuguese by Birth, but since in the Service of the Dutch, shall be pardon'd for his Offence in coming over to us, and be free to depart in Company of the Governor: Likewise all Dutch Deserters that have taken Service in the City shall not be molested, but have liberty to march out along with our Forces.

XIII. All sick and wounded Soldiers or Inhabitants, shall be entertain'd there at the Charge of the Company (if the Superplus of the King's Money proves insufficient) till they recover their Health, and afterwards provided with Conveniences for their Transportation.

XIV. Upon the Surrender of the City after the Dutch are put in Possession thereof, their General shall take effectual care that no Affront or Mischief be done to the Governors, other Persons of Note, Soldiers, and Inhabitants, and their Families, but the same shall be protected by the said General, as well within as without the City, against all Violences from the King of Candy's Forces. Sign'd,

*Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

After mature deliberation in the Council, the following Articles were in Answer to the former, deliver'd the 12th to the three Deputies in the Name of his Imperial Majesty of Ceylon, their High and Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, the Governors of the East-India Company, and of *John Matzuyker* Governor-General, and the Council of the Indies.

THE City shall be surrender'd this day before Noon, without any further delay, upon the following Conditions.

What was desir'd in the second Article in relation to the Clergy is granted, and two Places shall be appointed for them to be in till their departure.

To the third Article it is answer'd, That it is not in the Power of the General to have the Governors, &c. transported at this time to *Tutecoryn* or *Manday*; but that it shall be done with the first conveniency; or else to *Cochin* or *Wingula*: But in case they have a mind to be transported to the other Shore, the same shall be perform'd by some of the Company's Ships within 15 days after the date hereof. They are allow'd to carry along with them all their Slaves of both Sexes, and those belonging to the Governor's Son *Christovao de Souza*, in hopes that they will not take any but their own, as likewise all their Moveables, Gold, Silver, Rings and Jewels; and they shall be protected in their Houses till the time of their departure.

The Officers mention'd in the 4th Article shall be treated according to their respective Dignities, and be protected against all harm. They may take along with them their Gold, Silver, Clothing, and what else they carry about them. But as to their Slaves of both Sexes, they shall be consider'd according to their respective Qualities. In what they carry about them shall be comprehended Beds and Bed-clothes, Hangings, Tapestry, Bolsters, Quilts, &c. The Officers and Reformades shall march out with the usual marks of Honour, and be transported to the Coast of *Coromandel* with as much of their Moveables as their Slaves or other Servants (allotted them by the General's favour) shall be able to carry.

The Soldiers shall march out with their Baggage, Colours display'd, Matches lighted, Ball in their Mouth, and Drums beating to the General's Quarters, where they shall surrender their Arms under the great Standard, and from thence with the first conveniency be transported into Europe. Such as are married or born in the Indies shall be transported to the Coast of *Coromandel*, and be maintain'd till the time of their departure at the Charge of the Company.

The Officers mention'd in the 6th Article shall partake of the same Favour granted to other Persons of Note; the City Major and Head Factor to be comprehended in the same.

*Baldens.*  
Articles  
granted to  
the Portu-  
guese.

*Baldans.* All such as intend to submit to the Jurisdiction of the Dutch shall be civilly and favourably treated, and remain in the quiet Possession of their Estates; but in case they have a mind to depart, their Goods are left to the Discretion of the General.

The chiefest of the Citizens and married *Portugueses*, with their Children, who are not inclinable to stay in this Isle, shall at the time of their departure receive the same Treatment as the Officers; but the Natives of the Isle shall be left to the Disposition of the General.

The *Moslems*, *Arabes* and *Lascaryns*, shall receive the same Treatment as the Dutch Deserters.

All sick and wounded Persons, whether Inhabitants or Soldiers, now in the Hospital, or any other place of the City, shall stay there till the recovery of their Healths, and be turnish'd with what they desire.

All the Officers, Inhabitants, Soldiers and unmarried Women, shall be protected by the General against all Violences and Oppressions.

The General does also agree, that if any Ships approach the City for its relief betwixt this and the 30th of May, notice shall be given them of its Surrender, with orders to depart, and shall be protected at least till they are out of sight of *Columbo*. The 11th of May 1656.

Signed,

*Adrian van der Meyden, John van der Laan,  
Peter de Bitter, Edward Ooms,  
Isbrand Gotskens.*

I *Adrian van der Meyden*, Governor-General for the Dutch East-India Company in the Isle of Ceylon, with the rest of the Members of the Council, promise and engage by these Presents, That, in case the Deputies bring back this Capitulation, approv'd as such by the Governor *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, and his Council, we will punctually observe all the Articles contain'd therein without the least limitation or exception; and further grant such Favours as are in our power to allow of. In Confirmation whereof we have in Conjunction with the said Deputies signed the same, in the Dutch Camp before *Columbo*, the 12th of May 1656.

Sign'd on our side by

*Adrian van der Meyden, John van der Laan,  
Peter de Bitter, Edward Ooms,  
Isbrand Gotskens, John Hartman.*

On the Enemy's side by

*Antonio de Souza Coutinho,  
Francisco de Melo de Castro,  
Antonio de Silva,  
Gaffar de Ronga Pereira,  
Laurenzo Ferreira de Brito,  
Hieronymo de Luzena Tavares,  
Diego Leston de Souza.*

In the Morning about Nine a Clock the Deputies return'd with the Capitulation approv'd and sign'd as before, with a Letter of Intercession from the Governor and Deputy-Governor for *Simon Lopez*, who had deserted our Service. The Capitulation being sign'd once more and the Council dismiss'd, *Isbrand Gotskens* and *James van der Rhee* our Secretary of War, were immediately at Dinner sent into the City, to demand the Keys from the two *Portuguese* Governors, and to take account of all the Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, also to settle certain matters concerning the marching out of the Troops pursuant to the Capitulation.

Accordingly there march'd out of the place *Antonio de Melo de Castro* Captain-Major at the head of the King's Troops, consisting in 14 Companies, and 36 Captains (call'd *Reformados* by the *Portugueses*) with their Ensigns display'd, Drums beating, Matches lighted, and Ball in the mouth, marching throughout Forces rang'd on both sides, to the General's Quarters, where having surrender'd their Arms, they were conducted to the place prepar'd for their Lodging that night. These were follow'd by the Citizens, Sick, Wounded, and Criples. In the mean while their chief Engineer discover'd to two of our Deputies four Mines on the side of the Bastion of *Rajuba*, betwixt the Bastions 5. *Stephen* and *Clery*, each whereof being fill'd with four Barrels of Gunpowder, the Trains were remov'd, and Sentinels plac'd near them.

This done, our Forces march'd into the City, follow'd by the General, Major *Van der Laan*, and the rest of the Heel Officers. Near the Sea-shore not far from the Bastion of *Couras*, the Governor and Deputy-Governor (both venerable aged *Portugueses*) came with their Retinue to salute the General. After some Complements on both sides, Orders were given to our Forces where to take their Posts, and to disarm all the *Lascaryns* in the City. Towards Evening the Prince's Standard was planted in the Water.



by

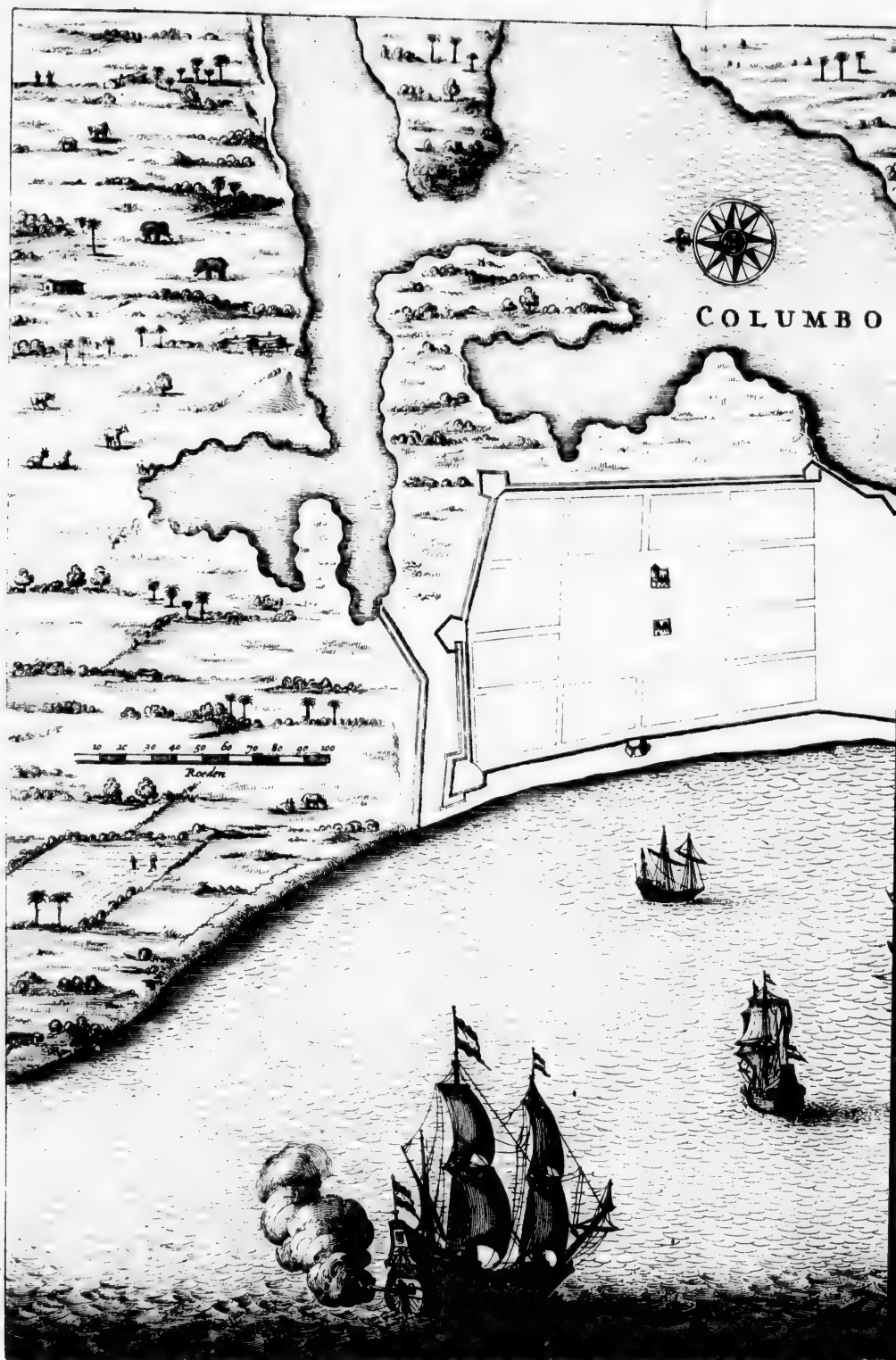
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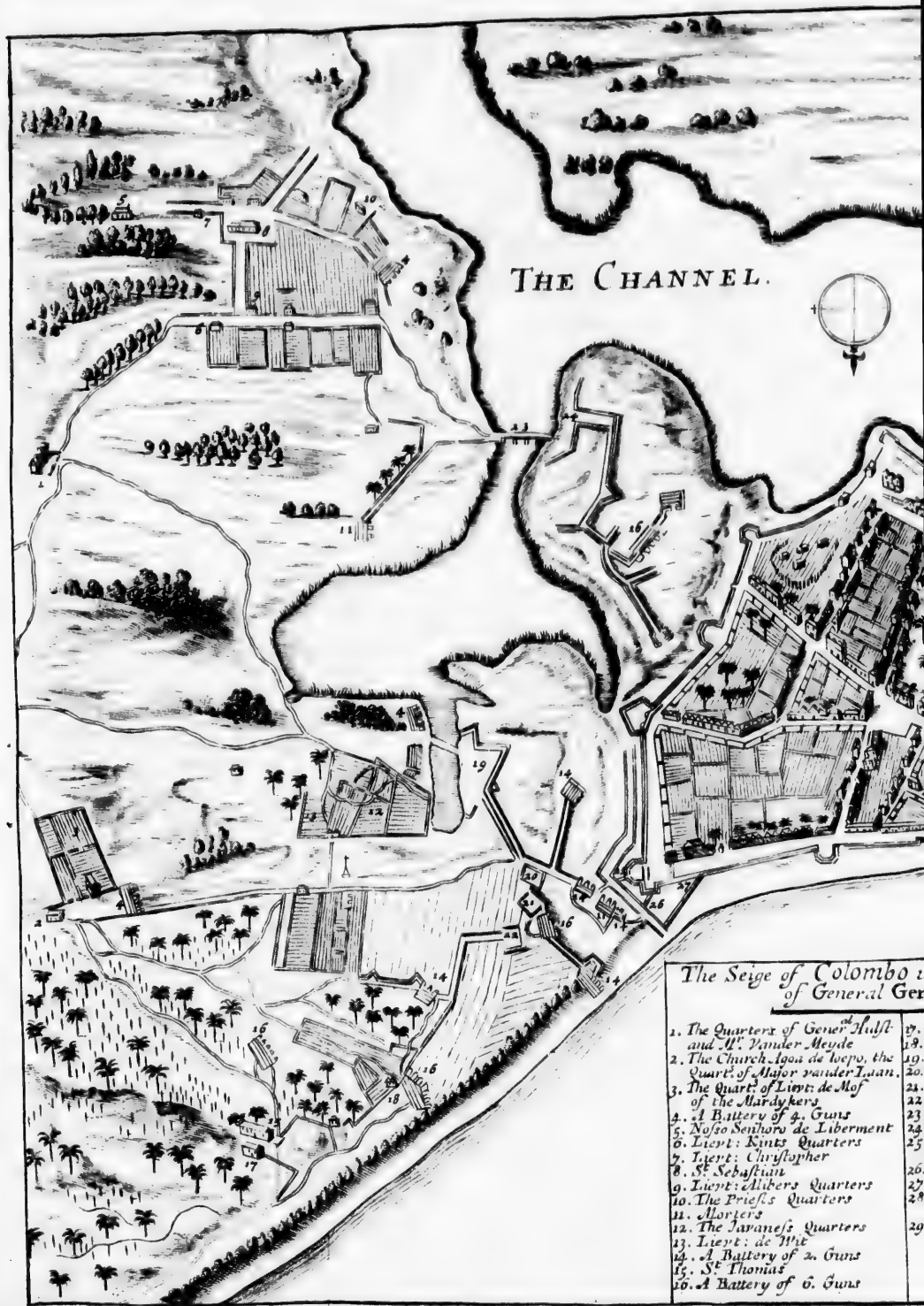






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**Siege of Colombo under the Command of General Gerard Hulst.**

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| <p>Quarters of General Hulst<br/>         Lt. Vander Meide<br/>         Church, 1900 de Iopo, the<br/>         rt of Major vander Laan.<br/>         Quarters of Linn de Mof<br/>         the Mardykens<br/>         Battery of 4 Guns<br/>         do Senhora de Liberment<br/>         pt: Kintz Quarters<br/>         pt: Christopher<br/>         Sebastian<br/>         pt: Elbers Quarters<br/>         Priests Quarters<br/>         Javanes Quarters<br/>         pt: de Wit<br/>         Battery of 2 Guns<br/>         Thomas<br/>         Battery of 6 Guns</p> | <p>17. Capt. Cuytenburgs Battery<br/>         18. Lieut: Ketelaires<br/>         19. Lieut: Gerard<br/>         20. The Redoubt of Lieut: Aerts<br/>         21. Lieut: Schert<br/>         22. Henry Gerard<br/>         23. a Bridge over of Chavriel<br/>         24. Lieut: Pauls Quarters &amp; Tren.<br/>         25. The Gallery where General<br/>         lost his Life<br/>         26. The Edge of the Ditch<br/>         27. an Outwork<br/>         28. Our Intrenchment near<br/>         the Gate of Moypano<br/>         29. a Dry Ditch</p> |
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Water-Fort, and the great Cannon discharg'd round the place as a Signal of our Victory. Thus the City of *Columbo*, not inferior in Strength to most of Europe, fell into the hands of our Nation, after she had been 150 years in the Possession of the *Portugueses*. In acknowledgment

of which a Thanksgiving Day was appointed the Sunday following, being the 14th of May, which was celebrated accordingly, and the Thanksgiving-Sermon was preach'd by the Reverend *Fran-<sup>baldeus</sup> cis Wyngarten* in the Church of S. Francis, since call'd the *Town Church*. <sup>A Tract</sup>

An Account of the Siege of *Columbo* taken from their own Journals, and (for the publick Good) communicated to the Author by *Matthæus van den Broek*, formerly a Member of the Council of the *Indies*, now Governor of the *East-India Company*. Faithfully translated from the *Portuguese*.

A true Account of the Siege of *Columbo* carried on by *Raja Singa King of Candy* and the *Hollanders*, till the Surrender of that Fortrefs under *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, Captain General in the Isle of *Ceylon*.

IN the Month of September 1653. 10 Dutch Ships came to an Anchor near *Negumbo*, two more being out at some distance at Sea, having landed 11 Companies of Europeans of 80 Men each; and being join'd by a good number of Negroes, they march'd to the Pass of *Betal*, but by reason of the violent Rains were forced to return to *Negumbo*. Mr. *Gerard Hulst* the Dutch General having re-embark'd his Forces with some others taken out of *Negumbo*, sail'd with the before-mentioned 12 Ships to *Columbo*, where much about the same time we had receiv'd a supply of Provisions in three Galliots sent from *Cochin* by the brave and faithful *Simon Gomes de Silva*, Governor of that place. Our Governor *Coutinho* took part of the Rice, in order to carry it to *Caleture*, where they stood in great need of it, but was prevented in his Design by the shallowness of the River. The 22d of Septemb. we receiv'd another Supply from *Tutecoryn*, consisting in 28 Sail; under the Command of *Nicolas de Moura*, the Fleet being chiefly laden on the account of private Merchants.

The Enemy having left six of their best Ships before *Columbo*, sail'd with the rest to *Caleture*; whereupon our Governor gave Orders to *Capt. Caspar Figueira de Serpe*, then encamp'd upon the Frontiers of the King of *Candy*, to come to *Columbo*, which he did accordingly October 7.

Without the City were at that time encamp'd the famous *Dissave Francisco Antunes* towards *Mature*, and *Alvares Ro-*  
Vol. III.

*drigo Borralho* sent out with three Companies to get Intelligence of the Enemy, who from the 23d of September to the 15th of October laid before *Caleture*, and had rais'd three Batteries against it.

Our Governor being sensible of the Condition of the Place, sent thither a Convoy of Provisions commanded by *Nicolas de Moura*, under a good Guard of Europeans and Negroes, landed by *Manoel de Gil*, *Dissave* of *Negumbo*, who has so often signalized himself in our King's Service in the Isle of *Ceylon*. This brave Man attempting to pass the River with 12 of his choicest Men (the Boat holding no more) was so warmly receiv'd by some of the Enemies Forces, that, after they had kill'd several of his Men with their Fire-Arms, he was forc'd to retire; the Commander in chief follow'd his Footsteps contrary to the Opinion of *Capt. Domingo Coelho de Alla*, who would fain have perswaded him to advance as near as he could to *Caleture*, to incommode the Enemy in the Siege. Upon this occasion *Alvares Rodrigo Borralho* did considerable Service, in sending Intelligence from time to time of what pass'd, till at last this whole Body came back to the City.

It being then resolv'd to succour *Caleture* to the utmost of our Power, and four Galliots being at the same time arriv'd from the Viceroy of *Goa*, we made up a Body of 600 *Portugueses*, the Command whereof was committed to *Caspar Figueira* to attempt the Relief of the Place in conjunction with some *Cingaleses*.  
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notwithstanding the Enemy's Force consisted of 3000 Europeans, besides a good number of *Bandanjes* and *Cingaleses* sent to their Alliance by the King of *Cambaya*.

Accordingly *Caspar Figueira* encamp'd with his Troops the 16th of October two Leagues from *Caleture*, having receiv'd Advice before, that the Enemy were already possess'd of the Pass on this side, and had posted three Companies there. Pursuant to this Intelligence he order'd six Companies under the Command of *Domingo Sarmiento* and *Francisco Antunes* to attack the Enemy in the Night, which they did accordingly with incredible Bravery for a considerable time, but very indifferent Success; for instead of being engag'd with three Companies of 80 Men each (as they supposed) they found the Enemy much superior in Number, to charge them so furiously both in Front and Flank, that they were put into Confusion with great Slaughter, before they could recollect themselves. *Figueira* being by this time come up with the rest of his Forces, unadvisedly attack'd the Enemy a second time; but these opening their Ranks on both sides, discharg'd two Cannon among our Forces, which occasion'd such a Confusion, that the Enemy improving their advantage, once more put us to flight. *Figueira* and his Lieut. *Manoel Cabreira* were for trying their Fortune once more; but finding the Flower of their Forces either slain or dispersed, and no means left to make them return to the Charge, they thought fit to retreat and bring off their wounded Men, among whom were *Sebastiam Pereira* and *Joseph Antunes*, the only two that escap'd alive of eleven Captains. Of the Reformades, *John Cordeiro*, *Manoel Fernandes de Miranda*, *Manoel de Santiago Garcia*, with 200 common Soldiers, came off alive.

This ill Success caus'd an unspeakable Consternation in the City of *Columbo*, where there was nothing to be heard but Outcries and Lamentations in the Streets; the Shops were shut up, and the Gates kept close, with strict Orders that nobody should appear arm'd without doors. The next thing to be done, was to give an account of their present ill Condition to the Viceroy of *Goa*; and the same being (at their earnest request) committed to the care of *Damian Vieira* a Jesuit, and *Manoel Saraiva*, an Inhabitant of *Manaar*, the last of these two went no further than from *Columbo* to *Manaar*, from whence he dispatch'd the Letters to *Antonio Amiral de Menezes* at *Tajnapatnam*,

a Neglect that deserv'd a very severe Punishment.

By this time the Hospital was fill'd with the sick and wounded Soldiers, where Brother *Gosfal* an *Austin* Monk did both the Duty of a devout, religious and charitable Lay-man: The number of those that died here for want of good looking after, being scarce inferior to what was lost in the Engagement.

On the other hand, the *Dutch* had purchas'd this Victory with very little loss on their side; notwithstanding which Major *Van der Laan* (a mortal Enemy to the *Portugueses*, and a zealous Heretick) having receiv'd a Wound in the Cheek, took a most barbarous Revenge from the *Portugueses* he met with, who were all massacred in the Woods (some 20 and 30 together) by his Orders; cool Blood, he having often been heard to say, *That if the Portugueses were at disposal, he would cut them all off at a stroke*. Their General Mr. *Hoff* being of a more compassionate Temper, order'd Quarter to be given to the vanquish'd Forces, but this Heretick told them that they ought to be cut to pieces, in retaliation of what they did to the *Dutch*, whom they never gave any Quarter. However through the General's Mercy about 60 of the new list'd Men had their Lives given them. In this Engagement the brave *Francisco Antunes*, who had render'd his Name so famous in *Ceylon* by his many Victories, also lost his Life in a Wood, who deserv'd to have had a *Mausoleum* erected to his Memory.

Thus the Enemy by this Victory becoming Master of the Field, afterwards soon made himself Master of the whole Island of *Ceylon*, the City of *Columbo* (after the loss of *Caleture*) expecting no less than to be reduc'd to the utmost extremity. For after they had endur'd for some days all the Inconveniences of Hunger in *Caleture*, *Antonio Mendes d'Albuquerque* represented to his Soldiers, that they had rather try the utmost, than to perish for want of Food, exhorting them to fight their way with Sword in hand through the Enemy. He prevail'd at last so far with them, as to agree with them in his Resolutions; but the appointed time approaching, they found themselves so entangled for want of good Food, that not being able to put their Design in Execution, they were forced to surrender, upon Condition that they should march out with their Arms, &c. Thus the King of *Portugal* lost at once a strong Fortress, one of his most experienced



riens'd Officers in the whole Isle, and 250 choice Men, through the mismanagement of some who prefer'd their own Interest before that of his Majesty.

The 17th of October the Enemy marching directly to Colombo, posted themselves in sight of the City near S. Sebastian, where *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* the then Governor, together with *Francisco de Melo de Castro*, order'd immediately some Works to be cast up to hinder their approach: But the 18th they were so vigorously attack'd in these Intrenchments, that they had enough to do to escape to the City, and to cut down the Bridges behind them.

We then apply'd our selves to the strengthening of our Batteries, whilst the Enemy kill'd all they met with without the City, and immediately fell to the raising of their Batteries, which was no difficult task for them to do, being back'd by an Army of 20 or 30000 Men under *Raja Singa* King of Candy, and furnish'd by him with Pioneers and other Necessaries in abundance.

Our Governor and *Francisco de Melo de Castro* did leave no Stone unturn'd for the defence of the City; they visited the Magazines and Armories, and furnish'd with Arms all such as were capable of bearing them, not excepting even the old Men and School-boys. The Posts on the Battions were assign'd to the following Commanders; on the Battion of S. John, *Manoel Correa de Barros*; on that of S. Sebastian, *Francisco Gorian de Fialbo*; on that of *Madre de Deos*, *John de Pavia de Quintal*; on that of S. Conception, *Domingos Peixoto*; on that of S. Hieronymo, *Alfonso Carvalho de Souza*; on that of S. Antonio, *Manoel Carvalho da Maya*; on that of S. Jacob, *Manoel Nunes*; on that of S. Austin, *Luis de Parva Quintal*; on that of S. Laurence, *Antonio de Silva*; on that of S. Cruz, *Caspar d'Aranja Pereira*; on that of S. Francisco Xavier, *Manoel Caldeira de Brito*; and on that of *Galvao*, *Dominges Pires*; who all gave sufficient Proofs of their Bravery in their respective Posts during the Siege, as did likewise Father *Damaso Vieira* a Jesuit, especially in the Attack upon the Garden of *Antonio de Mota*, and some Houses standing upon an Eminency at S. Thomas, in which tho they were repuls'd the first time, yet the next day our Forces commanded by *Alvaro Rodrigo* and *Manoel Caldeira*, being seconded by some Companies posted on the other side of the Ditch, made themselves Masters of it, being of no small Conveniency to us,

to hinder the approach of the Enemy.

Notwithstanding this the Enemy advanced apace under favour of their Artillery, of which they brought great store daily from their Ships. And on our side we found the Battion of S. John most expos'd, we strengthened the same with Masts, Earth and Fascines; we made also a cover'd way from the Wall to the brink of the Ditch, the same was done near the Battions of S. Sebastian and *Rajuba*; both Clergy-men and Lay-men without distinction of Persons employing themselves in this Work, and furnishing Materials for so useful a Work, especially *Caspar Figueira de Serpe*, who having great store of Baskets, Spades, and other such like Instruments, sacrificed them all for the publick Service.

The 20th of October the Enemy began to salute us with 12 great pieces of Cannon from three Batteries, viz. 3 from that of S. Thomas, 5 from that at *Agua de Luphe*, and 4 from that of S. Sebastian, from whence they sent 800 Bullets, 18, 20, 24 and 28 Pounders, in one day into the City. But tho the Enemies Bullets did considerable Execution, some of the King's unfaithful Servants did more mischief by introducing adulterated Coin, and engrossing the Provisions under pretence of the King's Service for their own lucre sake.

There were at that time not above 1300 Souls, young and old, Europeans and Indians, viz. 500 that receiv'd Pay, and among them, some married, some unmarried, some Children and *Topasses*; 300 married People who serv'd without Pay, 400 *Lascaryns*, and about 60 Labourers; the whole number of the Europeans not amounting to above 500 Men. The Governor with the Consent of the whole City, pitch'd upon *Antonio d'Abrun* an Inhabitant of *Negapatnam*, to be sent to Goa, to give an account to the Viceroy of the City. He was favourably receiv'd by the Viceroy, who told him that he had already sent a Squadron under *Manoel de Magalhães Coutinho*, to carry a Supply of Provisions and Men thither, brought together for that purpose by *Antonio Amiral de Menezes* at *Manaar*. But this Convoy came no further than the Cape Comoryn, and could not make the Cape, tho some were of opinion it was rather for want of Will; so he return'd to Colombo, where the Viceroy being dead in the mean while, the whole face of Affairs was changed, and Colombo lost for want of timely Supply

*Baldus.*

*The Enemy play'd in this Battery.*

*Number of People in the City.*

*Ant. d'Abrun sent to Goa, to give an account of the Condition of Colombo.*



One of our  
Engineers  
describes

The before-mention'd three Batteries being rais'd above 200 Paces from our Walls, they erected another against the Bastion of St. John, within 400 Paces of it, from whence they batter'd us most furiously with three Demi-Cannon. Immediately after, one of our Engineers, a *Hollander* by Birth, named *John de Rosa*, deserted to the Enemy; 'tis true, he was no great Conjuror in his Art, yet did us considerable Mischief. For the Enemies Batteries play'd so furiously upon our Outworks, that in two days time they were all laid level with the Ground, and our Bastions and Walls were so sorely battered, that with much ado we could stop the Breaches, which was done by continual and indefatigable Labour; each Soldier and Officer employing the Intervals they had, when they were not upon Duty, in working like the meanest Labourer.

One of our  
Engineers  
describes

The Governor *Antonio Coutinho* spent Day and Night in visiting the Works, animating his Soldiers both in Words and his Example, leaving his Habitation, and contenting himself with a small Tent near the Bastion of St. John, where the Enemies made their greatest Effort. Afterwards he took up his Quarters in a Warehouse, scarce undressing himself all the time the Siege lasted, and employ'd much of his time in keeping an exact account of the Stores, and distributing Provisions with his own Hands, without which Precaution the City could not have held out half so long. *Francisco de Melo de Castro* followed his Footsteps, having not been seen without his Clothes and Arms for seven Months together. The City-Major *Manoel Marques Gonsalves* did assist them in his Station, as did likewise *Caspar Figuiera de Serpe*, the *Disfaves* of the *Cortes* of *Negumbo* and of *Mature*, *John Coelho de Castro*, *Manoel Gil*, *Manoel Seixas*, and *John Ramba*, who were present in all Places, where there was the most danger to encounter. The Clergy, but especially the *Capucins*, were very assiduous in consoling the Soldiers, in praying and doing all manner of good Offices without Intermision; and some of them would not be backward in being upon the Guard with the Soldiery, and give the Enemies ample Proofs of their Valour.

The Enemy thunder'd so furiously against the Bastion of St. John, that it appear'd like a heap of Rubbish; then they turn'd their Fury against the Horn-work of St. Stephen and the adjacent Point; but *Manoel da Veiga* the Commanding Officer on the Bastion of St. Stephen, *Francisco Gonsalves*, *John Ferraz d'Abreu*, *Gonzal*

*Martinho Piemontel*, *Manoel Carvalho*, and others employ'd in the Defence of the Works towards St. Sebastian, were indefatigable in repairing the Breaches, and rendering the Bastions tolerably defensible.

*Hieronymo Lucena* shew'd the same courage in the Bastion of *Madre de Deus*, till he was reliev'd by *Lewis Tavera de Sousa*, and the Wall which extended towards St. Sebastian being found very weak, the General recommended the Defence thereof to the four Captains of the *Gallies*, lately come from *Goa*. These order'd an Entrenchment to be made there of 100 Yards long, one broad, and six foot high. *Father Damian Vieira* the Jesuit being employ'd in furthering this Work, a Bullet taking away a great piece of the Wall, struck him on the Head, so that he fell dead upon the Ground; but soon recovering himself, he fell to his Work again, his Servant constantly attending him with a Sword and Fusée, wherewith he did considerable Execution, being commonly one of the foremost in charging the Enemy. Finding that the Bastion of *Xaverius* (otherwise call'd *Couras*) began also to be sorely batter'd by the Enemy, the care thereof was committed to an old famous Soldier, *Manoel Rodrigues Franco*, who soon put it out of all Danger.

The 29th of *Novemb.* the Dutch General *Gerard Hulst* sent a Drummer with a white Flag with a Messenger into the City, to summon our Governor to a Surrender, who delaying his Answer till next day, the Enemy fir'd most furiously with his Cannon all that Night; but the next Morning we sent *Diego de Souza de Castro* and *Thomas Freire Leite* with an Answer, the last personating a Drummer, in order to get some Intelligence of the Condition of the Enemy; but they were upon their Guard, and therefore sent a Captain and a Lieutenant, attended by two Soldiers to receive our Governor's Letter, wherein he told the General, that he wanted neither Will nor Power to defend the Place to the utmost for his King's Service, being still sufficiently provided with Powder and Ball, and other Necessaries; and to add the more weight to his Words, we fir'd most furiously all that Night.

The Dutch repay'd us in the same Coin, sending us commonly a Present of Cannon-ball and 900 *Granadoes* every Day. The 12th of *Novemb.* they celebrated the Feast of St. Martin the Pope by a new Invention of Fireballs, wherewith they sent a good Number into the City.

and seconded the Game by a general Assault. For early in the Morning three of their stoutest Ships appearing in sight of the City, one of them called the *Maid of Enchuyzen* enter'd the Harbour, carrying the red Flag in her Stern; and coming to an Anchor within Musquet-shot of the Bastion of St. Crus, gave us several warm Salutes, under the sound of Drums and Trumpets; but *Manoel d'Abreu Godinho* and *Antonio de Silva*, the Commanding Officers on the Bastion of St. Lawrence, did ply them thick with their Cannon, that having first brought by the Board all her Masts, they made soon after so many Holes in her sides, that she was ready to sink, and a few of her Crew made hard shift to escape in the long Boat. The other two Ships seeing the other so ill treated, did not think fit to follow her Footsteps, but made the best of their way to the Road, alledging in their behalf, that they were not able to come up with the other.

At the same time they attempted the Assault on the Land side. Mr. *John van der Laan* assaulted with 7 Companies the Gate of *Acouras*, advancing boldly with sword in hand to the very Faces of our People, the foremost of which began to give way, and in all likelihood the rest would have follow'd their Example, had not Father *Antonio Nunes* a Jesuit, with his drawn Sword threatn'd such as were ready to fly with present Death; nay his Comrade *John Cordeiro* wounded one of the Soldiers as he was flying with his long Rapier. Soon after *Cajpar Figueira de Serpe* coming with fresh Supplies, this so animated our Soldiers, that they not only stopp'd the Enemies Fury, but also made them give way in a little while after. In this Action an Ensign and Serjeant acquired Immortal Honour, and *Manoel d'Almeyda*, tho a very old Soldier, yet did not leave his Post till he had received 11 Wounds. *Felicio de Seixas* and *Contrero de Seixas* lost their Lives with their Swords in their Hands; *Manoel Guerreiro*, i. e. the Warrior, did great Service with his Cannon from his Redoubt, he being an expert Cannoneer.

Major *van der Laan* seeing there was no likelihood of succeeding, sounded a Retreat, leaving the Ground covered with the dead Carcasses of the *Hollanders*. The Enemy receiv'd also considerable Damage from the Tower, where *Diego de Souza de Castro* commanded, and no question much more might have been expected had we been provided with good Gunners: for it must be confest, that we wanted not Officers of Courage and Experience,

but only such as understood the Mathematicks and the Art of Gunnery; an Instance of which might be given in one of our Gunners, who having double charged a Cannon, did wound one of our Captains and two others, viz. *Thomas Pereira Leite*, and *Pedro Goncalves Salgado*, tho for the rest their Fidelity ought not to be mis'd by in silence; it having been observ'd, that not one of our Cannoneers deserted to the Enemy, but most of them lost their Lives in the Service.

The Gate of *Rajuba* was attack'd with 800 choice Men by General *Half* in Person, who endeavour'd to mount the Walls with scaling Ladders: As they pass'd the Bridge, they were sorely gall'd from the Bastions of St. Stephen, St. Sebastian, and that of *Madre de Deos*, the Defence whereof being committed to *Rodrigo Borralho*, *Antonio de Mita d'Oliveira*, and *Manoel Cabreira de Ponte*, they gave such a hot salute with their Firelocks from behind their Pallisado Works to the *Hollanders*, that many of them were laid dead upon the Ground. A certain Cannon of Stone did them considerable Damage, and would have done more, had it not burst in pieces. Three times they renewed the Assault with incredible Fury, and as often were they repuls'd with an unspeakable Bravery. At last General *Half*, to encourage his Men, cried out aloud, *Soldiers, the Prince Stands in set upon the Bastion of St. John* (which in effect was not so) and so with a Curse (*Sante Diab!*, i. e. Holy Devil) he snatch'd a Ladder out of a Fellow's Hand; but finding no body ready to follow him, whilst he was encouraging his Men, and fixing his Ladder to the very Gate, he was wounded in the Thigh, and so forc'd to retreat. On the side of the Lake or Fens (called *Lagoa* by the *Portugueses*) 240 Men were embark'd in 8 Chinese Boats brought from *Batavia* for that purpose. They were met by *Domingos Coelho d'Alta* in 5 *Manchous* or Birges, who fought with them courageously for some time, but was forced at last to suffer them to land, but retir'd into a Pallisado-Work near *Maria Teller*, from whence he with *Sebastian Caldeira*, and 5 or 6 more (the rest being run away) fir'd briskly upon the *Hollanders*; who at last finding a Hole or Gate near the House of *Sebastian Caldeira*, they forc'd their way, notwithstanding the brave Resistance made by *Manoel Rodrigues Franco*, *Guardian de Viro*, and *Francisco Rebello de Palsares*, who sent a good quantity of Hand-granadoes and Fire-balls among them,

Baldau.

Not one Portuguese Cannoneer deserted.

*Baldew.* them, the said *Guardian* having receiv'd two Wounds by Musquet-Balls. The *Dutch* forcing their way into a narrow Street, were there met by *Manoel Fernandes de Miranda*, who tho sorely wounded yet continued fighting with his Sword and Buckler, till exhausted of his Strength by the Loss of Blood, he was ready to drop, and would infallibly have died upon the Spot, had not *Francisco de Lemos* carried him off. In his Place succeeded *Diego Leitao de Souza*, who discharging a Musquetoon on the Corner of a Street among the *Dutch*, made them halt; the same was done by Father *Damian Vieira* the Jesuit, who with another Musquetoon made such a Havock among the Enemy, that these two stopped their farther Progress, till *Antonio de Leao* appear'd at the Head of a good Troop of Souldiers; he being provided with another Musquetoon, charged the Enemy so briskly (as they were endeavouring to break into the backside of some Gardens) that they were forc'd to retreat back into the narrow Street, where he maintain'd the Fight (tho his Musquetoon, by reason of its being too frequently charged, struck him down to the Ground) till *Antonio de Melo de Castro* came with his whole Company to his Relief, when after some firing Quarter being offered to the Remnants of the *Dutch*, they accepted of the same; so that 74, tho most of them wounded, were made Prisoners of War, whereof 8 only return'd into the *Dutch* Camp afterwards, the rest dying in the City, many whereof were converted to the Catholick Faith, by the indefatigable care of the Jesuits, and especially of *Damian Vieira*.

This was the Success of the general Assault begun early in the Morning, and not ended till two in the Afternoon, during which the Governor *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, and *Francisco de Melo de Castro*, kept in Person the Guard with some other Officers of Note in the Market-place, from whence they dispatch'd their Orders, as Occasion requir'd. The City-Major *Manoel Marques Gorian*, did likewise appear in all Places where the Danger was most pressing; and *Caspar Figuiera* was very careful in sending what Succours he could spare from the Bastion of *St. John*. In short, the Streets, Breaches, the Lane and Ditch were all tainted with the Blood of the *Hollanders*, and the Ground cover'd with Colours, Arms, Drums, Scaling-Ladders and dead Carcasses, their Loss being computed at no less than 1000 Men, and among them

many brave Officers. On our side we had not above 30 Men killed, tho the Enemy to disemble their Loss, gave us a general Salvo of at least 1000 Musquets. The next day Father *Damian Vieira* going without the Walls in order to bury the Dead, was saluted by three Firelocks from the Enemy, which made him retire, and defer his charitable Resolution till the next following Night. We observ'd a black Flag in one of their Works, as a Signal, that they would give Quarter to no body without exception, the same Order having been given them likewise before the Assault begun. We got no less than 30 pieces of Cannon out of the Ship that lay under the Water-Fort, which were planted on our Works. Some Refreshments were also distributed among the Soldiers, tho to confess the Truth, the Publick Stores being very low, every one provided for himself, as well as he could, without any regard to the poor Soldiers. However about 18 days after, Father *Damian* (by Order from the General) went with some *Dutch* Prisoners aboard the Vessel, where they found some Casks of Wine, and some Meat and Bacon.

In the mean time the Enemies were not idle, but daily encreased their Works; they made a Covered Way within 40 Paces of *St. John's* Bastion from West to the East, in form of a Redoubt, upon which they planted six great Guns, viz. three against the Bastion of *St. John*, and the other three against that of *St. Stephen*. From thence they carried on their Trenches to the Sea-side from South to North, clos'd with another Redoubt, which being provided with two pieces of Cannon, much annoyed the Wall betwixt the Bastion of *Couras* and *St. John*. This made the Governor *Coutinho* order some of the Citizens to raise a kind of an Entrenchment of about two Foot thick and three high behind it. From the second Redoubt the Enemy carried on their Trenches into the open Field, and at last added a third Redoubt, from whence they could batter the Wall betwixt the Bastions of *St. John* and *St. Stephen*, which being likewise forc'd to be strengthened by some Works of Earth and Fascines, no body, not even the Governor himself, were sparing in laying hand to so useful a Work, which being 400 Ells in length, each Division had its share allotted, in order to bring it the sooner to perfection.

*Domingo Coelho d'Ala*, assisted by *Caspar d'Aranja Pereira*, *John d'Andrade Macabato*.

*chado*, and *Don Francisco Rolim*, all Inhabitants of the City, did great Service with their Slaves, in the *Manchous* or Boats, in protecting our Workmen on that side, as well as the *Disjaves*; and to be short, there was no body so young, no body so old, that was exempted from continual Labour or Watching.

The *Dutch* on the other hand carried on the Trenches from the Redoubt with six Guns, to the Fall of *Aqua de Lupe*, and made another Trench from the Redoubt in the Plain, which was to meet another Redoubt thrown up on the Front of the Bastion of *St. Stephen*, beyond the Lake or Fens. They also raised another Battery in the Garden of *Antonio de Mota*, against the Bastion of *St. Stephen*, and another near the before-mention'd Redoubt of six Guns, in a parallel with that in the Plain, and another just at the Foot of the Bastion of *St. Cruz*, which being so near the Ditch, was likely to be a Thorn in our Eye, there being nothing but the Ditch betwixt us and the Enemy, so that we could throw Stones at them, and often talk'd with one another.

About the same time *Caspar Figueira de Serpe* desir'd leave to lay down his Commission, not to shun the Danger or Trouble of his Station, but because many of the Gentlemen and Subaltern Officers refused to obey his Command; so he was discharged, and *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, Nephew to the late Governor *Francisco de Melo de Castro*, who had behav'd himself with more than ordinary Bravery in his Post during the Siege, put in his place.

As we shrewdly suspected the Enemy to have a Design of undermining the Bastion of *St. Stephen*, a Cavalier was order'd to be rais'd near it, in case the same should succeed. This was done by the contrivance of a certain *Indian Merchant* of the Coast of *Coromandel*, who also order'd the Redoubt, demolish'd since the last general Assault, to be repaired: By the Design also of another certain Merchant, who was Surveyor of our Magazine) a Countermine was contriv'd, which did us great Service. It was a most deplorable thing to have in such a Fortress as this, not so much as one *Portuguese Engineer*, nay not so much as a good Carpenter of our Nation, the Defect whereof can be attributed to nothing else but to the Covetousness of some of the King's Officers, who put the Money design'd for that use into their Pockets, and at the same time put it to the King's Account. Neither were our Fortifications in such a Condition as they

ought to have been; for whereas we had had sufficient time to enclose that part of the City near the Sea-side, call'd *Galvoca* (comprehending a third part of the whole) with strong Walls, and to render it impregnable, by reason of the natural Situation thereof, being accessible only in certain Places in small Boats, they had planted only some Coco and Palm-Trees there, which perish and are wash'd away by the Waves in a short time. Thus the Bastions, which ought to have been fac'd with Stone, were only made of Earth, which are not durable, and easily spoil'd by the Water-Floods; the effects whereof were then obvious enough, from the Hospital to the Gate of the *Jesuits College*, which comprehends a very large Tract of Ground. Besides this, the Carriages of our great Guns were so rotten, that most of them after the first Discharge broke to pieces; so that we were forc'd to take the Wood from the Houses, nay even out of the Churches (as we did in that of *St. Domingo*) to make new Ones.

My Pen wants Words to express the Affronts put upon the Holy Images by the Hereticks, whereof I will give you only one Instance. They took the Image of the Holy Apostle *St. Thomas*, and after they had cut off the Nose, Ears and Arms, set it up for a Mark to shoot at; afterwards they knock'd it full of great Nails, and so shot it out of a Mortar Nov. 16. into our Ditch, whence it was taken up and carried to the *Jesuits College*, by Father *Damian Vieira*, and two Reform'd Officers, *Manoel de Seixas*, and *Manoel de S. Jago Garcia*. But the *Franciscans* laying Claim to it, they carried it in Publick Procession to their Church, and placed it upon the High Altar. Father *Francisco S. Matheus* solemniz'd the Day with a learned Speech.

The 20th of *Novemb.* the holy *Thomas* blessed us with the Arrival of a certain *Portuguese*, a Native of *Avenas*, named *Simon Lopes de Basto*, who for certain Reasons being retir'd from *Goa* to *Wingula*, had served among the *Dutch* in a very good Station in the Camp; but finding his Countrymen in Distress, left all and came over to us, and did us most signal Service in the Siege.

The Enemy carried on their Trenches from the Foot of the Bastion of *St. Cruz*, to the Edg of the Ditch, with an Intention to fix their Miners under the Bastion of *St. John*; but we made a Countermine, and defended the Ditch on the other side with a good Breast-work, to secure our

Peo-



People against the Granadoes, which the Enemy threw in without Intermillion. This Post being recommended to the care of *Domingos Coelho*, he strengthen'd the same by Pallisadoes, from whence he commanded the Passage over the Ditch with his Fire-arms; and *Manoel Rodrigues Franco*, and *Manoel de S. Jago Garcia*, would often skirmish with the Enemy on their own Bridges; two whole Companies under the said *Coelho*, and *Diego de Souza de Castro*, being appointed to second them as Necellity requir'd.

The 10th and 11th of Jan. the Enemy advanc'd to the Ditch in two Places, viz. thro the before-mention'd Breast-work, and somewhat lower: From the first Place they played with a great Cannon, and on the other side having made a great Breach thro the Wall, they threw Fascines, Logs of Wood, Baskets with Earth, and such like Materials into the Ditch; and the better to cover their Workmen, and afford an easy Passage to their Souldiers, they fix'd their Gallery: but *Emanuel Guerreiro* at the Head of his Company, *Domingos Coelho d'Alia*, *Emanuel de S. Jago Garcia*, and *Diego de Souza Castro*, did receive them so courageously, that from 10 at Night till break of Day, there was nothing to be heard or seen but firing, both at the entrance of the Mine, and from the Bastion of St. John, from whence *Don Diego Vasconcellos* did considerable Mischief to the Dutch with his great Cannon, who meeting with sounexpected a Reception, thought fit to retire with considerable Loss, leaving most of their Materials behind them, which were brought into the City. We lost only two Men in this Action, and the Dutch for ever after were not so forward to come so near us, but ply'd us chiefly with their Cannon-balls, Stones and Bombs; whereas we had but one Mortar, which was usefess to us (for want of expert Cannoniers) till *Simon Lopes de Basto* came over to us, who now and then saluted the Enemy with Stones out of that Mortar, who answer'd us briskly, tho most of them broke in the Air, and did no other Mischief but to some Houses, that were miserably shatter'd. One of the Enemies Bombs happening to fall entire upon the Ground, *Matthias d'Albuquerque*, a Native of Goa, standing hard by, took it up, and threw it into the next Dutch Mine, with an unparallel'd Courage, with such Success, that it blew up into the Air immediately.

The 28th of Jan. four Ships arriv'd from Gale, and soon after two more,

which with the 14 that were in the Bay before, made up 20 in all. The same day the Dutch planted a Cross upon the Redoubt call'd *Conception*, under the tripple Discharge of their Cannon and Small Arms. This Redoubt had been made by the Direction and Assistance of the Governor, the Master of the Ordnance, and several of our best Officers, and the *Disfaves*. That day two new lifted Men, belonging to *Don Rodrigo de Castro* his Company, deserted to the Enemy; and *Fernaon Martinho de Souza* the Governor's Son, a Gentleman who had given several Proofs of his Courage, was unfortunately shot with a Mullet-ball in the Head on the Bastion of St. John, of which Wound he died soon after. About the same time died also *Antonio Barboza Pinheiro*, one of our Captains of the Artillery, a Person of indefatigable Care, and who had signaliz'd himself upon many Occasions, both in the Field and the City.

The 1st of Feb. two other new lifted Soldiers of *Manoel de Veigas* his Company deserted to the Enemy, and the 6th nine Ships return'd from the Bay to Gale. By this time we began to be reduc'd to great Extremity for want of Provisions, a little Measure of Rice being then sold at half a Seraphyn; so that we saw the poor Wretches (as well Europeans as Negroes) drop down dead in the Streets: The *Borbory*, Bloody-Flux and spotted Fevers being grown so common, that few were free from them. To be short, we were in a constant Conflict with three most dreadful Enemies, the Plague, Hunger and Sword. To add to our Affliction, the Heat was so excessive for want of Rain (which usually falls in Ceylon) that many were stifled for want of Air, which made us drive about 300 of these miserable Creatures (unfit for Service) out of the City on the 8th, who were forc'd to return by the Dutch the 9th. The 12th, 500

Negroes were forc'd out of the City, but were sent back by the *Hollanders* the same day. The 17th, we saw divers Gibbets erected without our Walls, on which they did hang divers of the miserable Creatures that were forc'd out of the Town. We had so many dead in the City, that we wanted room to bury them. The 19th two of our Soldiers deserted, one whereof being taken, was hang'd up immediately. The 23d, 50 Negroes (the Remnants of the last 500) return'd to the City. The 27th, the Bridg made by the Enemy on this side of their Trenches, was set on fire from the Bastion of St. John, but the Fire was soon quench'd.

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quench'd. The 29th the Besieged made a kind of a Cover'd Way, near the Gate of *Rajuba*, from the Bastion of *Madre de Deos*, to that of *St. Sebastian*.

The 2d of *March*, our City-Major was sent in a small Vessel to *Manaar*, to solicit for Succours there, in case any should have been lately arrived from *Portugal*; for at *Goa* they thought of nothing less than *Ceylon*, for they did not want either Men or Ships to send to *Micassar* or *Mofambique*, but could find none for *Columbo*; for tho the Cinnamon was upon the King's Account, the rest of their Cargo belonged to private Persons, who would not venture their Ships for the Publick, without extraordinary Rewards.

The same day an Advice-Boat arriv'd from *Gale*, and we made the beginning of a *Cavalier* on the Bastion of *Madre de Deos*; but finding that the Enemy were raising a Battery against it, it was not brought to Perfection. Two *Portugueses* and nine *Lascarys* deserted. The 3d, the Enemy began to open their Trenches on the side of the *Mapanese* Fields. The 6th one *Dyke* deserted, and the 7th another did the same, leaving the Boat, where were some *Canaryns*, who returned. The 11th another Soldier belonging to *Alvaro Rodrigo Borralho's* Company, went over to the Enemy, who receiv'd that day a Reinforcement of 10 Ships.

The 12th early in the Morning we found that the Enemy had posted himself upon an Eminency at the Foot of the Bastion of *St. Cruz*, just over against our Redoubt, and that they had carried on their Trenches a good way into the Field. A Soldier of *Manoel Cabreira* deserted to the Enemy. The 13th we sent away four *Pachas*, or Advice-boats. The 14th we discovered three Sails with some Sloops, which occasion'd great Joy in the City, thinking that it had been the so long look'd for Succours, but soon found our Mistake; the same day two *Dutch* Deserters and a Boy came into the Town. The Enemy having strengthen'd their Battery against the Outworks of the Bastion of *St. Stephen* and *St. John*, they laid the 16th one side of *St. Stephen's* Bastion level with the Ground.

The Famine encreased every day, a Fig-Tree or a Papey-Tree was now sold for 50 *Pardaus*: Herbage we had none, some Roots there were, but miserably dry, by reason of the Heat of the Season, which caused a great Mortality.

The 17th an *Aratche* and two *Lascarys* went over to the Enemy, and perceiving

that they had rais'd an Eminency, in order to erect a Redoubt and Battery near the Gate of *Rajuba*, we demolished the same by planting a 28 Pounder against it. We had an Advice-Boat sent us from the Northern-Quarter, and about Midnight the Enemy alarm'd us by a false Attack. The 20th, five Soldiers being taken that were going over to the Enemy, four of them were hang'd immediately, the fifth who had discover'd the plot, escaping with his Life.

The 21st we made a Countermine, about ten Foot from the Enemies, which was carried to the Palm-Trees planted on the Fortifications; whilst *Simon Lopes de Basso* Master of our Ordnance, *Manoel Fernandes da Miranda*, *Manoel de S. Jago Garcia*, Father *Damian Vieira*, and several other *Portuguese* Officers, were employed in encouraging the Workmen; one of our Cannon-balls fell among some Granadoes and other Fire-works, which caused a great Alarm in the whole City, and the brave *John Pereira Corte Real*, a Native of *Negapatnam*, who had signalized himself upon a thousand Occasions in the Service of our Artillery, here lost his Life, being generally regretted by all who new his Merit. The 22d and 23d, the Enemy continued to perfect their Works near the Gate of *Rajuba*, against which we play'd with a Demi-Cannon from behind the Wall of *St. Stephen's* Bastion.

The 24th two Messengers from the King of *Candy* brought a Letter to the Governor, and another to the Inhabitants of *Columbo*, in answer to a Letter sent to that King, at the beginning of the Siege. They appear'd in Mourning-Apparel, to intimate (according to the Custom of that Court) how much concern'd his Majesty was at the many Injuries and Affronts put upon him during the late War. They contain'd in Substance, that the King summon'd them to a Surrender, promising all the Inhabitants the free possession of all their Estates, Villages, &c. for their Sustainance, as the only means to deliver them from the Miseries and Oppressions they now groan'd under, alledging that the same were the effects of God's just Vengeance for their Ingratitude, shewn upon so many Occasions to his Imperial Majesty, in return of the many Benefits they had receiv'd at his Hands, and not admitting his Ambassadors sent to them with Proposals of an Alliance. These Letters were likewise subscribed by the *Dutch* General *Hulst*, which being read publicly, the Messengers were dismissed.

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miss'd with much Respect, but were scarce got out of the City, when they were overtaken by a most dreadful Storm of Rain, Thunder and Lightning.

The 25th *Alvaro Rodrigo Boralbo* kill'd a Soldier as he was going over to the Enemy.

*Town and  
an Advice-  
Boat fix  
down.*

The 26th an Advice-Boat was dispatch'd to get Intelligence whether there were any hopes of Succours for *Columbo*; but all the News we could learn, was that the Viceroy of *Goa* (the only Person we put our Confidence in next to God) was lately dead; which tho it was doleful News for us, yet was it resolv'd to hold out to the last Extremity, which was perform'd to the greatest nicety, the *Dutch* never being able to become Masters of the Place, till most of us were consumed either by the Sword or Famine. Advice was also brought us, that Bonfires had been made at *Goa*, upon certain Advice brought by some Negroes (under Protection of the *Dutch*) taken at *Putlaon* in *Ceylon*, that *Columbo* was not in so desperate a Condition as had been represented, which they had reported upon the Credit of a certain *Dutch* Master of a Vessel.

The 27th of *March* one of our Sergeants was devour'd by a Crocodile in the Fens, his Clothes and Arms being found afterwards. At this time a *Parra* of Rice was sold at 25 *Scrapphyns*, or *Gilders*; and all our Church-yards being fill'd with dead Corps, we were forc'd to have another consecrated for that purpose.

The 28th in the Morning the Enemy had thrown up another Redoubt near the Wall of the Gate of *Rajuba*. One of the Inhabitants, a Native of *Cranganor*, went over to the Enemy from the Bastion of *S. John*, being forced thereunto by Hunger, which was grown so excessive, that Dogs, Cats and Rats, and other such like things were sold at a very high rate.

The 31st two Soldiers and a *Lascaryn* went over to the Enemy. The next Morning we saw some small Batteries raised against the Redoubt of *S. John's* Bastion, where our People had made some Entrenchments raised like steps of 10 Paces high, cover'd with a Breastwork like a cover'd way, call'd *Alcapaon* by the *Portugueses*. At the same time we began to work on a Countermine, within 20 Paces of the Enemy's Mine at *S. John's* Bastion. The same day above 50 of our sick died in the Hospital, besides what were daily found dead in the Houses and Streets, the Ammunition-

Bread being by this time become a most precious Commodity.

The first of *April* one of the Enemy's Advice-Boats came into the Road. The second 7 *Lascaryns* deserted, and ever after 20 or 30 a day went over to the Enemy. The third two *Dutch* Yachts came into the Road, aboard one of which was a Chirurgeon. At the same time a *Parra* of Rice was sold for 59 *Scrapphyns*, or *Gilders*; but the worst was, that there was not enough of it, and could not be purchas'd but with ready Money. The Governor's Steward (tho without his knowledge) \* refusing to part with any without ready Gold, to the great Disreputation of his Master, who tho a Gentleman of great Honour, yet was highly blam'd for committing a thing of such moment to the management of so arrant a ravenous Person.

The 4th of *April* the Enemy had raised a new Redoubt and Battery provided with two pieces of Cannon, near the Gate of *Rajuba*, wherewith they had so batter'd our Palisado's, and other wooden Fences, that there was no safe passing betwixt the Fortifications and the Wall on the other side of the Ditch. The Enemy receiv'd a Succour of two Ships, and the next day four more. The Enemy made their Approaches with so much Circumspection, that they advanc'd to the Ditch (where it was dry) with the loss of a few of their Men, who improvidently exposed themselves to our Fire-Arms.

The 6th we began another Countermine, and the 7th the Enemy threw abundance of *Falces* and *Faggots* into the dry Ditch, and set fire to our Palisado's, which was soon quenched by the industry of our Men; whilst the *Dutch* were employ'd on the other side to cut a Breach with Pickaxes in the Wall, but were soon chased from thence by our Firelocks, not without considerable loss.

The 8th of *April* we began another Countermine, which being fenced with a kind of Palisado Beams cover'd with Earth to resist the Enemies Fire-works, was carried on under the Conduct of the Master of the Ordnance *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, the Serjeant-Major *Antonio de Leao*, *Diego de Souza*, and *Manoel de S. Jago Garcia*. The same day at least 70 sick Persons (most *Europeans*) died in the Hospital; many of the Negroes lay dead in the Street for want of room to be buried in, which produced a most nauseous scent. The Hunger was increased by this time to such a degree, that they began to feed upon Mens Flesh;

several

several Mothers murder'd their own Children to feed upon, two whereof were executed. It was a most doleful Spectacle to hear the poor miserable Wretches cry out in the Streets for Bread, some imploring Heaven for Assistance, others cursing those who were the occasion of their Misery, others expiring and breathing their last in the Houses and Streets.

The 9th Domingo de Ramos forced a multitude of poor Wretches out of the Town; but these being driven back by the Enemy, and expos'd to our small shot, perish'd either by them or by Famine upon the shore.

The Enemy advanc'd this day briskly with their Trenches, as we did on our side in our Retrenchments.

The 10th we set fire to the Enemy's Gallery, which however did not succeed according to expectation for want of sufficient Fuel; but Father *Damian Vieira*, *Manoel Guerreiro*, and *Simon Lopes de Basto* did kill many of the Enemy upon this occasion.

The 11th we planted a Cannon betwixt our Palisado's against their Gallery, but they had strengthened it so well that we could effect nothing of moment. One of our Soldiers run over to them.

The 12th we began two other Mines with incredible labour, but indifferent success, for want of skilful Engineers. Four selected Men were posted in the Redoubt of S. John's Bastion, who defended that Post, which was within a few Rods from the Enemy's Works, with a great deal of Bravery, as they did in most other places, notwithstanding we were reduced to a very inconsiderable number, there being not above five or six Men left in some Companies, as those of *Diego de Souza de Castro*, *Manoel de S. Jago Garcia*, and *Don Diego de Vasconcellos*, who perform'd Wonders in the Defence of the Bastion of S. John.

The 13th the Enemy having receiv'd a Reinforcement out of two Yachts, they beat'd very hard in their Mine on the Bastion of S. John under favour of their Cannon, which play'd incessantly: At that time Father *Damian Vieira* kill'd a stout Hollander who had the Direction of the Work, which advanced apace, tho we play'd them very warmly with our Fireworks. Two of our Soldiers deserted to the Enemy.

The 18th we began to work on our Countermine from the foot of the Bastion of S. John towards that of S. Stephen, under the Direction of Father *Damian*

*Vieira*, *Simon Lopes de Basto* and *John Ferreira d'Abreu*, whilst the Serjeant-Major *Antonio de Leao*, *Diego de Souza de Castro*, and *Ruy Lopes Coutinho* ply'd the Enemy with their Fireworks, and other combustible Matter.

The same day we got intelligence by an Advice-Boat that the so long expected Succours under the Command of *Francisco de Seixas Cabreira* was come upon our Coast; it consisted of 21 Ships, and two Galliots with Provisions, one whereof was upon the King's account, the other of *Simon Souza*, a Gentleman of Honour, who took Compassion of our present Condition. They set sail from Goa the 29th of March; but as they were endeavouring to make the Cape Comorin, one of the Galliots, in which was *Simon de Souza*, was attack'd so furiously by a Dutch Vessel coming from *Caleoulang* with Pepper, that after having lost her Mast she sunk, *Simon de Souza* being narrowly sav'd with a few Soldiers, and carried to *Columbo*. The Dutch Ship then falling in among the rest fought so manly, that she forced our Ships to retreat into the Harbour of *Tuticorin*, from whence they could not come to *Columbo* till August; tho if the said Fleet had arriv'd safely, they had brought scarce Rice enough to serve only for a little time.

About the same time Father *Damian Vieira*, *John Ferreira d'Abreu*, and *Simon Lopes de Basto*, went with some other Officers (call'd *Reformado's* by the *Portugueses*) into one of our Mines. Father *Damian* and Lieut. *Nunes* going about 6 paces before the rest, to discover whether any of the Enemys were at hand, and being mistaken by their Comrades for *Hollanders*, these discharged their Musketoons upon them, notwithstanding which the Jesuit escaped miraculously the danger, without receiving the least hurt. This happy escape was attributed to the Prayers of Father *Frey Luys a Capucin*, to whom such as were going upon some desperate Enterprize us'd to recommend themselves.

The 15th *Nicholas de Moura* escap'd out of Prison (where he was detain'd ever since the business of the Count d'Obidas) and with five *Milices* went over to the Enemy, as did much at the same time a Serjeant and a Soldier. About 80 Paces from the Gate of *Rajuba* the Enemy batter'd part of our Wall betwixt the Bastions of *Madre de Deos* and S. *Sebastian*, from a Battery of 5 pieces of Cannon, from whence they shot 350 Cannon-Balls against it in one day.

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The

Hollanders.

Now, if the defect of the Succours designed for Columbo.

A strange Escape.

*Reid.* The 16th we made a false Alarm to try whether every one would repair readily to his Post: two new-listed Soldiers took this opportunity to desert, and being now destitute of Men to work in our Mines, nobody was excused from that Service, from the Governor to the private Centinel.

The 17th the Enemy having fix'd another Cannon upon the Battery before the Gate of *Rajuba*, they laid the Wall level with the ground; our People being so weakened by Famine, that they were not in a condition to carry thither any Fascines or Earth to repair it. At the same time *Manoel Frago*, a Reform'd Captain who had done signal Services in the *Indies*, and especially in *Ceylon*, went over to the Enemy, because his Pay (which was given to others who much less deserv'd it) was refused him, nay he could not even get Sustainance for his Money, which put him upon this desperate Resolution; two common Soldiers Natives of *India* deserted at the same time. There died such a vast number every day in the Hospital for want of Necessaries, that many of the Soldiery chose rather to abide with their Companies, where they expir'd in sight of their Comrades.

The Enemy receiv'd a Succour of two Ships, a Yacht and a Galliot, whereas the poor Besieged had not the least Relief in seven Months.

The 18th Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* Governor of *Gale*, sent us a Letter (their General being lately dead) and to terrify us the more, presented all his Forces in order of Battel betwixt his Trenches; but our Men commanded by *Alfonso Correa*, *John Ferrao*, *d'Abreu*, *Manoel Pereira Mitofo*, *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Simon Lopes de Basto*, and Father *Damian Vieira*, made a vigorous Sally the next following Night out of the Gate *Rajuba*, when *Francisco Afca* a Reform'd Captain took the opportunity to desert us.

The 19th *Diego de Souza de Castro* was sent with an Answer to the Governor's Letter; and the Son of *Manoel de Souza* went over to the Enemy.

The 20th a Soldier deserted from the Bastion of *S. Cruz*, on which side the Enemy had attack'd us with the greatest fury ever since their loss sustain'd there under the Command *Caspar d'Aranja Pereira*, who succeeded *Manoel d'Abreu Godinho*, after his Post was assign'd him, behind the Wall betwixt *St. John's* and *S. Stephen's* Bastion. The City Major having four Bufflers left which had

drawn a Waggon for a considerable time, had them kill'd for the use of the *Garrison*, who, after the Meat was consumed, feasted also upon the Hides, which they cut into small pieces.

The 21st the Enemy had drawn a Line of Communication from the Battery near the Gate of *Rajuba* to the Lake: At the same time five Persons were wounded by one of their Bombs, and Capt. *Manoel Guerreiro* mortally, who had kill'd many a brave Dutch-man with his Fusée during this Siege.

The 22d the Enemy having set fire to our Countermine, the brave *Joan Ferrao*, *d'Abreu* and *Simon Lopes de Basto*, were the chiefest that gave their Assistance in quenching of it amongst a shower of Bullets and Hand-granadoes. At the same time a *Tópas* went over to the Enemy, the only one that deserted of that kind, tho we had a good number of them among us, who for the most part died with the *Portugueses* in the Defence of the City.

The 23d Father *Damian Vieira*, *John d'Abreu*, *John Pereira* (Inhabitants of *S. Thomas*) *Simon Lopes de Basto*, *Manoel Pereira Mitofo*, *Sebastian Rodrigues*, *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Joseph Coelho* and *Manoel Ferreira Gomes*, got early in the morning cross the Fens, in order to surprize one of the Enemy's Works, but were so warmly received, that they were glad to retreat, and fight their way through the Dutch, who had enclosed them on all sides.

The 24th a *Tony* was sent to get Intelligence, the Enemy fir'd most furiously from their Battery against *S. Stephen's* Bastion and the Gate of *Rajuba*, where the Wall being laid level with the ground, the Houses suffer'd much by their Cannon.

The 25th the Enemy planted two pieces of Cannon at the extremity of their Trenches against *S. Stephen's* Bastion, and *Raphaël de Torres* a Prisoner for Debt, escaped out of Prison.

The 26th the Dutch continued to play without intermission upon the Bastions of *S. John*, *S. Stephen* and *Madre de Deus*. The same day 9 *Portugueses* were buried in one Pit or Grave, there being no place left to bury them in. A Candil of Rice was sold at that time for 2500 *Seraphylins*, or *Gilders*, and a Candil of Wheat for 3400 *Gilders*, and happy was he who could purchase it; for you would see Women throw their Babies into the Streets for want of Suck and other Sustainance, and others to part with their Jewels for

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a slender Measure of Rice, a Commodity more precious at that time than all the precious Stones. During this general Calamity the City-Major *Manoel Marques Gorian* shew'd himself a true Patriot in all his Actions, but especially in distributing what Rice he had left among the Soldiers, which if he had fold must have amounted to a considerable Sum of Money at that juncture; but he was willing to part with all, in hopes to preserve the Place for his King. At the same time a false Attack was made near the Gate of *Rajuba*.

The 27th one of our Serjeants belonging to Capt. *Santiago's* Company deserted to the Enemy. At the same time we saw them carry on their Trenches from the Battery raised against the Gate of *Rajuba*, towards the Bastion of *S. Sebastian*. Their Batteries continued to play without intermission day and night. The same night Father *Damian Vieira* with seven more made a Sally upon the said Trenches, and carried off most of the Tools of their Workmen. *Simon Lopes de Basto* took this opportunity of sending two Spies into the Enemy's Camp, who being discover'd had much ado to save themselves, being forc'd to pass through a shower of the Enemy's Bullets. They return'd the 29th, and brought Advice of the Death of General *Hulst*, and the Commodore \* of the *Dutch* Fleet. At the same time an Advice-Boat † carrying three Guns came into our Harbour, aboard whereof was the Fiscal. An Alarm was order'd to be given at four in the Morning with the sound of Drums, Trumpets, and other Warlike Instruments, and a general discharge of our Cannon and small Arms.

The 30th Father *Damian Vieira*, *Simon Lopes de Basto*, *John Pereira*, *Alfonso Correa*, *Sebastian Rodrigues*, and *Joseph Coelho*, went out to take a view of the Enemy's Works, and advanced within 10 paces of them, which they found defended by a kind of Breast-work made up with Hurdles; notwithstanding which they attack'd them with Sword in hand.

The 1st of May the Enemy desir'd to have their Prisoners exchange'd for some of ours, which being agreed to, the second we deliver'd up eight of their Prisoners, the only Remnants of those taken in the last general Assault, in lieu of which we had as many of ours restor'd to us. They then began a fresh to play most furiously from their Mortars and Cannon.

The 3d at seven in the Morning, Fa-

ther *Damian*, *John d' Abreu*, and *Simon Lopes de Basto* went without the Fortifications, to gather up the Bullets near the Bastion of *S. Stephen*, which used to be taken up by the Enemy in the night time. Father *Damian Vieira*, *Simon Lopes*, and two more made another Sally, to level some of the Enemy's Works, but without Success. The same day two Soldiers went over to the Enemy.

The 4th Father *Vieira*, *Simon Lopes*, *Francisco Valente dos Campos*, *Antonio Madeira*, *John Pereira*, *Manoel Pereira Matoso*, *Alfonso Correa*, *Manoel Pereira Gomes*, *Manoel Nogueira Freire*, and *Thomas Pereira Lete*, made a vigorous Sally, and with Sword in hand attack'd the Enemy's Batteries raised against the Outworks of *S. Stephen*, *S. Sebastian*, and the Bastion of *Madre de Deos*, with such Success, that they ruin'd them entirely, and set fire to the Fascines, Hurdles and other Wood-work that sustain'd them, notwithstanding the *Dutch* came with a considerable Body to the relief of their Countrymen, but were repulsed not without a considerable loss, and among the rest one of their bravest Officers, who was buried under a triple Salvo of their Firelocks; so that our People remain'd Masters of the Posts, and return'd victorious into the City.

The 5th *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Manoel de Santiago Garcia*, *Sebastian Rodrigues*, *John Pereira de Lago*, and Father *Damian Vieira* (who never staid behind upon such like occasions) made another Sally, but not meeting with any Enemy where they expected him, return'd without effecting any thing.

The 7th about six in the Morning (it having been rainy before, which is a rarity here at this season) the Enemy made an Assault upon the Bastion of *S. John*, defended by *Don Diego Vasconcellos*, and two Youths, *Don Constantino de Menezes*, and *Diego Jaques*, both under 14 years of Age, all the Soldiers being swept away by Famine; for within these two months above 400 Men died in our Hospital, and our so long expected Succours being block'd up at *Tutecoryn*, we were past all hopes of Succours, whereas at Goa there was nothing to be heard of but Divertisements. To be short, the Enemy made themselves Masters \* of the Bastion, after having kill'd the Captain and the two Youths, who defended themselves like Lions set upon by a multitude of *Dutch* Dogs. This done, they turn'd the Cannon against the City, whereby many of the *Portugueses* that were

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\* Master Scholtes first enter'd the Breach.



were hastening to its relief, were slain in the Streets. The second Bastion, assaulted at the same time by the Dutch, was bravely defended by *Manoel Figueiros*, who with two pieces of Cannon kill'd abundance of them; but being constantly seconded by fresh Troops, especially of the *Cingalese*, they sent such showers of Arrows and Bullets among our People, that they were forced to quit that Bastion also.

From thence marching into the City, they were met at the entrance of a Street by the Commander in chief *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, *Diego de Souza de Castro*, Father *Anthony Nunes* the Jesuit, *Sebastian Rodrigues*, *John Pereira*, *Vincente de Silva*, *Francisco Valente dos Campos*, *Alfonso Correa*, *Sebastian Pereira*, *John Ferrao*, *d'Abreu*, *Antonio de Magalhães*, and an Ensign under Capt. *Alla*. These, tho few in number, but many in Valour, charg'd the Dutch with incomparable Bravery. The Portuguese *Alexander Manoel Marques Gorjaor*, making the best of his way over the dead Carcasses that cover'd the ground, singl'd out a Dutch Captain of a Gigantick Bulk, who shot him with a Pistol through the Body, notwithstanding which he run him through with his Sword, and sent him immediately to the other World; then pushing on his Fortune, made the Dutch give ground, and having rallied his Men secur'd the Post for that time. The Dutch renew'd the Charge five times successively, but were as often courageously repulsi'd by *Antonio de Melo de Castro*, and those few that follow'd him; and being resolv'd either to conquer or to die, they broke in with Sword in hand amongst the Enemy, and again possess'd themselves of the first Bastion, and soon after also of the second: the first who enter'd the last was *Antonio de Magalhães*, who fought with an uncommon Zeal against the Enemy; for before they became Masters of our Cannon, he ply'd them very warmly from behind the Wall (the only defence he had left) so that it cost them many a brave Fellow before they could make themselves Masters of it; and being now posted again upon the same Bastion, he was bravely seconded by two Demi-Cannons from the new Bastion, and a smart shower of Fire-works, which set the circumambient Air into such a flame and smoak, that at a distance it appear'd like the Mouth of Hell.

At the same time the Governor *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* and *Francisco de Melo de Castro* did all that could be expected from

brave Men on the *Couras*, or the Bastion of *Xaverius*, both by way of Command, and by charging the Cannon in Person, and performing the Duty of common Soldiers. The Fathers *Philippo* and *Pedro de Castelbranco*, both *Austrian* Friars, were not behind-hand with the rest in giving their utmost Assistance for the defence of the Place, being appointed to keep a watchful Eye upon the Enemy whenever they were going to alarm or amuse us with false Attacks.

It must certainly be confess'd, that this Engagement was one of the most remarkable that ever happen'd in the East, considering that a few, and these most wounded, sick, or weakened by Famine, did engage a much greater number, continually sustain'd by fresh Troops, from six a Clock in the Morning till eight in the Evening, during which time the Enemy was repulsi'd not only once but five several times, by a much inferior number, who having not the least relief or time to breathe, were forced all that time to endure the danger and fatigues of the Action, which cost the Enemy above 400 Men kill'd, besides those wounded and burnt by our Fire-works: On our side we lost also the flower of our Forces, some whereof were slain, others wounded and burnt to that degree, that they were disabled from bearing of Arms for a considerable time after. Among the slain were, *Diego de Vasconcelhos*, who had given a thousand Proofs of his Bravery in this Siege; Father *Antonio Nunes* the Jesuit, a Pattern of Virtue, who signaliz'd himself not only all along on the Bastion of *S. John*, as well as in other parts of the City, by encouraging the Soldiers, comforting the Sick, and burying the Dead: He was shot at the Gate of the Bastion with a Musquet-Ball, receiv'd afterwards a deep Cut, and at last slain by a hand-granado after he had kill'd several of the Enemy with his Musquetoon. At the same time died in the Bed of Honour (after they had given a thousand Proofs of their Bravery) *Alfonso Correa*, *Vincente da Silva*, *Francisco Valente dos Campos*, *Sebastian Pereira*, and that brave Sea-Commander *Sebastian d'Abreu Godinho*, besides an Ensign, a Native of *Pazain*, belonging to Capt. *Alla's* Company; *Manoel de Seixas* an Inhabitant of *Columbo*, and *Antonio Caminha d'Almeida*, were sorely burnt; *Diego de Souza de Castro* was mortally wounded with two Bullets, notwithstanding which he would not retire from the Engagement till he receiv'd a deep Cut. *Manoel Caldeira de Britto*

\* *Vidaue*

A sharp Engagement in the City of Columbo.

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Vidave was wounded by a Musquet-ball, as were likewise John Ferrao d'Almeida, Andreas de Seixas, Manoel Nogueira Freixo, Manoel de Souza, and Manoel Segal-do. Laurence D'ays a Native of Columbo, was wounded with no less than 3 Musquet-balls; Rui Lopes Continbo, Domingos Pires, Inhabitants of Negapatan, Lieut. Abran, Captain S. Jago, Manoel Correa, Commander in Chief upon the Bastion of S. John, Francisco Pereira, Simon Lopes de Bello, and many more were miserably burnt. Most of these received their Wounds by the accidental setting on fire of a Vessel fill'd with Gunpowder, thro' the carelessness of our own People. The Reverend Father Paulo was wounded, as he was furnishing the Combatants with fireworks, as was likewise Father Manoel Peller, who was touch'd by two Bullets, without receiving the least harm by 'em; a Granado did also fall just before his Feet, without doing him the least harm, as he was busy in defending his Post with Alvaro Rodrigues Boralho at the Gate of Rajuba.

Father Damian Vieira with his Company did considerable Mischief to the Dutch from the Church of St. Domingo, being bravely seconded by Caspar Aranza Pereira, Knight of the Croix, and an old Servant of the King (who succeeded the City-Major in his Place) with 9 or 10 of his Followers; this being the Place most exposed to the Enemy: The Commander in chief Antonio de Meia de Castro, no less annoy'd them from the new Bastion, and with their Shot so scour'd the Streets, that there was no safe Passage for the Dutch and Cingalese.

The Dutch without the Town, did on the other hand exert their utmost Efforts against the old Bastion, which being almost laid level with the Ground, the Wall without serv'd for a Breastwork; and being continually supply'd with fresh Troops of the Candinefes and others, put our Men, but few in Number, most of them sick, wounded or half-starved, and besides that but ill provided with Ammunition, very hard to it on that side. For by this time we had not only but few Men, but also not above 15 days Provisions left, and scarce so much Gunpowder as would suffice for two Charges of our Artillery.

Things being come to this Pass, it was debated in the Council (consisting of 34 Persons) whether it were not best to think of a Surrender; 13 were of Opinion rather to die upon the Spot, than to treat with the Enemy: but the most being

of a contrary Opinion, and nine of them positively insisting upon it, that it would be most conducing for the King's Interest, that seeing the Place was no longer tenable, to preserve the Remnants of these brave Fellows, who had behaved themselves so courageously, it was agreed to enter upon a Treaty.

Accordingly the 10th, Manoel Cabreira was sent with a Letter to Mr. John van der Laan, concerning the Conditions of the intended Treaty; an Answer to which being sent the 11th, Laurence Pereira de Britto, Diego Lotaon de Souza, and Hieronymo de Lucent were dispatch'd as Plenipotentiaries, to demand a Cessation of Arms till the 25th of May, against which time we expected the so long desir'd Succours. But the Enemy, who were not ignorant of our present Circumstances, would hearken to no other Conditions, than to surrender the City the next day by 12 a Clock at Noon, which if we refused, they threatn'd to give us no Quarter; so that we were forc'd to obtain the best Terms we could, without any longer Hesitation, the Articles whereof being drawn up in half (for want of time) I had not the Opportunity to peruse them, and therefore can only tell you upon this Head, that Columbo was forc'd to surrender, tho I can't precisely tell upon what Terms.

No sooner was the News of the Treaty divulg'd among the People, but nothing was heard but dreadful Outcries and Lamentations: The Ecclesiasticks (or at least the most cautious among them) hid the Images and Relicks, and unturnish'd the Altars, for fear they should be defiled by the Hereticks, as had frequently been done before upon such like Occasions. The Dutch having taken possession of the Bastions, our Garrison consisting of 90 Soldiers and 100 arm'd Inhabitants, including Officers, nay even the lame and maim'd, marched out, some with their Swords and Musquets in one Hand, and a Stick or a Crutch in the other.

The Hollanders seeing these poor Remnants, most of which appear'd more like Skeletons than living Men, were astonish'd at their Bravery, in the defence of a Place they had been forced to purchase with so much Blood. Ten Dutch Companies march'd into the City, at the Head of which appear'd the General, Adrian van der Meyden, and Mr. John van der Laan on Horseback, not to reckon the Cingalese sent to guard the Governor of Columbo's House; which was no sooner done, but a Messenger was sent to him to demand Si-

Baldeus.

Is preserved.

The Garrison consisting of 190 Men march out.

mon

*Baudens.* *mon Lopes de Basto*; being not in a condition to refuse him, he order'd immediately the said *Simon Lopes*, with a certain *Arache* of *Negumbo*, and some *Dutch* Deputies, to be deliver'd to him, who were all hang'd on a Gibbet soon after in sight of the *Portugueses*, who were forc'd to be Eye-witnesses of the miserable Exit of this *Simon Lopes*, who for the signal Services he had done them in the Siege, deserv'd to have a Monument of Brass erected to his Memory. To the Shame of those he it spoken, who ought to have endeavour'd to afford him a much better Recompence for his past Services, and rather exposed him in a Boat to the chance of the Seas, than to a certain shameful Death.

The *Hollanders* were sufficiently sensible of the Bravery of the *Portugueses* during this Siege, which lasted 7 Months (without receiving the least Succours or Supplies) by the Loss they sustain'd of their bravest Soldiers and best Officers, which amounted to 3000 Men, besides the wounded and maimed; besides that the Charges of the Siege amounted to more than would have built such another *Columbo*.

The General and Mr. *John van der Laan* were no sooner settled in their Habitations, but they gave Liberty to the Soldiers to plunder the Place (contrary to their Parole) for one day, which was extended to five by Mr. *van der Laan*, viz. from the time of their coming into the City, till the time we march'd out, which was perform'd by the Hereticks with the utmost Rigour; nay whilst our Soldiers were embarking, and the Inhabitants within three days after, they continued their Robberies even upon the Sea-shoar. Almost all our People went aboard along with them, except a few who staid behind with the Governor and Deputy-Governor; and some, that (by great Promises) were engag'd in the King of *Candy's* Service, which perhaps has happen'd by a singular Providence of God, as a means to influence that King's Councils, in order to expel the *Dutch* one time or other out of the Isle of *Ceylon*.

Our People were transported to *Negapatan*, where they were most kindly received and provided with Medicines, Clothing and other Necessaries by the Inhabitants, till they received their Pay, after the Arrival of *Antonio Amiral de Alencar* Governor of *Jafnapatnam*, who at the same time intreated *Antonio Mendes d'Araba* (who after having been detained a Prisoner at *Cale*), was now come

to *Negapatan*) to go along with him to *Jafnapatnam*, in the Quality of his Deputy-Governor, as not questioning but that he should be the next against whom the Enemy would exert their utmost Efforts, which he accepted of; tho considering the Fatigues and Miseries he had endur'd of late, he might very well have excused the same, as well as the rest of the Soldiers; who notwithstanding this, half sick and half starv'd as they were, did embark for one of the most dangerous Places in *Ceylon*, to give fresh Proofs of their Bravery.

This was the end of this Siege, one of the most remarkable in all its Circumstances that ever was heard of, considering that a Place of that bigness was defended by so slender a Number for the space of seven Months (without the least Supplies) against a powerful Force of the *Dutch* and *Cingaleses*, who first defeated the *Portuguese* Forces (composed of the Flower of their Men) in two smart Engagements; so that the whole Number of the *Portugueses* was at last reduc'd to 200 Souls. The Account of this Siege being spread among the Eastern Moors and Pagans by several Persons, who had been Eye-Witnesses of the great Actions perform'd there, did beget an incredible Reputation of the Bravery of the *Portugueses* among those Nations, tho the same proved unfortunate in the end.

Thus his Majesty of *Portugal* lost a Place, and with it a whole Kingdom, threetimes bigger than *Portugal* it self, and much richer and more plentiful, the very Center of the World, the richest Tract of Land under the Sun, and with it (probably) all that is in the possession of the *Portugueses*, to the South of Cape *Comorin*. His Majesty lost a considerable Squadron of Ships sent to the Relief of *Columbo*. The first Squadron intended for this Expedition, did come no higher than the Cape *Comorin*, the pretended Succours from *Manaar* came to nothing. And the second Squadron promised by the Viceroy of *Goa* in *January*, did not set sail till the 29th of *March*, and was forced to retreat without effecting any thing.

The want of Money was alledged as the main Reason of this delay, when it is sufficiently known that the King had both Ships and Money enough at *Goa*, which could not have been better employed than for the Relief of a Place of such vast Importance: We know what vast Sums *Nuno Alvares Botelho* consumed at *Mossambique*, which was nevertheless not disapproved by

by the King of *Castile*, and why might not the same be expected from the King of *Portugal*? To conclude, *Columbo*, and with it the whole Isle of *Ceylon*, being lost for want of Succours, all such as have deserved well in the Defence of that Place, ought to be rewarded for their Services, as those who have been neglectful in their Duty for the Preservation thereof, deserve condign Punishment at his Majesty's Hands. And as nothing is more common, than that Courtiers em-

ploy their Favourites in Places of Trust (without any regard to Merit) and afterwards endeavour to conceal their Miscalriages from the King; it is for this reason that we lay this account at your Majesty's Feet, taken from the Journal kept at *Columbo* and other authentick Records, confirm'd by the Testimony of many Persons of Credit, both Ecclesiasticks and Laymen, that were present from the beginning to the end of this Siege.

CHAP. XL.

*The Origin of Columbo. Arrival of the Portugueses. Their Engagements with and Conquest of the Moors. They fortify Columbo. Raja Singa dissatisfied.*

THE City of *Columbo* is an antient City, seated at 6  $\frac{1}{2}$  Degrees of North Latitude, in a pleasant Country, near a delightful River; which questionless induc'd the *Portugueses* to fix upon this Place for their chief Residence in this Island. For *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, having been fully inform'd concerning the Condition of *Ceylon*, order'd a Fort to be erected there, for the better Establishment of his Affairs there, and to curb the Emperor. *Lup. de Britto* being sent thither with a good Number of Soldiers and Workmen, *John Silva* deliver'd the said Fort up to him. For *Zoares* who was lately sail'd with 20 Ships and 700 Landmen to *Ceylon* (after *Laurence d'Almeida*, who some Years before enter'd into a Confederacy with the King of *Ceylon*) had just before made an Agreement with the Governor of *Columbo* about a Settlement in that Place, which he look'd upon as the most proper for a Fortification, both in respect of its Situation, and the Plenty of the best Cinnamon that grows in the whole Isle, being seated in the Form of a Crescent, and affording safe Anchorage for Ships, provided they are not too bulky.

Accordingly it was agreed to erect a Fortification there, under pretence of securing the Commerce of the *Portugueses*, but in effect to curb the King and the Natives. He who reign'd at that time in the Isle being a *Brahman*, was not a little jealous of the *Europeans*; but being sensible to what pitch of Greatness the King of *Cochin* was lately arriv'd by the Assistance of the *Portugueses*, he gave his Consent, tho not without some Reluctancy,

and consequently was of no long Continuance. For the *Saracens* who were chased thither from the Continent, and had settled their Traffick in this Isle, found means by the Promises of great Sums of Money, and of their Assistance, to entice the King and Court to oppose the Designs of the *Portugueses*, who intended to enslave them, under pretence of settling their Commerce; for which purpose they rais'd some Works, and having mounted some Iron Cannon upon them, seiz'd some *Portugueses* that came ashore, without suspecting any harm.

*Zoares* coming ashore with his Workmen, in order to raise the intended Fortifications, was surpriz'd to find some Forts erected by the *Cingaleses*; and having receiv'd certain Intelligence, that the same had been done at the Instigation of the *Moors*, he easily guess'd that nothing but Force was likely to establish the *Portugueses* in *Ceylon*. Accordingly having landed his Men, he attack'd the Enemy, who at a distance somewhat gall'd his Forces with their Arrows; but after they came to a close Engagement, the *Cingaleses* were quickly put to the Rout, and pursued by the *Portugueses* with considerable Loss: The *Portugueses* had many wounded but few killed, among the last was the brave *Panieco*, lately come from *Malacca*.

*Zoares* having allow'd one day only to his People to refresh themselves, began the next Morning an Entrenchment, reaching from the Harbour to the Seaside, without the least Opposition: within this he order'd a Fort to be erected, whereupon having mounted his Cannon, and



*Builds*

strengthen'd it by a Wall that surrounded it, he soon made the King repent of his inconstancy, who sent his Envoys to *Zoares*, asking Pardon for what was pass'd, and desiring that the former Alliance might be renew'd: But *Zoares* refused to hearken to these Propositions, demanding Satisfaction for the Affront, and a yearly Tribute to be paid to *K. Emanuel*; which the King of *Ceylon* (who dreaded the *Portugueses*) not daring to refuse, it was agreed that he should pay to *Portugal* an annual Tribute of 124000 Pound Weight of Cinnamon, 12 Rings set with the most precious Rubies and Saphirs, and 6 Elephants, under Condition that *K. Emanuel* should assist the King of *Ceylon* and his Successors both by Sea and Land, against all his Enemies.

*Force the King to pay a yearly Tribute.*

The Treaty being thus concluded, *Zoares* continu'd his Fortifications, which being brought to perfection with the assistance of the *Cingaleses*, he left *John de Silva* with a good Garrison there, and *Antonio Miranda Azevedo* with four Ships to guard the Coast; which done, he return'd in December to *Cochin*, where he was received with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy. *Lup. de Britto* (before mentioned) succeeding *John de Silva*, brought along with him abundance of Workmen and Bricklayers, who made a kind of Mortar of the Sea-cockles, and lin'd the Fortifications with a strong Wall, deepned the Ditches, and added what Works they thought necessary for the Accomplishment thereof.

*Till discomfited by the Cingalees.*

This created no small Jealousy (not without reason) in the *Cingaleses*, which was increased by the Insinuations of the *Moorish* Merchants, who told the King that their Prophecies were like to prove too true, since he was now made sensible, that these Foreigners had not only excluded all other Strangers from the Traffick of this Isle, but also had made him a Tributary of *Portugal*, and shortly would make him their Vassal, if he did not in time hearken to the Counsel of his Friends.

These Insinuations had the desired effect, for the King not only cut off all Supplies of Provisions and other Necessaries from the Fort; but the common People being also incensed by these Discourses, murdered several *Portugueses*, who ventured a little too far without the Fort. *De Britto* at first dissembled the matter, but finding he could no longer contain his Soldiers (burning with Revenge) he chose 150 of his best Men, and with them assailed the City of *Columbo*

(which lay near the Fort) just about noon, when most of the Inhabitants were asleep to avoid the Heat of the Day, and at the first Alarm betook themselves to their Heels, leaving the City to the Enemies Mercy.

*De Britto* seeing himself Master of the Place without the least Opposition, forbid his Soldiers to plunder, or commit any other Ontrages; but order'd the Women and Children to be tied to the Posts of the Doors, with an Intention to convince the *Cingaleses*, that he was not come like an Enemy to destroy, but like a Friend to preserve them. But as he had but little reason to rely upon their Generosity, he thought fit to make a Trial of their Inclinations; so he ordered some Houses that lay next to the *Portuguese* Fort to be set on fire: this had the desired Success; for the *Cingaleses* out of the Affection they bore to their Wives and Children, had gather'd all their Force in order to relieve them at any rate; but finding their Houses on fire, run first with all Speed to quench the Flame, whereby *Britto* got leisure to retreat in good Order into the Fort, and to provide himself against the intended Assault, which however could not be done without some Loss, above 30 of his Men having been wounded in the Retreat.

However *Britto* reaped no other Benefit by this Enterprize, than that the *Cingaleses* (exasperated to the highest Degree) besieged the Fort with 20000 Men; and tho they were often bravely repuls'd, yet did they persist in their Resolution, in hopes of reducing the Place by Famine, because the approaching Month of *May* (the first of the Winter-Season) did bereave them of all hopes of Succours. In the mean while the *Cingaleses* did not cease to carry on their Works to the very Ditch, from whence they annoy'd the *Portugueses* with their Arrows, their Number making up the Defect of their Force, which was not comparable to the *Portuguese* Artillery and Fire-arms. They also gather'd up 500 Bullets that were shot at them from the Fort, of which they made the best use they could.

But what most troubled the *Portugueses* was, that they were to fetch all their fresh Water without the Fort, and that they were extremely harass'd with continual watching: However they hoped to defend the Place till the next Summer, in hopes of Succours, in which they at last found themselves frustrated; *Antonio de Lemos* coming only with one Galley

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galeses came and 2 utmost Jephah arm'd strike Portug disadv Beasts were tillery their d great Moors spair d ately, to Brit past,

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and 50 Landmen to their Relief, *Seguera* with the rest of the Forces having staid behind.

The *Cingalese* in the mean time had found means to erect two Wooden Towers fill'd with Earth, which being plac'd near the Ditch, they intended to make use of to cover their Pioneers, whilst they were busy in filling it up. *Britto* was not a little startled at this Device, and finding himself now reduc'd to such Straits, as to be obliged to venture at all, he order'd *Antonio de Lemos* to draw as near to the Shore as possibly he could, and to endeavour to ruin these Towers with his great Cannon, whilst he would make a Sally with 350 Men, and attack the Enemy with the utmost Vigour; this was put in execution accordingly with such Success, that the Towers were entirely ruin'd, and the *Cingalese* beaten out of their Works.

Notwithstanding this Defeat, the *Cingalese*, encourag'd by the *Moors* who came to their Assistance with 150 Horse, and 25 Elephants, resolved to try their utmost against the *Portuguese*. These Elephants having Turrets fill'd with Men arm'd with Cutlasses on both sides, did strike no small Terror at first into the *Portuguese*, but afterwards turn'd to the disadvantage of the *Cingalese*; for these Beasts not able to bear the Wounds that were given them by the *Portuguese* Artillery, soon turn'd their Backs, and put their own Troops into Disorder, with a great Slaughter among the *Cingalese* and *Moors*, who now beginning to despair of Success, raised the Siege immediately, and the King sent his Ambassadors to *Britto*, to ask Pardon for what was past, and to desire a Reconciliation.

Thus we see how the *Portuguese* have been forced to settle, or at least to maintain themselves in *Ceylon* by the Sword; and the better to attain their end, it was their constant Practice in the *Indies* to sow the Seeds of Division among those Princes; an Instance whereof is given us by *Maffaeus* himself, in his History of the *Indies*.

The King of *Cota* had three Sisters Sons, who (according to the Custom of the Country) being his Legal Heirs, began to be very uneasy at the long Life of their Uncle, found means to remove him out of the way, and to divide the Country betwixt them: But *Parca Pandar* the eldest of the three, having murder'd the second, *Maduyn* the youngest began also soon after to conceive a Jealousy at his Brother's Proceeding, complaining

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that he was not rewarded according to his Deserts, as having been the Adviser and Executer of the Murder of their Uncle. *Parca Pandar* finding his Brother dissatisfied, thought it his securest way to fore-arm himself against him, and therefore enter'd into a Treaty with the King of *Portugal*, to settle the Succession of the Crown upon his Daughter's Son (with the Exclusion of *Maduyn*) directly contrary to the Custom of that Country. *Maduyn* exasperated to the highest degree at this Proceeding, denounc'd open War against his Brother, and after having ravag'd the Country thro which he pass'd, laid Siege to *Cota*.

The elder Brother disdaining to be attack'd in his City, march'd out against *Maduyn*, and pitch'd his Tent in an advantageous Post. He had a Troop of *Portuguese* in his Camp, one whereof (whether hir'd thereunto by *Maduyn*, or by chance, is uncertain) shot him thro the Head. After his Death the *Portuguese* set his Daughter's Son upon the Throne with the usual Solemnities: but in consideration of his Youth, and the Weakness of his Title, introduced contrary to the Custom of the Country, they much feared the Hatred of the People, back'd by the Interest of *Maduyn*; they sent therefore for Succours to *Noronha*, who soon after arriv'd with a good Squadron of Ships and 3000 Men, under pretence of assisting the young King (as *Maffaeus* expressly tells us) but in effect to make himself Master of the Treasure buried at *Columbo*, 100000 Crowns of which he carried off along with him.

In the mean while *Maduyn* fortified himself with all possible Diligence in the City of *Ceta-Vaca*, nine Leagues from *Columbo* (according to *Maffaeus*) but *Noronha* having with little Opposition taken and burnt the said Place, return'd victorious to *Goa*. What further became of *Maduyn*, is not mention'd by *Maffaeus*, or any other Historian.

Thus we have seen the beginning of *Columbo* under the *Portuguese*, and its Surrender to the *Dutch* 1656. They found about 6 or 7 Loads of musty Rice in the Place, some Packs of Cinnamon, good Store of *Areck*, some good, some not, 24 Light Frigates, 9 whereof were sunk, 1500 Guilders ready Money coin'd in the City, 33 Packs of Clothes, 25 Bells of Metal, 60 Brads, and 68 Iron pieces of Cannon, one Mortar, and six lesser Pieces, 10000 Cannon-Bullets of different Sizes and Weight, 6500 Pound Weight of good Gunpowder, and 1150

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*Raldew.* bad, a good Quantity of Brimstone and Saltpeter. No sooner were we in possession of *Columbo*, but *Raja Singa* shew'd his Dissatisfaction by the following Letter.

*Raja Singa's Letter.* "Yesterday and the Day before yesterday it was reported at our Court, that there was a Treaty on foot with the *Portugueses* about the Surrender of the City, since which I have receiv'd Intelligence, that the same is brought to effect. If it be true, you ought to have given notice thereof to our Imperial Majesty, which is

"the reason, I can't as yet give entire Credit to it: But in case it should be so, I desire to know with all possible speed the Articles of the said Treaty. Whilst our Beloved Director-General was alive, I writ to him concerning certain matters he promised should be perform'd, which I desire you to remember.

From our Imperial Court  
at *Reygam-*  
*watte*, May  
11. 1658.

Signed,

*Raja Singa Rajou*, Most  
Potent Emperor of  
*Ceylon*.

### CHAP. XLI.

*Deferters severely punished. Raja Singa forbids all Commerce with the Hollanders. His Letter of Complaint. Divers Portuguese Ships taken. Raja Singa ravages and plunders the Lands and Subjects belonging to the Company.*

*Deferters  
punish'd  
with Death.*

IT was now thought high time to punish such as had deserted our Service during the Siege. Among these *Simon Lopes*, a *Portuguese* by Birth, who had 50 Guilders per Month Pay in our Service, and after we were repulsed in the general Assault was gone over to the Enemy, did lead the Van, and was, notwithstanding all the Intercessions of the *Portugueses*, hang'd on a Gibbet. Two other *Europeans* (whose Names we will pass by in silence) underwent the same Fate; and another was severely whipp'd, and forc'd to stand with a Rope about his Neck for 12 Hours under the Gallows.

The next thing to be done was to take care of the Transportation of the *Portugueses*, among whom the Ecclesiasticks and Inhabitants of *Columbo* were sent beyond Sea to *Mr. Laurence Pit* our Governor, who was to dispatch them further to the Isle of *S. Thomas*. About that time we receiv'd a Letter from *Raja Singa*, wherein he sufficiently testify'd his Dissatisfaction. *Walraven Thomas* our Book-keeper sent word from *Montual*, that he had sent the Corporal *Hans Jacob Lambert*, to *Mardykers*, and a Serjeant to the Pals of *Nacclegamme*, with Orders to oppose the Forces gather'd thereabouts by the *Disfaves* of *Onva*, of the four and of the seven *Corles*; which not agreeing with the Sentiments of the General and his Council, they order'd the said Corporal to send back the *Mardykers* to *Montual*, and not to stop the Passage of any of the Royal Forces, for fear of giv-

ing any occasion of Offence to the Emperor.

Notwithstanding this, we soon found the effects of the Dissatisfaction of *Raja Singa*, who having cut off all means of receiving Supplies by Land from the *Sabandar*, *Don John de Costa* was dispatch'd to the *Disfaves* of *Saffragam*, and those of the four and seven *Corles*, who told him, that their People were at their full Liberty (tho we knew to the contrary) to bring their Provisions to our Market, but that they durst not give a Visit to the General, without express Orders from Court.

The 22d of March, the Yachts the *Mars* and *Lyon* came to an anchor in the Road of *Columbo*, aboard one whereof was the Vice-Commodore *Roothaus*, who (upon the Receipt of a Letter from our Head Factor *Mr. Reinier Serooskerke*, intimating that a small Yacht laden with Provisions upon the King of *Cochin's* Account, was gone from thence to *Columbo*) had left the Yachts *Flislingen*, *Popkensburg*, *Sea-Coney*, the *Haddock* and the *Koman*, with two other Vessels on that Coast, who were supplied with fresh Provisions by the Inhabitants of *Caylanam*. The Inhabitants thereof being very delirious to renew their Commerce with our Company, they were then equipping two Frigats there.

About the same time notice was given us, that *Cannagere Ararchie*, a faithful Servant of the Company, had (to our great Dissatisfaction) submitted to the King of *Candy*,

Candy, and that 90 of the *Lascaryn* Defectors had taken the way of *Agretotte*. These proved the Forerunners of many ensuing Misfortunes. In the mean while *Raj Singa* urg'd stily the Surrender of *Negumbo* and *Columbo* into his Hands, under pretence that these Places belong'd to him, by virtue of an Agreement made betwixt him, and the late Director-General Mr. *Gerard Hulst*; upon which account he writ the following Letter.

“OUR Imperial Majesty being very desirous to introduce the *Dutch* Nation into our Dominions, *Adam Wejermold* came on this Coast with a Squadron of Ships, just as we had made our selves Masters of *Batecalo*, when we thought fit to conclude a Peace with him; which being confirmed by Oath, was but slenderly observ'd by some Officers afterwards: As for instance by Captain *Burchart Kocks*, alias *Coque* (who was afterwards kill'd by a Soldier at *Puntegale*) and Commissary *Peter Kiest*, who being sent as Plenipotentiaries to our Court, did confirm the before-mentioned Peace by Oath; pursuant to which at their Departure for *Gale*, they took along with them one of our *Disfaves*, in order to deliver into his Hands the Country of *Mauve*. But at his coming there, they found means to render the same ineffectual, by finding out certain Difficulties, which made the said *Disfave* return to our Court, to our great Dissatisfaction. It was about that time that our Beloved Director-General did come into our Kingdom from *Holland*, with full Power to act as he should find it most suitable to our Service, and to the Establishment of a firm Peace and Friendship; pursuant to which, he deliv'd us by way of Mouth to bury all pass'd Miscarriages in Oblivion, promising at the same time in the Name of the Prince of *Orange* and the *East-India* Company, full Satisfaction for the same; as also, that the Fortresses of *Negumbo* and *Columbo* (when taken) should be deliver'd into the Hands of our Imperial Majesty, and certain *Hollanders* to be allotted in the said Places for our Service. It is upon this account that we sent our Auxiliaries to assist our dearly Beloved *Hollanders* in the taking of *Columbo*; which being taken since, they are become forgetful of their Promise, and do continue

“to do so to this Day. Your Excellency is left at your own Liberty to do what you think fit, till notice of this Proceeding can be given to the Prince of *Orange*, and the Honourable Company. But I would have you remember, that such as don't know God and keep their Word, will one time or other be sensible of the ill consequences thereof; I am sensible I have God on my side.

By way of Postscript was writ.

“Two Letters have been dispatch'd from our Imperial Court. Your Excellency has writ in *Dutch* to *George Bloem*, but without mentioning any thing relating to our Service. Your Excellency may write such frivolous Pretences to whom you please, but ought not to impose them upon our Imperial Majesty; it being in vain to alledge, that the Director-General had receiv'd his Instructions from *Batavia*, whereas he brought his full Power along with him out of *Holland*. Such sinister dealings, as they create no small Jealousy, so I can't see with what Face you can expect any further Credit from us. I have taken care to have this translated into *Dutch*, that you may have no reason to plead Ignorance. *George Bloem* shall stay here, till I receive your Answer, when I intend to send him back with a Letter. No more, &c.

From our Imperial Court at *Reygammatte*, May 11. 1656.

Unto which was annex'd the following Account, not thought fit to be inserted in the Imperial Letter.

“THIS Day, being the 22d of *March*, his Imperial Majesty having sent for me, order'd the Letter writ in *Portuguese* to be translated into *Dutch*, to be sent among others to your Excellency. When I shew'd the Translation to his Majesty, he told me, that after the Arrival of the Director-General in *Ceylon*, he had sent word to him, that several Rebels shelter'd themselves in and about *Columbo*, especially one *Caspar Figeiro*, who had done considerable Damage to his Majesty's Lands; as also concerning certain Presents sent to his Court by the Viceroy of *Goa*, some whereof were sent only by the said Director-General. His Majesty further deliv'd me to give you

Baldew.

Baldens.

"to understand, that it had been agreed, not to recede in the least from the literal Sense of the Treaty, especially in what related to that Article concerning any City or Place taken with the Assistance of his Majesty's Forces; whereas your Excellency had not as much as taken the least care (since the taking of *Columbo*) to send to his Majesty his rebellious Subjects, nor any of the Presents, except two *Porijam* Cats, a Ship, &c. deliver'd by me to his Majesty. The not sending of the Rebels has been very ill re-lish'd here.

Raja Singa  
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Our General took care to send a most obliging Answer to the Emperor's Letter, which however was so far from giving any real Satisfaction to *Raja Singa*, that on the contrary he conceiv'd such a Hatred against the *Dutch*, as made him engage with the *Portugueses* against them. For notice having been sent to our Council by *Antonio de Motte*, and *Manoel Fonseca de Monis*, two *Portugueses*, that they had been solicited by *Raja Singa* to enter into his Service, with Promises of vast Rewards, and the full Enjoyment of the same Revenues they had been possess'd of before, in their most flourishing Estate; it was order'd that none of the Imperial Soldiers should be for the future admitted into the City, except such as should be sent in the Quality of Messengers from the King, or any of his *Disjaves*, to the General and Council: 32 Men were also commanded to guard the *Passes* near *Caleture*. Most of the *Portugueses* at *Columbo*, were sent under a Convoy of a whole Company to *Gale*; and upon a scrutiny of the Muster-roll, it was found that there were 300 Men missing from among the *Lascaryns* of *Matule*, and many more follow'd their Footsteps soon after.

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The 30<sup>th</sup> of *May* early in the Morning, four Frigates being discover'd near the Shore, towards the side of *Galkisse*, we took in our Princes Flag, in order to entice them into the Road: the Commodore, who led the Van, perhaps began to suspect the matter, and therefore steer'd his course to the North; but the other three were no sooner come within the reach of our Cannon, but we sent out our small Vessels to fetch their Officers ashore. These told us, that they left the Bar of *Goa* the 22<sup>d</sup> with six Frigates, and that two of them being separated from the rest by a most violent Tempest near *Coulang*, were either lost, or perhaps had

saved themselves in some Port or other; one of them having been seen without Masts. They added, that a *Portuguese* Caravan was come to an Anchor in the River of *Goa*. These six Frigates had aboard 68 Soldiers, besides good Store of Provisions, Ammunition and all other Necessaries, intended for the Relief of *Columbo*, in case the Squadron under *Francisco de Seix*a should miscarry. Their Cargo stood us in great stead, considering the Scarcity that was among us at that time.

The 1<sup>st</sup> of *June* we took another Frigate and a Yacht, the Officers whereof being likewise brought ashore, told us, that the City of *Cochin* had contributed a good Sum of Money towards the relief of *Columbo*. Their Letters being open'd, contain'd nothing material, except that they were embroil'd with the King of *Cochin*.

Certain Advice was brought to the Governor, that the Day before, as the before-mention'd Ships of *Cochin* were passing along the Shore of *Galkisse*, the Imperial *Disjaves* of *Matule* and *Oava*, had been seen to give them a Signal with a white Cloth, and had taken abundance of Pains to get aboard them, offering 400 *Larynes* to the Fishermen, if they would carry them aboard of one or the other; and that they had got ready two Boats, but durst not venture thro the Waves. Considering the Pains the Emperor had lately taken to entice away some of the best Officers belonging to the Company, and divers Outrages committed by the King's *Lascaryns* in the Park of the Company: These together, I say, seem'd to us the infallible Forerunners of the ensuing Broils.

For it was not long before *Cornelius van der Duyn*, Deputy-Governor of *Matule*, sent word from thence, that the King's Officers and Soldiers had forbid all the Inhabitants thereabouts to furnish the *Hollanders* with Provisions, or to obey their Orders, but to retire into the King's Dominions, where they should have full Liberty to make their Excursions into our Dominions, as they had done already at *Billigam*, *Malimande*, and *Baigam*.

To prevent such like Outrages for the future, three Companies of 40 Men each were sent out of *Gale*, two of which were order'd towards *Accuras*, to protect the Inhabitants against the Inroads made by the King's Soldiers, in the quiet possession of such Lands as were granted to the Company by the Emperor; for by this time we began shrewdly to suspect, that

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that most of the Great Ones were enter'd into a Confederacy with the King against us; this appeas'd by the Tergiversations of the *Adigar*, who passing by the way of *Angretait* to *Mature*, pretended he was come by Orders from our General, which was a manifest Falshood: some of their Proceedings may be seen out of the following Letter.

"*Catepitty Apubamy* is come to *Milimanda*, from whence he has sent an *Ola* or Letter, intimating that he was come by the King's special Order, to take possession of the Country of *Mature* in his Majesty's Name, and to enjoin all the Inhabitants, not to supply the *Dutch* with any Provisions or otherwise. He further said, that he had intended to have been with them before this; but being now come with full Authority, he exhorts them to obey the Emperor's Orders, for the Honour of his Court, and of the *Disfave* of *Mature*, which if they do, they may assure themselves of all imaginable Favour from the Court. The *Disfave* of *Saffragam* has sent the *Disfave* of *Mature*, to assist you upon all Occasions.

In *Pasdumcorle* and *Caleture* things went at the same rate, where they had taken *Cotteneynde*, his Mother, and Brother (besides many others) Prisoners, and carried them to the Pass of *Caleture*: their Intentions appear by the following *Ola*.

"*Tadoculle Mandonnas Apobami* makes known to all the *Aratches*, *Lascaryns*, and the chief *Majorais* and Colonels of *Caleture*, *Maccone*, and *Barbaryn*, that as soon as this *Ola* comes to their Hands, they shall not keep the least Correspondence with the *Dutch*, nor pay any Duties to them, from the Villages (formerly granted to them) or furnish them with Labourers to work on their Fortifications. Those that shall act contrary to the Tenor of this, must expect to be severely punish'd; wherefore come and join with me.

*Manoel Andrado* (who signaliz'd himself before *Jasnapainam*, of which anon) was likewise advertis'd by a Letter from his Brother-in-law, that the King's Forces had wounded a Woman and a Slave near the Pass of *Caleture*, and that therefore he should keep a watchful Eye over his *Lascaryns*. About *Negumbo* they play'd the same Game, and *Raja Singa*

had made his Addresses to *Parangatti*, the Colonel of *Coquille*, in hopes by great Promises to bring him over to his Party. On a certain Tree near the Church of *Guia de Lobo*, was affixed the following Paper.

"THE City of *Columbo* is now taken, and was according to Agreement to be surrendred to his Majesty, but has not been perform'd; if any fatal Consequences attend this Breach of Promise, we declare our selves innocent thereof: But as we are well assured of his Majesty's good Inclinations towards the *Dutch* Nation, so if you intend to send any Deputies to treat with him, you shall have Liberty so to do, and a Passport for them.

Our General and Council finding themselves under an absolute Necessity of representing to *Raja Singa* the Injustice of his Proceedings in a Letter, they told him, that these Proceedings being directly contrary to their mutual Intentions of annoying the *Portugueses*, and consequently tending both to his Majesty and the Company's Prejudice, they desir'd that all Hostilities might be laid aside, and instead thereof their former good Correspondence be renew'd. They desir'd *Raja Singa* to send his Answer, and with it an Envoy, or one of his *Disfaves*, unto whom they would deliver the Fortrefs of *Negumbo*, after the Fortifications were demolish'd. And to leave no room for any further Pretences, the General acquainted the Emperor, that in case his Majesty would let him know what further Satisfaction he requir'd at his Hands, he would be ready to comply with his Majesty's Demands, provided the same could be done without great Prejudice to the Company's Service. But that in case his Majesty thought fit to persist in his unjust Oppressions of the *Dutch* and others under our Jurisdiction, he protest-ed and declar'd in the Presence of God, and to all the World, that he was innocent of all the Calamities and Effusion of Blood, that needs must be the Consequences of such Proceedings, which must oblige us (tho much against our Will) to have recourse to such means as God had put into our Hands for the Defence of our Subjects. With this Letter they sent a Falcon and a Sparrow-hawk, with a *Perfian* Falconer, as a Present to the Emperor.

Advice was brought at the same time from *Caleture*, that the King's *Lascaryns* were

*Baidaw.*

*A Paper affix'd to a Tree.*

*Contents of the Letter sent to Raja Singa.*

*Baldew.*

*Outrages committed by the Lascaryns.*

were very troublesome to our Subjects, who were forc'd to leave their Habitations for fear of being carried away, and that they had wounded some and pursued them to the River side. That the two *Aratches Cannangere* and *Pittikeri*, lay encamp'd near *Alean*, and had summoned the Country thereabouts to join with them within three days; that 10 of our *Lascaryns*, and 42 Labourers sent from *Calcutre* to *Columbo*, were carried away

by a Party of Vagabonds. To prevent the like for the future, and especially to protect our Workmen employ'd in the peeling of the Cinnamon (call'd *Chalias*) 200 Soldiers were order'd to *Bentot*, under the Command of *Martin Sebolter*, *Peter Champe* and *Joris Heruendonck*, who for their better Security were to be join'd by the *Lascaryns* under the Captain of *Gale-Corie*.

## C H A P. XLII.

*A Feast appointed. Two Coffers come over to us. George Bloem escapes from Candy. A Skirmish betwixt the Dutch and Cingaletes. Robbers punish'd. News of the Portuguese Squadron. The arrival of some Dutch Ships, shewn mistake. A strange Notion among the Indians concerning Columbo's being impregnable. Negumbo taken and retaken.*

IT being now a Month since the Surrender of *Columbo*, a Thanksgiving Day was appointed to give Thanks to God Almighty for this great Success, and to implore his Mercy to bless our Arms for the future. The said Day is kept ever since on the 12th of *May*.

*Raja Singa* did send an Answer to the General's Letter, but said scarce any thing in relation to the matter in hand, declaring only his satisfaction about the present, and desiring that the *Persian* Faulkoner might stay with him, which the General (to gratify the Emperor) did content to, at least till such time that the Ships should be ready to return to *Gamon*. However these Civilities did not answer the end for which they were intended; *Raja Singa* ordering soon after his *Lascaryns* to take all the *Dutch* they could light on Prisoners, and to cut off the Noes and Ears of all the Negroes, *Cingalezes*, *Moors* and *Slaves* that serv'd the *Hollanders*; but the 200 before-mentioned Soldiers struck such a Terror into the King's Forces, that they retreated back, and gave liberty at least to 1000 of the Inhabitants to return to their Houses.

*Raja Singa* in the mean time continued now as before his Hostilities, one of his Parties having lately carried away a *Durra* and two Labourers within half a League of *Columbo*, which oblig'd us to be continually upon our Guard. The *Dutch* still residing at *Candy*, being afraid they should be detain'd there against their will, writ to the General to hasten the

departure of the *Persian* Faulkoner with the Hawks, in hopes that thereby the King might be brought into a good humour to let them depart.

About the same time a certain Messenger named *Chetty Maley* came to *Columbo* with some Hawks and other Presents for the Emperor; six Hawks more with their Faulkoners were also brought from the Coast of *Coromandel* for the same purpose.

The 20th of July two Coffers came over to us, one whereof having been the King's Trumpeter, the other a Drummer, they reported that his Majesty continued still in his Camp at *Reygamwatte*, but intended shortly to break up for *Ruanelle*, the *Diffave* of *Matule* having been sent before already to take care of the High-ways through which they were to pass. They further told us, that the Emperor having granted to divers *Portugueses* certain goodly Villages, this had created ill Blood among the Courtiers.

Our Interpreter *George Bloem* was forced to continue there till he found means to make his escape in the night-time from the Camp of *Reygamwatte*, by means of a *Tony* or Boat, wherewith he got to *Montual*, having deceiv'd his Guards by giving them a good dose of strong Liquors. Five other *Dutch* Men who had deserted our Service continued with the King at Court.

News was brought at the same time, that some of the King's Forces having got Intelligence that *Mr. Rabel* a brave *Cingalese*, a Native of *Matule* in our Service,

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Service, was absent from *Hakman* with a Serjeant and most of the Soldies, having left only a Guard of 10 Europeans and 15 *Lascaryns* in the place, they to the number of 100 Men attack'd them on a sudden, in hopes to carry the Place by surprize, but were notwithstanding so hotly receiv'd, that they were glad to retire.

Things began thus to grow worse and worse, without hopes of Amendment, because we were frequently bit by our own Dogs, I mean the perfidious *Cingalese* under our Jurisdiction, who gave constant Intelligence of all our Designs, so that we could not send abroad the smallest Party but the Enemy had beforehand notice thereof; whereas we could never discover the least of their Intentions, of which we were sufficiently convinc'd by divers intercepted Letters.

The King's Forces having surpriz'd a Serjeant named *Peter Johnson*, a Native of *Dantrick*, with some Inhabitants of the Country, and four Soldiers Wives, they carried them before the *Disfave* of the seven *Corles*, who told them, that they had been long enough in the *Dutch* Service, and must resolve now to be his Majesty's Slaves.

The 2d of *August* we receiv'd a Letter from *Lawrence Haurwyk* our Under-Factor at *Caleitwe*, that several Robbers had been seen about *Boembocke*, who had cut down the Fruits of the Earth; that *Andrado* being sent after them with some *Lascaryns*, had met only with two of them, who refusing obstinately to confess by whom they were sent out to cut down the Rice, they had cut off their Heads, and set them upon Poles near the place where they had spoiled the Rice.

The 13th of *August* being Sunday, the *Yacht* call'd the *Columbo* came into our Road, having left *Tutecoryn* the 11th: she brought Letters from the Commodore to the General, intimating that the Enemy's Squadron compos'd of 15 Frigats had escap'd his hands the 7th of *July*, taking the opportunity of the Night, and the advantage of the Flats betwixt the Isles; that they were pursued by our Ships as far as *Pambanaar*, which could not come up with them by reason of the Sands. He further told him, that suspecting the *Teuver* or Governor of the Country to have been corrupted with *Mony*, and to have given them a free Passage betwixt *Manaar* and *Jafnapatnam* (which he commands by either laying in or removing certain Stones from the entrance thereof) he had been oblig'd to

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return to *Tutecoryn*.

We had at the same time advice of the arrival of our Ships, the *Amsterdam*, the *Avenbom*, *Saphir*, *Haddock*, *Workum*, *Pelican*, *Patience*, and *Black Bull*, upon the Coast of *Coromandel*: But it was no small Mortification unto us, that the *Sybir* (contrary to the General of *Ceylon's* Orders) had left the Prisoners and *Portuguese* Soldiers (who according to the Articles of Surrender were to have been carried to *Batavia*) ashore near *Negapatnam*, and that she had not touch'd in the Southern Harbours, where there was a considerable Cargo of Clothes and other Commodities ready, which could not be dispos'd of otherwise; and by the first oversight the Enemy had been reinforced with 80 brave Soldiers contrary to the intention of the Agreement.

We had at the same time Letters from the Factor *Adrian van Newland*, dated in the *Danish* Fort call'd *Tranguebare*, whereby we understood that the before-mentioned *Portuguese* Frigats were pass'd through the Straits (by the assistance of the Governor) to *Jafnapatnam*, from whence *Anthony Amiral de Meneses* (afterwards kill'd by one of our Cannon-balls near *Manaar*) had sent his Forces in Boats to *Negapatnam*, in order to gather a Body (at the request of *Raja Singa*) in those parts, which, as the case then stood, might have prov'd very dangerous to us, had not God through his Mercy prevented their Designs.

During all these Troubles, our General kept a watchful Eye upon the Enemy's Motions, and order'd Mr. *John van der Laan* with 300 Men to scour the Country. These Differences continued for a considerable time, viz. to the year 1665. and tho some glimpses of Peace appear'd at certain Intervals, yet is it certain that *Raja Singa* is not reconcil'd to us to this day, and perhaps never will whilst he lives.

We have hitherto treated of *Columbo*; we now will pass the River at *Montual*, and take our course higher up to *Negumbo*. But before we come thither, I can't forbear to say a word or two concerning the general Opinion of the *Indians*, viz. That *Columbo* was imgreagnable. Hence it was that the *Portuguese* hoasted in all places, that the King of *Portugal* and Viceroy of *Goa* would never suffer so strong a Fortrefs to fall into the hands of the Hereticks, especially after we were repuls'd in the first general Assault. I happen'd to be then at *Macassar*, where the *Portuguese* Father and some Missionaries lately come from *China*

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used

Baldau.

Overficht  
of the Ship  
the Saphir

Opinion  
concerning the  
strength of  
Columbo.

uted to make this Siege their Sport ; and one *Francisco Viero*, one of the richest Merchants in the *Indies*, offer'd to lay vast Wagers that it was not taken by the *Hollanders*.

The King of *Celebes* and *Macassar* (the Capital City of that Isle) had the same opinion concerning the Strength of *Columbo*, he and most of his Courtiers being much inclin'd to the *Portuguese* side. But within three Months, just at my return to *Batavia* (after the Conclusion of the Peace betwixt us and the King of *Macassar*) we had the News of the Surrender of *Columbo*, brought to *Batavia* by *Peter Bitter*, to the general satisfaction of the People.

But after this Digression it is time to come to *Negumbo*, which lies about two Leagues and a half, or five good hours walking along the Banks of the River to the North. I am not able to tell you the exact time of its beginning, the *Portuguese* Historians being silent as to this Point, being no more than a Fort built for the conveniency of protecting the Country, which abounds in Cinnamon.

I told you before, how *Adam Wester-*

*wold* made himself Master of *Batavia*. After which *Anthony Caan* took 1639 the Fort of *Trinquemale*, the most spacious Harbour on the East-side of *Ceylon*. *Philip Lucas* the *Dutch* Director-General in the *Indies* took *Negumbo* the first time Feb. 9. 1640. and soon after (as has been told before, viz. 13 *March* following) our Commodore *William Jacob* took *Gale* by Storm, but was afterwards treacherously murder'd by some of *Raja*'s People with four of his Guards.

For the said Mr. *Koster* coming to *Candy* in Person, was detain'd there with vain Promises, without the least probability of success, till growing impatient he began to utter Threats and very harsh Words (a great piece of Imprudence) against some of the Great Ones at Court, which coming to *Raja*'s Ears, he was dismiss'd without the usual marks of Honour, and conducted towards *Batecal*, but murder'd by the way by the *Cingalese* his Conductors. This was the Reward bestow'd by *Raja* upon *Koster*, who had reduc'd *Trinquemale*, *Gale* and *Mature*, with all the Countries thereunto belonging, to his Jurisdiction.



*The Murder of Mr. Koster by the Cingalese.*

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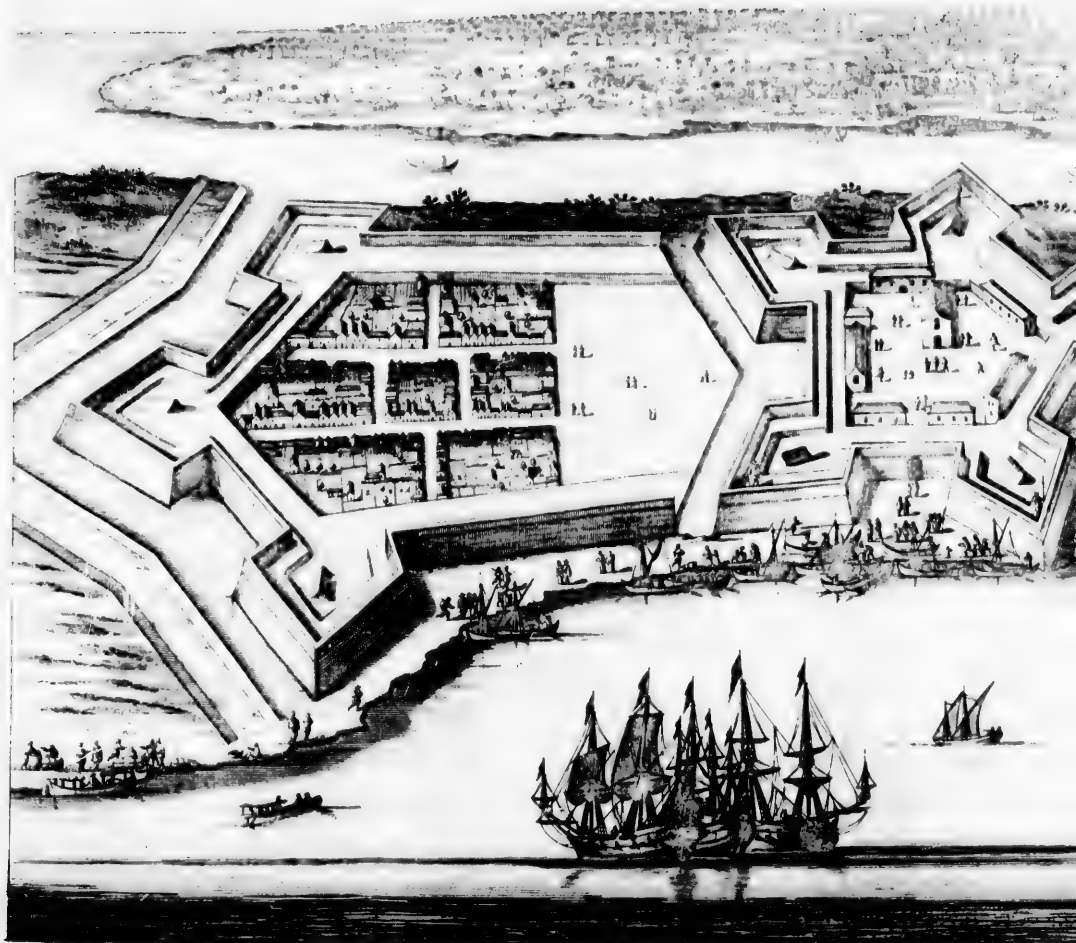
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Certain it is, had *Raja* been sincere, we might with his Assistance easily have made our selves Masters at that Juncture of *Columbo*, when all their regular Forces being sent to the Relief of *Gale*, there were but a few old Soldiers, Priests and Citizens left for the defence of the Place. But *Raja* thought it better to play the Trimmer betwixt two European Nations, than to be in danger of being conquer'd by one, and so thought it his best way to give Opportunity to the *Portugueses* to recover a little Breath.

For the *Portugueses* having received a strong Reinforcement from *Goa*, found means to regain the Fort of *Negumbo*; which done, they sat down before *Gale*, but were bravely entertain'd by *John Thyssen*, who gave them many a Brush; *Raja Singa* sitting all this while by like a Spectator, tho the *Portugueses* remain'd Masters of all the Low Lands, tho we deliver'd *Batecalo* into his Hands, and made much greater Offers by *Peter Borrel* our

Ambassador. Things continued in the same State till the Year 1644, at the beginning whereof *Francis Caron* took *Negumbo* from the *Portugueses* a second time, and having strengthen'd it with four new Bastions of Earth, surrounded with strong Palliadoes, left a Garison of 500 Men there for its Guard. After the Departure of our Fleet, and some Detachments sent to *Gale*, and other Places, *Don Philippo Mascarenhas* made an Attempt upon the Place, but being bravely repuls'd, was glad to retire in confusion to *Columbo*. It was about this time that Mr. *John Maatzuyker* (now Governor-General of the *Dutch East-Indies*) coming to *Goa*, enter'd into a Treaty with the *Portuguese* Viceroy, *John de Silva Telles de Menezes*, Earl of *Alveiras*, concerning the Limits betwixt both Nations in the Isle of *Ceylon*; which being brought to a Conclusion 1645, the said Mr. *Maatzuyker* remain'd in those Parts, in the Quality of Governor of *Puntegale*.

*Don Philip.  
Mascarenhas  
taken a  
second time  
by the  
Dutch.*

*The Portu-  
gueses at-  
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C H A P. XLIII.

*Raja Singa treats underhand with the Portugueses, his tame Elephants detained. Raja declares against the Portugueses. The Dutch lose Angretotte. Both the Portugueses and Dutch are reinforced. Engagement near Fiboene. Calleture deserted. Portugueses worsted both by Sea and Land. Manaar taken.*

**R**AJA Singa at the Instigation of the *Portugueses* being grown very jealous of the *Dutch* being in possession of the 7 *Corles*, conniv'd at the Robberies that were committed in those Parts by his People, which at last oblig'd Mr. *John Thyssen* to proclaim open War against them; and accordingly *Nicholas Jacobson Overseebe*, Governor of *Negumbo*, and Overseer of the *Dutch* Limits (who died afterwards at *Poorburgb*) caus'd all the King's tame Elephants to be seiz'd, which so exasperated his Majesty, that he drew all his Forces together and enter'd the seven *Corles*, where our People had the worst of it, because they surrendred without being reduc'd to the utmost Extremity. However after the return of Mr. *Maatzuyker*, *Negumbo*, *Gale-Corle*, and *Mature*, with the Countries thereunto belonging, were soon secur'd against all further Attempts; the Cinnamon was gather'd and peel'd as before, the wild Elephants tam'd, and every thing else settl'd for the Advantage of our

Company: nay *Raja Singa* himself was appeas'd, who retreated with his Forces, tho without doing any harm to the *Portugueses*, an infallible Sign that there was no ill Understanding betwixt them.

Matters thus continu'd till 1649, when Mr. *Maatzuyker* redeem'd all our Prisoners, and by a Messenger sent with some Presents, brought matters to an honourable Composition. In the beginning of the Year 1650, Mr. *Rampot* left *Gale* and *Mature*, to the great Dissatisfaction of *Raja Singa*, who however was so far from breaking with us upon that account, that when we enter'd into a War with the *Portugueses*, 1652. *Raja* declar'd against them, laying hold of the Opportunity that presented it self, by a late Mutiny among the *Portuguese* Soldiers and chief Inhabitants of *Columbo*, rais'd against *Manoel Mascarenhas Flanem* their Governor, whom they had taken into Custody.

*Mutiny at  
Columbo  
against  
their G-  
vernor.*

These Mutineers having gather'd what Forces they were able near *Columbo*, march'd

*Baldwin*  
*Angre*  
*the Dutch*

march'd on a sudden with 800 *European*  
 Soldiers and as many *Negroes* towards  
 our Fort of *Angretotte*, which they ob-  
 lig'd to a Surrender the 8th of Jan. 1653.  
 after a Siege of 11 Days, in which they  
 lost a considerable Number of Men; 98  
*Germans*, 24 *Javaneses*, and a greater  
 Number of *Lascaryns* were made Prison-  
 ers of War, under condition that they  
 should be dismiss'd for a reasonable Ran-  
 som. The same Afternoon a Body of  
 300 Men were sent to their Relief, who  
 happen'd to come too late; tho as the  
 case stood, their Endeavours would have  
 prov'd in vain, considering the Enemy  
 was twice as strong and advantageously  
 posted; and we had not come off at so  
 cheap a rate, had not *Raja Singa* given  
 the Enemy a strong Diversion near *Cotte-  
 gore*, whereabouts they attack'd the Pass  
 near *Columbo* with such Vigour, that the  
 Governor and Deputy-Governor were  
 glad to send for their Forces from *Rey-  
 gam* and *Pasdam-Corle* to oppose the Im-  
 perialists. These were no sooner re-  
 treated, but the *Portugueses* attack'd our  
 Outguards near *Negumbo*, and possess'd  
 themselves of the 4 and 7 *Corles*: But *Ra-  
 ja Singa* rallying his Forces, march'd from  
*Ouvva* to *Saffragam* (the Capital City of  
 the five *Corles*) the *Portuguese* Disjave  
 was glad to retreat with his Forces to  
*Gurbeville*, and thereby gave us Oppor-  
 tunity to join our Forces, and secure the  
 Countries of *Gale* and *Mature*.

*The Por-  
 tuguese  
 vessels*

In the mean while, viz. the 10th of  
*May*, the *Portugueses* in *Columbo* receiv'd  
 a Reinforcement of 12 Frigates, with a  
 good number of Officers and Soldiers  
 from *Goa*, under the Command of *Fran-  
 cisco de Melo de Castro*; our Cruizers be-  
 ing scarce two days before (to our great  
 Misfortune) forc'd to retreat from their  
 Stations by stress of Weather into the  
 Harbour of *Gale*. Notwithstanding  
 which, they made no considerable At-  
 tempt against us, being contented to se-  
 cure only their Workmen employ'd in  
 peeling of the Cinnamon, and other In-  
 habitants of the Country against our Par-  
 ties.

*Raja Singa* finding that in 1653 in Sep-  
 tember, the *Portugueses* had receiv'd a  
 fresh Supply from *Tutecoryn*, whereas our  
 four Ships did not bring one single Sol-  
 dier to relieve the rest; that our Gover-  
 nor *Jacob van Kittenstein* had obtain'd  
 leave to depart; and that when Com-  
 missary *Rijklos van Goens* touch'd with  
 his four ships towards the latter end of  
*October* in *Ceylon*, in his way to *Persia* and  
*Suratte*, without bringing us the least

*Van Goens*  
*into the  
 columns.*

Succours, he retreated with his half star-  
 ved tatter'd Troops from *Caravanella*,  
 thro the 7 and 4 *Corles* to *Candy*, to re-  
 fresh themselves.

The *Portugueses* finding themselves se-  
 cure on that side, did appear with all  
 the Forces they could bring into the Field  
 before *Columbo*, in hopes of drawing our  
 Forces out of the Fort; but finding them-  
 selves frustrated in their hopes, they re-  
 treated in the beginning of 1654, to-  
 wards *Reygam* and *Pasdam-Corle*, whence  
 they sent frequent Parties to take away  
 our Cattel, and to spoil the Fruits of the  
 Earth. But Major *John van der Laan* was  
 always at hand with a good Body to ob-  
 serve them.

The 20th of *March* our Governor *A-  
 drian van der Meyden*, march'd from  
*Gale* to *Caleture*; and being join'd there  
 the 23d by all his Forces, he follow'd the  
*Portugueses* thro *Berberm*, *Dodangolde*,  
 and *Tiboen*, where he attack'd them the  
 26th in the Morning, in their advantage-  
 ous Post: the Engagement was very  
 fierce for a whole Hour, when our Forces  
 feign'd a Retreat, in hopes to draw the E-  
 nemy from his Post, but they were too  
 wise to follow us; they had more Men  
 slain on their side than we. After our  
 Forces had refresh'd themselves a little  
 while at *Tiboen*, we march'd to *Caleture*,  
 and the Enemy retreated out of our Do-  
 minions cross the River to *Columbo*.

Soon after 5 *Galcons* with 1000 *Portu-  
 guese* Landmen aboard them, arriving up-  
 on our Coast, engag'd three of our Yachts  
 call'd the *Greyhound*, the *Rhinoceros*, and  
*Dromedary*, and pursu'd them to the Flats  
 of *Negumbo*, but took none of them,  
 our Vessels retiring under the Cannon  
 there, and the *Portugueses* to *Columbo*,  
 having lost their Captain-Major, and ma-  
 ny others in this Engagement.

A Council being call'd to consult what  
 to do in this Emergency, it was resolv'd  
 to leave *Caleture*, and to employ our  
 whole Force in the defence of *Negumbo*,  
 without which we were not in a condition  
 to maintain that Fortrefs, which was of  
 the greatest consequence to us. Accord-  
 ingly *Negumbo* being well provided with  
 what Forces we were able to gather, the  
 Enemy (whose Forces were considerably  
 increas'd by the late Reinforcements)  
 march'd from *Galkisse* to *Caleture*, and  
 thence to *Alicoon*, where they pitch'd  
 their Tents; to oppose which we brought  
 into the Field about 200 *Europeans*, 80  
*Javaneses*, and a good Number of *Lasca-  
 ryns*, wherewith we made a shift to defend  
 our Country as well as we could.



Van Goens  
loses the  
Galleons.

About this time Commissary *van Goens* in his return from *Perisla* and *Suratte* to *Ceylon*, had the good Fortune to beat the Galeons near the Cape du Ramus, and thereby to release 20 of our People made Prisoners at *Angretotte*, who were set ashore at *Pantogale*. This was the reason that the *Portugueses* could not spare many Men for the use of their Frigates, having sustain'd a considerable Loss of them in the late Engagement with Mr. *van Goens*, near *Achiera*; neither were they so active in the Field till the ensuing July, when we having receiv'd some Reinforcements, appointed our *Rendezouz* at *Bentotte*, in sight of the Enemy, having only a River betwixt us and them. We kill'd the *Portugueses* about 30 Europeans in divers Skirmishes, and took from them divers Boats, which made them not so eager afterwards to attack our Countries, in order to spoil our Cinnamon and *Areck* Harvest, and the taking of Elephants, wherein consists the chief Revenue of this Isle, belonging to our Company.

the  
Hutchins  
Bach.

The 13th of *Septemb.* the Yachts the *Turtle-Dove*, the *Red-Lyon* and the *Haddock*, arriv'd with fresh Supplies and 50 Soldiers. The 4th of *Decemb.* the Yacht the *Kanien* brought us a Supply of 54 Soldiers more; besides which, 159 Seamen were taken out of four Ships (come with the Director *Henry van Gent* into *Gale*, to provide themselves with fresh Water) all which being join'd with our Forces encamp'd at *Bentotte*, we embark'd the 16th of *Decemb.* all our Forces, 600 strong (including Officers) composed of Seamen, Land-Soldiers, *Javanese* and *Cingalese*, in 20 *Catapannels* or Land-Boats, and thus pass'd the River *Alican*.

The Dutch  
proceed  
river A-  
lican.

But as we reach'd the opposite Bank of the River, but we met with so violent a Reception from 300 chosen *Portugueses*, and some *Topasses* and *Cingalese*, that most of our Indian Forces betook themselves to their Heels; but being rallied again upon the Bank of the River, return'd to the Charge; and being bravely seconded by the rest, forced the Enemy to retreat, leaving one of their Cannon of 1000 Pounds Weight behind them, 60 slain, and many more wounded. They behaved themselves bravely, but were forc'd after this Defeat to retire by the Bay of *Malvane* to *Columbo*.

The  
Portuguese  
troop.

The *Portugueses* finding us not ready to attack *Caleuvre* (after they had given the usual Cry to the Soldiers) they broke up in the beginning of 1655, and surpriz'd *Raja's* Forces, under the Command of the

*Diffave* of the four *Corles*; and being reinforced by some other Forces from *Jafnapatnam* and *Manar*, besides a good Number of *Lascaryns*, they pursued the *Diffave* of the seven *Corles*, as far as to the Straits of *Candy*, plundering all the Country thro which they pass'd: which so exasperated the King, that he order'd all his Forces to appear in the Field; but his Van being routed in April near *Attapitin* by *Caspar Figueiro*, the King quitted the Field full of Dislatisfaction.

Baldew.

Raja's  
Troop.  
routed

It happen'd to our good Fortune, that the new Governor and *Portuguese* Admiral, *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* (under whose Government *Columbo* was lost) coming with 8 Frigates and 500 Landmen into these Parts, was the 18th of May forc'd towards the Coast of *Gale*: We sent out two Yachts, viz. the *Lyon* and *Kanien*, who coming up with them, took two with all the Men and Provisions, and forc'd two more ashore; so that no more than two or three of them got safe to *Columbo*, and *Coutinho* himself was forc'd to take his Courie round the Point *das Pedras* to *Jafnapatnam* and *Manar*, from whence he came with a good Troop by the way of *Putlaon*, *Calpentyn*, and the seven *Corles*; in August to *Columbo*, where he was no sooner establish'd in his Dignity, but he visit'd with *Antonio Mendes d' Arangie* the Fort of *Caleuvre*, where he left a Garrison of 300 Europeans, and a good Number of Negroes, but resolv'd to keep *Caspar Figueiro* near his Person.

The Portu-  
gueses  
routed at  
Sea.

By that time the Director-General *Georara Hult* came in Company of Mr. *Johann van der Laan* (a Person well vers'd in the Affairs of *Ceylon*) into those parts. About the middle of *Septemb.* three Yachts were dispatch'd from Cape *Comorin*, in order to observe the Frigates sent from *Columbo* to *Tatecorin* for Provisions, and either to take them or to block them up betwixt the Islands. It was also resolv'd to force the *Portugueses* to quit *Caleuvre*, whilst the Enemy were yet under apprehension of the Strength of the Forces come along with the Director-General, and lately landed at *Negumbo*, from whence he intended to give the Enemy a Visit on the other side of the River at *Montual*.

However the *Portuguese* Squadron, consisting of 20 Frigates and some Barks, loaden with all sorts of Necessaries at *Jafnapatnam*, and some other Places on the Indian Coast, made shift to pass by with full Sails within sight of *Negumbo* (where our Ships lay at anchor) and to

our signal Regret got into *Columbo*. Mr. *Hulst* receiv'd at the same time Advice by a small Advice-boat, that a new Vice-roy was arriv'd at *Goa* with three Galeons, one Yacht, and a good Number of Land-men. A Council being call'd, it was thought convenient to try whether these Galeons might not be surpriz'd near *Marmagon* or *Agooda* (two Castles in the Bay of *Goa*). At the same time Mr. *Hulst* came with four Ships and a good Number of Soldiers before *Berberyn*, where having landed and join'd his Forces with the rest the 28th of *Septemb.* he soon after made himself Master of *Caleture*, an account whereof has been given before.

But it is time to leave *Negumbo*, provided with a good Garrison (first by Major *John van der Laan*, and afterwards by the Head Factor *Edward Huw*) and to go towards *Manaar*. In the Year 1661. I undertook a Journey over Land from *Jafnapatnam* to *Columbo*, 49 or 50 Leagues distant from one another, which I accomplish'd in seven Days.

From *Negumbo* you travel by the way of *Capul*, to the River *Chilaw*, and so thro the Countries of *Madampe* and *Putehan*, leaving the Isle of *Calpenty* to the left; then thro *Aipou* (where the Christians have a Church) to *Manaar*, thence to *Wannias*, the Church of *Mantotte*, and so to *Jafnapatnam*, of which more hereafter. We made this Observation in this Journey, that no Cinnamon grows, except on the other side of the River *Chilaw*, and beyond *Jafnapatnam*. For the rest, all these before-mention'd Countries have a very fruitful Soil (except *Calpenty*, which is somewhat barren) especially about *Madampe*, but are destitute of Inhabitants: The Bufflers feed here in vast Herds, which makes me believe that it would afford plenty of every thing were it well cultivated.

We will now proceed to give you some account of the Isle of *Manaar*, which formerly adhered to the Continent, as sufficiently appears by the Sand Bank, called *Alam Bridge*. Next unto this lies the Isle of *Rimmakayel*, where is to be seen a rich and famous Pagode, belonging to the *Tuwer* or Governor, who has a Fort on the Continent. At certain Seasons there is a Passage with small Boats, thro some Depths of this *Alam Bridge*, one whereof I had once occasion to pass myself.

The said Isle was reduced by the *Hollanders*, 1658. in the following manner, by Mr. *R. J. van Goens*. The Portuguese had made Entrenchments all along the

Shore, which were defended by 1000 chosen Men and 12 Frigates, to hinder the Approach of our Boats. Our great Ships were order'd to advance as near as they could, under favour of which our Boats landed the Men. Serjeant *Henry van Wel* (since a Lieutenant) was the first who set foot on shore; and being bravely follow'd by the rest, were as courageously receiv'd by the Portuguese, who did all that Men could do to second their Comrades; but our Cannon from the Ships, together with our small Arms, made such a Havock among them, that they were forc'd to quit their Entrenchments. Here it was that *Antonio Amiral de Azevedes*, the Portuguese General, lost his Life by a Cannon-Bullet, and *Antonio Mendes d'Arangie*, a famous Soldier, was mortally wounded, with many other brave Officers.

On our side we lost an Ensign, and before our Landing (when the Long-boat of the Ship *Naarden* was taken) the brave Lieutenant *Block*, which we return'd 'em with full measure; all their Frigates, as they pass'd by our Squadron, being either sunk or taken, with a great Slaughter of their Men. Major *John van der Laan* (tho he had a heavy Fall before our Landing, being a very large and fat Person) did nevertheless behave himself upon this Occasion with incredible Bravery, breaking thro the thickest of the Ranks of the Enemy, whereby he made good the Title bestow'd upon him long before, of being the Terror of the Portuguese.

After this defeat, the Portuguese not thinking themselves secure in the Fort *Manaar*, retir'd over the Water to *Jafnapatnam*, leaving only *Andrew Villosa* with a very moderate Force in the Castle of *S. George*. They would not have escap'd our Hands at so cheap a rate, had we not been stop'd by the great Rain, and Tempests.

The 22d *Andrew Villosa* being deserted by most of his Men, was oblig'd to surrender the Castle of *S. George* upon reasonable Terms. We took about 200 Prisoners, both Europeans and Negroes, and among them a *Caffer* (or African Negro) who pretending to be a Captain, was so stubborn, that he would not take up his Arms or arise from the Ground (as he was commanded to do) without a good Bastinado.

The 24th of *Febr.* I preach'd the Thanksgiving-Sermon in the great Church upon the Text of *1 Sam. 7. 7.* for the most fortunate Reduction of this Isle, whereof our General might say with *Cæsar*,

The Isle of  
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The taking of y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Manaar by the Dutch.



(*Ar, Veni, vidi, vici*, being beyond all question one of the greatest Actions that ever happen'd betwixt us and the *Portugueses* in the *Indies*, considering we were forc'd to attack the Enemies Forces, composed of Veteran *European* Soldiers, and to chase them from their advantageous Posts, and that only with 800 Men, and consequently with the utmost hazard; being resolv'd either to overcome or die in the Attempt, because we had quite drain'd the Garison of *Columbo*, leaving only a few, and those infirm Persons to guard that Place, because we expected hourly the Arrival of the Ship the *Sala-mandar* with some 100 Soldiers, and good

Store of Ammunition and Provision, having aboard the Commodore *Peter de Zinter*, the Factor *Edward Ooms*, and Captain *Peter Wasch*. The same having been detained by Calms and Tempests for near six Months, and endur'd great Hardships about the *Maldiva* Islands, arriv'd at last safely at *Columbo*, but was soon after order'd by the Governor *Adrian van der Meyden*, to sail to *Manaar*, where she came to an Anchor immediately after we had made our selves Masters of that Isle, and were just then preparing to march towards *Japnapatnam*. But before we leave *Manaar*, we must add something concerning the true Condition of this Island.

The *Sala-mandar* brings a Supply of Men and Provisions.



## C H A P. XLIV.

*A Description of Manaar. How the Christian Religion was planted, and might be further promoted there. A Description of the Country of the Wannias, Our March towards Jafnapatnam. We pass the River; rout the Portugueses, and take the Water-Fort.*

Manaar  
whence it  
is called

**M**anaar derives its Name from the Malabar Language, from the word *Man*, i. e. *Sand*, and *Aar* a *River*, signifying as much as a *Sand-River*; it being observable, that both the *Cingalese* and *Malabar* Languages are spoken in the Isle of Ceylon. The first is used beyond *Negumbo*, viz. at *Columbo*, *Caleture*, *Berbery*, *Aican*, *Gale*, *Belligamme*, *Mature*, *Dondre*, &c. But in all the other parts of this Isle opposite to the Coast of *Coromandel*, and all along the Bay, they speak the *Malabar* Tongue; whence it seems very probable, that that Tract of Land (as the Inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam* themselves believe) was first of all peopled by those of *Coromandel*, who brought their Language along with them; it being certain that in the Inland Countries about *Candy*, *Vintane*, *Ballaney*, &c. they speak only *Cingalese*.

The Cingalese and Malabar Tongues both used in Ceylon.

Situation of Manaar.

The Isle of *Manaar* is situate at 9 deg. of Northern Latitude, its length being about two and a half German Leagues, and one broad, including the Salt-water River (as you will see in the Map) which reaches as far as the great Church call'd *Carcel*. The Castle is seated upon a Canal able to bear small Yachts, which draw 3, 4, or 5 foot Water, and can go from thence to *Jafnapatnam*. This Castle was strengthened with some additional Fortifications, and surrounded with a deep Ditch, after we had taken it from the *Portugueses*. The whole Isle has no more than seven Churches, unto each whereof belong divers considerable Villages: The first is the *City Church*, next that call'd *Tottavaly*, then *Carcel*, *Erkelampatti*, *S. Peter's* Church belonging to the Fishermen; *Peixale*, and the last *Tellemanaar*, lying at the furthestmost, and near the Sea-side.

The Churches.

Part of the City of Manaar.

This Island was formerly celebrated for the *Pearl Fishery*, as well as the City of *Tutecorin*; but no Pearls having been taken there for these 10 years last past, the Inhabitants are reduc'd to great Poverty; whereas the sumptuous Edifices, Churches and Monasteries, with their Ornaments, are sufficient Demonstrations of its former Grandure.

In the year 1666. (after my departure)

our Company order'd the first time the *Pearl-fishery* to be renew'd again, with no ill success; and according to several Letters I have receiv'd from thence, they took a considerable quantity of Pearls, the second time, in the year 1669.

The Inhabitants of *Manaar* speak (besides the *Malabar*) most generally *Portuguese*, being long ago converted to the Christian Faith, for which reason they have suffer'd most cruel Persecutions from the Kings of *Jafnapatnam*, who baptiz'd many of the new converted Christians with Blood, after they had receiv'd the Baptism with Water. Many of them fled for this reason to *Goa* by Land, being above 100 Leagues, and among them a young Gentleman of Royal Extraction, who embrac'd Christianity there.

It was *Franciscus Xavierius* who converted the Inhabitants here, as well as those on the Cape *Comorin* and the *Paruas*, as we have told you before in the Description of the *Indian Coast*, and in the account of his Life. The said *Xaverius* establish'd among them certain Teachers call'd *Canacappels*, who were to instruct the Inhabitants in the first Rudiments of the Christian Religion, as the Ten Commandments, the Creed, Our Father, &c. which they did with indefatigable Care and Industry: These were succeeded by the *Jesuits* (call'd *Paulites* here, because they were sent into the *Indies* by Pope *Paul III.*) who in their way of teaching both the old and young ones, did far exceed the *Franciscans*, and all other Orders among the *Romanists*. And I am very free to confess, that I have frequently follow'd their Footsteps in reforming the Churches and Schools in *Manaar* and *Jafnapatnam*, as far as they were consistent with our Religion, and consonant to the Genius of these Nations. It being absolutely necessary, that he who undertakes this task should be well acquainted with the method to be used among these People in the Infancy of their Conversion, intricate Questions and Mysteries being more apt to confound than to instruct them: For which reason it is most proper to teach them the naked Truth of the Gospel in as few Points as possibly can be done (the

The Inhabitants of Manaar speak all Portuguese.

Perfect in the Christian Religion.

What was said in the preceding Part of the Description of this Island.

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Youth being very apt to retain here what they have been told) to catechise frequently the young ones in the presence of their Parents, thereby to excite in them a laudable Emulation to follow their Footsteps. St. Paul himself leads us the way, when he says, that you must first lay the Foundation of the Doctrine of Christ, before you can raise the Edifice of the Church.

It is also absolutely requisite, that the same Catechism that has been at first introduc'd among the Native Christians should be retain'd without any alteration, which, as it would over-charge their Memory, so it would breed nothing but Confusion instead of Profit. It was for this reason, that when by order from the supreme Magistrates, the Reformation of these Churches was committed to my care, I reduc'd the chief Points of the Christian Doctrine into Questions and Answers, which were afterwards introduc'd into the Churches of *Jajnapatnam*, *Manaar*, *Gale*, *Columbo*, *Negumbo* and *Mature*, and receiv'd by the succeeding Ministers, by special Command from the General and Council of the *Indies*, and the Governor of these places; and were afterwards confirm'd by the General Assembly of the Clergy of *Ceylon* held at *Columbo* 1659. from the 24<sup>th</sup> of February till the 3<sup>d</sup> of March.

They had had enough of the Mistakes that ensued upon these Alterations, introduced by new Ministers into the Isle of *Formosa*, who instead of following the footsteps of *Robert Junius* and *George Caninus* (Ministers of the Gospel there) would introduce certain Novelties. I found it also absolutely necessary to have these Questions and Answers put, not only in the *Portuguese* but also in the *Malabar* Tongue, several Copies whereof were sent to our Brethren at *Columbo*, *Gale* and *Negapatnam*.

It is beyond all dispute that the *Low-Dutch* Tongue is not so proper to propagate our Religion here as the *Malabar* and *Portuguese*; and consequently, that the Ministers of the Gospel sent into those parts should rather apply themselves to these Languages, than to impose their own upon the new Converts, which always meets with great difficulty, and can't be introduc'd without vast Trouble and Charges: besides, that it is much more reasonable one Man should accommodate himself to many, than these to one Man. It is furthermore requisite, that as the Ministers ought to pay all due Respect to

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the Magistrates, so these should treat them with all imaginable Civility and Honour, to acquire them the more Authority among the Natives.

The Isle of *Manaar* abounds in Fish to such a degree, that the Inhabitants here (as well as at *Negumbo*) dry and send them into other parts in vast quantities. They have here a peculiar Fish (properly a Sea-Calf) of an amphibious nature; the Females have Breasts and give Suck, and the Flesh when well boild tastes not unlike our Sturgeon, and might easily be mistaken for Veal.

But it is time we pass the River of *Manaar* towards *Mantotte*. This River is not very deep; nay on that side where you come to it over the Canal near the Castle, it is so shallow, that you may wade through it with ease, the Water scarce coming up to your Knees, tho it is so broad that it will take up half an hour before you can pass it. The Country on the other side is call'd the Country of the *Wannias*, under the Jurisdiction of our Company; their Churches make up together with those of *Manaar* no less than 14, and are under the Inspection of the Minister who resides in the Isle of *Manaar*, and duly visits them once a month. This Country, tho it acknowledges the Jurisdiction of our Company, pays the usual Taxes, furnishes them with Elephants, &c. yet must they be mildly treated, it being their general Maxims to disoblige neither *Raja Singa* nor the Company.

In the year 1658. in the beginning of *March* (after the taking of *Manaar*, and providing it with a good Garrison) we march'd into that Country towards *Jajnapatnam*. *Mantotte* begins to the North of the *Salt River* near the Village of *Peringaly*, extending to the South along the Sea-shore, as far as the River *Aripouture*, where *Mousilipatte* begins, near the Village of *Aripou*, extending further Southward to the Mountains of *Condemale*, which face the Bay opposite to the Isle of *Calpenty*, and cross the Country *Mantotte*, stretching to *Sere-coulang*, 6 Villages whereof belong to *Manaar*, 6 to *Jajnapatnam*, and 5 to *Mantotte*.

The rest of *Mantotte* and *Mousilipatte* extends to the East to the great Forest (the Boundary of the Country on that side) *Mantotte* it self has 64 Villages, *Mousilipatte* 24, and that part of *Sere-coulang* 6, amounting in all to 84. All these Countries are very fertile, especial-

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*Baldca.* ly in Rice, which produces a hundred-fold Crop; but the worst is, the Elephants do great Mischief in those parts that are not very populous.

It is very remarkable what *John de Lucena* observes in the Life of *Xavicus*, viz. That on the Cape *Comorin*, and all along that Tract of the *East-Indies*, whilst it is Summer and dry Season on the West-side of the Cape, the Winter and rainy Season appears on the opposite side: the same is to be observ'd in the Life of *Ceylon*. For whilst the Winter continues about *Jafnapatnam*, the *Wannias* and *Mannar*, during the Months of *October*, *November* and *December*, it is Summer in all the other parts: On the contrary, in the Months of *April* and *May*, whilst it is Summer about *Jafnapatnam*, which continues six or seven Months, it is Winter and rainy Weather at *Colombo*, *Galle*, and the Countries thereabouts. In the Low-Lands remote from the mountainous part of *Ceylon*, there blow only two Winds; but about *Colombo*, *Galle*, and some other places, you have duly a Day and Night-Wind, as upon the Coast of *Coromandel*. From *April* till *October* the Wind blows constantly a brisk Gale from the South with a clear Air and bright Sun-shine, as does the North-wind from *November* till *April*. In *January*, *February* and *March* it is generally very calm, with intolerable Heat; but a Dew falls in the Night, which being very unwholesome, the Inhabitants return with Sun-set into their Houses: and were it not for these Dews and the strong Winds which cool the Air, the Heat would be unsupportable here.

*As we march'd through the Country of Wannias*, we kept a most exact Discipline; and as we had no great plenty of Provisions, we allow'd only a small measure Rice every day to each Soldier, rather than incommode the Inhabitants: and finding our Forces to be extremely tir'd by long Marches, and consequently incapable of engaging with the same advantage with the Enemy in case they should be attack'd, it was resolv'd instead of marching up to the head of the River through the sandy ground, to pass the River in Boats, tho it would require near an hour and a half for every Boat to pass it.

*The worst was*, that upon our arrival on the other side of the River we expected the Enemy ready to give us a warm Reception, because we could not transport above 200 or at most 300 Men at

once over the River, and that the River was very muddy; for I remember that some years after two Elephants passing over to the *Jafnapatnam* side, one of them stuck in the Mud, and was kill'd by the Inhabitants, nothing being more common than for the Elephants to come cross the River to feed upon the Fruits of the Palm-trees, to come at which they trample the Roots of the Trees so long with their Feet till they loosen, and afterwards throw them down with their Bodies, and so eat the Fruit.

However the first Troop of our Forces got over without any opposition, and no sooner had put themselves in order of Battel, but receiv'd Intelligence that the Enemy were retreated from thence the day before, in order to expect us at the head Spring of the River.

After we had transported all our Forces over the River, the Inhabitants treated us very civilly, and furnish'd us with plenty of Provisions and Fruits. The first place we came to was the chief Church of the Province of *Tenmarache*, call'd *Chaoagatzari*, where after we had refresh'd our selves with a good Dinner, we march'd forward the same day with two Field-pieces to *Naracauli* (two hours from *Jafnapatnam*) where we encamp'd that night.

The next day (after Morning-Prayer) we march'd on to the River, where we expected to meet with a vigorous Opposition; but finding no Resistance, we advanced by degrees towards the Castle near the Church of *Sandeeculi*, where in the Evening we had a smart Skirmish with the *Portugueses*, of whom we kill'd many upon the spot, and posted our selves that night round about the before-mentioned Church.

The next following day we advanced to the City, which being without any Fortifications, we broke through the Wall and Houses; and pursuing the Enemy from Street to Street, under the favour of our Cannon, which opened us the way, we advanced towards the Castle. The 9th of *March* we made our selves Masters of the *Jesuits* Church and College at the West-End of the City, and the 18th following of the Church and Monastery of the *Dominicans* on the East-side: which made us give publick Thanks to God Almighty for his Blessings, the Text being the 7th Verse of the 22d Psalm.

The Enemy being thus forced to quit their Houses, had no other way left than to



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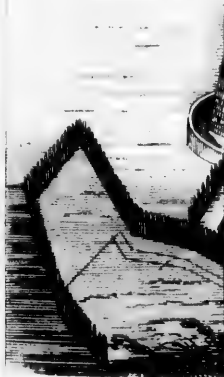
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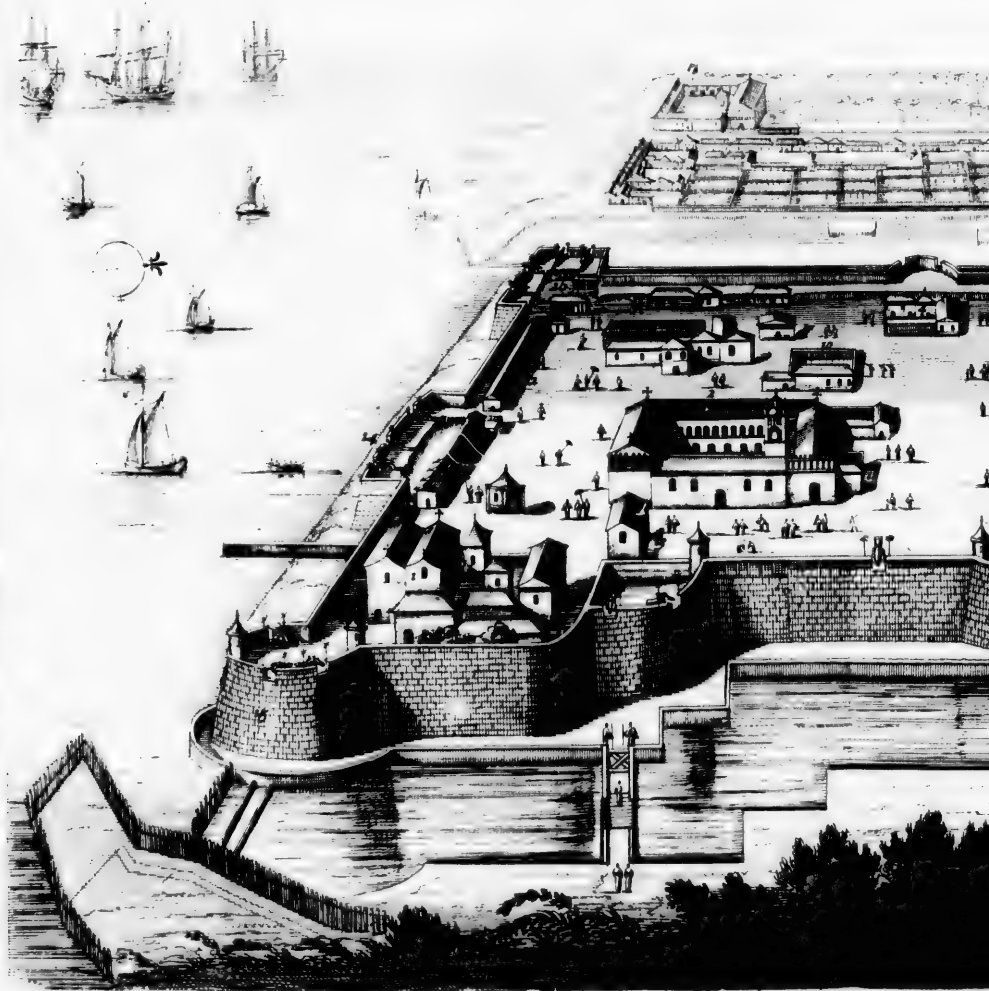
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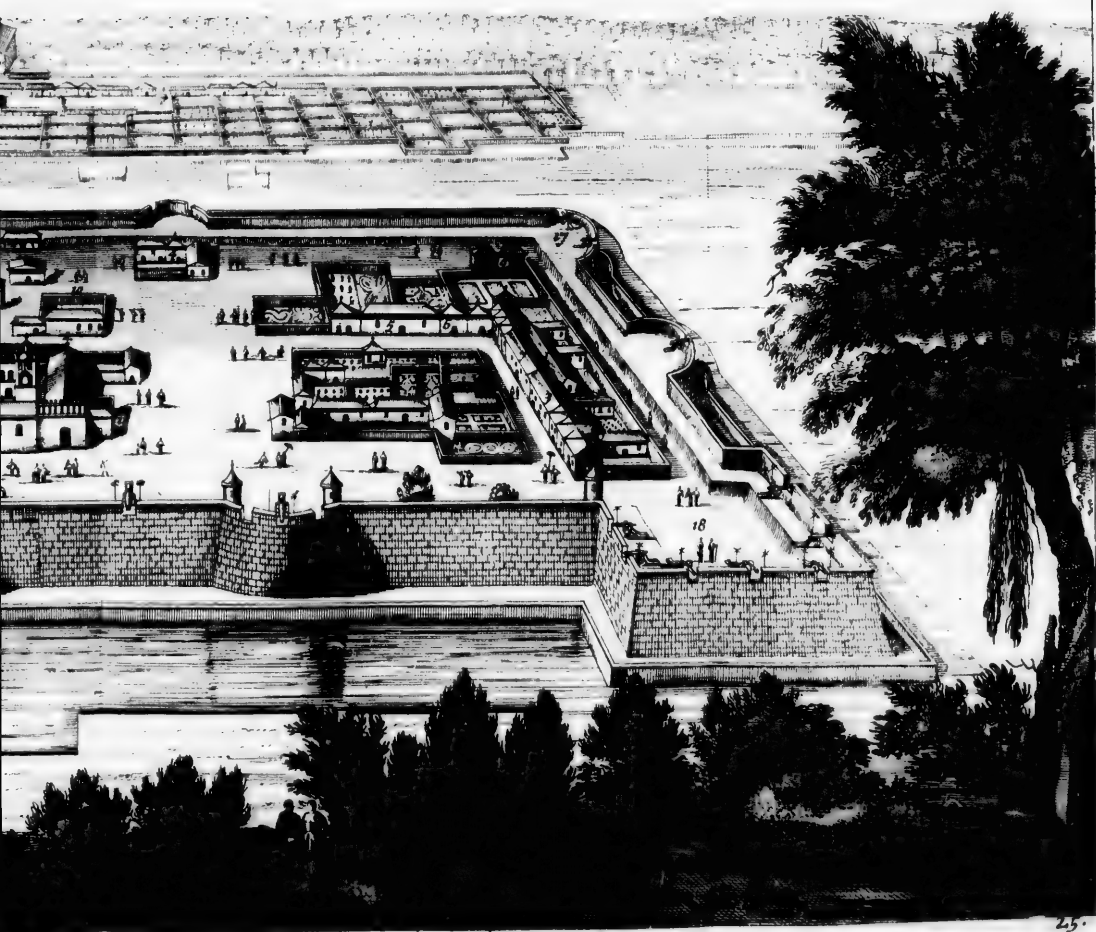


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to retreat to the Castle, which they did in great disorder, many of the Inhabitants of the Country thronging in among the *Portugueses*, so that the Castle was so crowded with People that they had not room enough to dispose them to any advantage.

But the better to straiten the Castle of *Jafnapatnam*, and take away from the Garrison all hopes of relief, it was thought necessary to attack a certain Outwork or Redoubt, built upon a small Isle in the middle of the River, not far from its Entrance, which it commands. This Fort was built by *Antonio Amiral de Menezes*, and may justly be call'd the Key of *Jafnapatnam*; and if such another were made on the Point of *Calmom*, no Vessel could approach the Castle without leave.

Accordingly we detach'd a good Body of Men to the Isle of *Ouvature*, in order to attack the said Fort, in which at that time commanded one *Hieronimo de Paiva* with a good Garrison. The Isle of *Ouvature* (where formerly the *Portugueses* had a Castle, the Ruins of which are yet to be seen) lying at some distance from

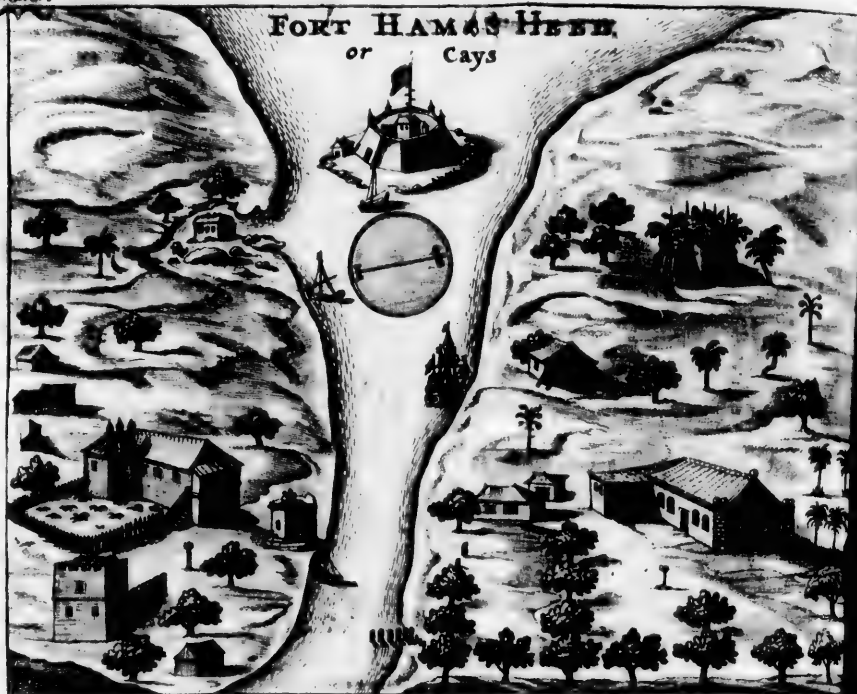
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this Water-Fort, we were forc'd to raise our Batteries against it upon the Isle of *Caradiva*: But finding that by reason of the distance betwixt us and them, and the strength of the Wall, we could make no Breach in it, it was resolv'd to assault the place by the help of certain Vessels provided with Breast-works and Cannon. But before we thought fit to venture at so desperate an Attempt, it was resolv'd to send the following Summons to the Commander of the Fort.

" I T having pleased Almighty God to  
 " bless our Arms with such Success, The Fort  
 " that there is no possibility left for you Cays sum-  
 " to resist us, or defend your self against mon'd to a  
 " our Attacks: It is therefore that Surrender.  
 " we have thought fit to let you know  
 " (as is usual upon such occasions) that  
 " we are come to summon the Fort of  
 " *Cays*, in the Name of the States-  
 " General of the United Provinces, of the  
 " Governors of the *East-India* Compa-  
 " ny, and his Excellency *John Maas-*  
 " *zuyker* Governor-General, and the  
 " Council of the *Indies*; as by these Pre-  
 " sents I summon the said Fort, not  
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“questioning but that after you have  
 “given sufficient Proofs of your Cou-  
 “rage, you will now consider how un-  
 “able you are to resist our Force.  
 “Don’t therefore obstinately resist God’s  
 “Will, and our Strength, since we  
 “offer you such Conditions as are ge-  
 “nerally allow’d to brave Soldiers.  
 “But in case you will be obstinate in  
 “making trial of our Strength, we pro-  
 “test before God and the Christian  
 “World, that we are innocent of all  
 “the fatal Consequences and Miseries  
 “that are likely to befall you; being  
 “resolved on our side (if God grants  
 “us Victory) to treat you after the  
 “severest manner, according to the  
 “Custom of War, and not to hearken  
 “to any Conditions. You have given  
 “sufficient Proofs of your Courage to  
 “admiration; it is time therefore you  
 “should now act with Prudence, and  
 “consult your safety. We expect your  
 “positive Answer within three hours  
 “by the Bearer of this, or whom  
 “your Excellency shall think fit to  
 “send to us, who shall return safely  
 “upon our Word and Honour: Sub-

“scribing my self (as you think fit)  
 “either your Friend or Enemy.

From the Camp,  
 10 April 1658.

The Admiral and Ge-  
 neral of the Dutch  
 Forces, both by Sea  
 and Land.

This Letter being translated into  
 Portuguese, was sent into the Fort; the  
 Commander whereof remembering the  
 old Verse,

*Fistula dulce canit, volucrum dum decipit  
 auceps,*

sent the following Answer.

“That the Fort belonging to nobody, <sup>that</sup>  
 “but to the King of Portugal his Master, <sup>thought</sup>  
 “he was oblig’d to maintain the same  
 “for his Majesty till the last drop of  
 “his Blood. That he could do no  
 “more than what pleas’d God to per-  
 “mit him, but neither he nor his Men  
 “were to be terrified by Threats.

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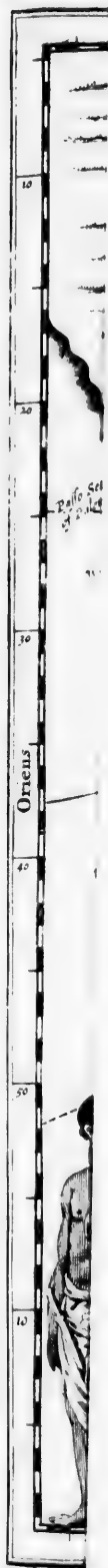
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This bold Answer made us think of nothing else but Force, so that we were preparing every thing for an Assault, which would have cost us many a brave Fellow, had not the want of Fresh Water in the Fort oblig'd them to come to a Capitulation. For having no other fresh Water in the Fort, but what was preserved in a large Wooden Cistern, part whereof was taken away by the Ships, that transported some Women of Quality with their Riches from *Jafnapatnam* to *Negapatnam*, and the rest being spoil'd by our Bombs, they were glad to accept such Articles as we were willing to give them, which however were very honourable, the Soldiers being allow'd to march

out with all the Marks of Honour, and to be transported into *Europe*. The Commander who had a Wife and Children, was permitted to go to the *Indian Coast*, or that of *Coromandel*. The 28th of April I preach'd the Thanksgiving-Sermon for this Surrender, upon the Text out of the 48th Psalm, ver. 8. Upon this Occasion Captain *Cornelius Rob* the younger (who died two Years after at *Amsterdam*) Captain *Peter Wash* (who was kill'd afterwards before *Cochin*) and Mr. *Van der Rheede*, gave most signal Proofs of their Courage. Since that time divers Vaults for fresh Water have been made in this Fort and in *Manaar*.

*Buildaus.*  
The Fort  
surrendered

## C H A P. XLV.

*Continuation of the Siege of Jafnapatnam. Sea-fight before Goa. Divers Engagements betwixt the Dutch and Portugueses. Jafnapatnam surrendered. Some Portugueses living among the Hollanders there plot against them, are betrayed by a Topas. The Provinces and Churches of Jafnapatnam.*

Strength of  
the Castle  
of Jafna-  
patnam.

**B**UT it is time to return to the Castle of *Jafnapatnam*, which being built upon a Rock, and surrounded with a strong triple Wall, seem'd to defy both our Mines and Cannon, especially since we were not so well provided with Gunpowder as we should have been; wherefore we thought it our safest way to expect that from Time, which Force was not likely to procure, resolving in the mean while to annoy the Enemy as much as possibly we could with our Bombs, which kill'd them abundance of Men.

The Portu-  
gueses en-  
deavour in  
vain to  
take the  
Fort.

The Enemy finding themselves in a little time reduc'd to great Straits, sent out divers Boats to fetch some fresh Provisions from the Islands, but were always forc'd to return without Success. Upon this occasion *Isbrand Gotskens* born at the *Hague*, then Director of the Company in *Perfia*, and *Barent Clebont*, then a Lieutenant, since a Captain at *Jafnapatnam*, behaved themselves bravely, being both wounded, one near the Mouth, the other in the Knee.

It pa-  
ssed  
to us  
with a  
Letter.

The Portugueses in the mean while living in hopes of Succours from *Goa*, sent a Letter by a certain *Topas* from *Trinquemalie*, named *Ignatio Feras*, to their Admiral; but this Negro coming over to us with the Letter, we sent a good Body of our best Forces to prevent their Landing, but we heard of none.

On the other hand we received the joyful News, that Commodore *Adrian* the Dutch Roothaus, had March 23. in an Engagement with the Portugueses near *Goa*, burnt one of their biggest Galeons call'd the *St. Thomas*, and had so disabled the rest, that they had but little hopes left of relieving *Jafnapatnam*. For which Victory we gave publick Thanks to God the 26th of May 1658. the Text was taken out of *Exod. 15. 9.*

The Dutch  
won't the  
Portugueses  
at Sea.

About the same time I received a Letter from the Reverend *Theodoro Sas* (since Minister at *Malacca*) then in the Dutch Fleet before *Goa*, intimating that the 20th of Jan. in the same Year 1658. the Portugueses attack'd us with 10 Galeons and some Frigats; the Engagements lasted till Night without any considerable Damage on our side. That on the 27th and 29th of the same Month another Combat ensued, without any great Loss on both sides. The 3d of Febr. the Enemy attack'd us once more, but were chas'd under their Castle. In all these three Engagements the Dutch had no more than 9 Men killed and a few wounded. The Letter was dated aboard the *Phoenix*, cruising before the Bar of *Goa*, Febr. 11. 1658.

Several  
Sea-En-  
gagements  
betwixt  
them.

\* In the mean while our Forces having so closely surrounded the Castle of *Jafnapatnam* with their Lines and Works, that they

*And thus* they could not stir even with the least Boat, without being taken or sunk; and being now destitute of all hopes of Relief, they hung out the white Flag, June 21. on the South East Bastion. The Capitulation was agreed upon the next following Day, under these Conditions: That the Garrison should march out with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, &c. and take along with them one piece of Cannon, and to be transported to Europe; the Head Officers shall be civilly treated, and to be conducted to one or other of their Forts, and the Ecclesiasticks to the Coast of *Coromandel*. All Gold, Silver and other Precious Moveables, shall be left to the Disposal of the Conquerors; the Inhabitants shall likewise be transported to what part of the *Indies* they like best, most of whom went afterwards by the way of *Malacca* to *Batavia*.

*And thus* Accordingly *John de Melo Leonardo d' Oliveira*, *Viadore de Fazendas*, and *Antonio Mendes d' Aranha* march'd out of the Castle with the rest of the Head Officers, *Rodrigo Borralho* delivering the Keys at the same time to Major *John van der Laan*; but they were so weak, that they did not think fit to carry along with them their piece of Cannon, tho they spent two whole days in marching out. A considerable Number of Soldiers laid down their Arms and Colours before the Standard of the Company, as did many of the Inhabitants (among whom was *Caspar Figueiro* the Scourge of the *Cingalese*) with their Wives and Children, Negroes, 40 or 50 Ecclesiasticks, *Franciscans*, *Jesuits*, and *Dominicans*; notwithstanding that during the Siege (which lasted 3 Months) they had lost near 1600 Men by the Sword and Mortality.

Immediately after Commodore *Peter de Bitter* was sent to *Batavia*, by the way of *Malacca*, to bring this joyful News to Mr. *John Maatsuyker* our General, and the Council of the *Indies*. The 23<sup>d</sup> of June I preach'd a Thanksgiving-Sermon out of *Exod. 17. 15.* which was continued every Year on the same Day.

When we entered the Castle, we found it all battered to pieces by our Bombs; and such was the stench, that for sometime no body could abide there. We took care to have the Springs clear'd, the Dung removed, the Churches, Houses and Walls repair'd; 300 Coco-Trees were also to be planted, and many Houses, that stood too near the Ditch of the Castle, to be broken down; and to encourage the Inhabitants of the Country to

settle here, the Custom upon Tobacco was taken off, and *Jacob Rhee* our Head Factor, a very understanding Person, constituted *pro tempore* Commander in Chief here.

Things being thus disposed, our Forces were soon after transported to the Coast of *Coromandel*, in order to reduce the City of *Negapatnam*: We left but a slender Garrison at *Jafnapatnam*, compos'd for the most part of *Portuguese*, who had taken Service among us; besides which there was a considerable Number of Prisoners in the Castle.

These in conjunction with some of the *Atchaby* Natives (not without the Consent of *Raja Singa*) fram'd a Plot against us: Their Design was, to murder all the Officers in the Castle, whilst I was preaching in *Portuguese* in the City; which done, certain Persons of their Gang should attack and kill the Guard, and thus to make themselves Masters of the Castle.

It happen'd by accident that whilst I was preaching, *Don Manoel Andrade*, one of our *Cingalese* Captains and *Mollies*, coming with 18 of his Followers (who generally attended him) to the Church, remain'd in the Porch, where he could hear as well as within the Church. He was not a little surpris'd (as he himself told me afterwards) to see the *Portuguese* remain standing likewise without the Church-door, and laying their Hands upon their Swords; yet not being able to guess the true reason thereof, this Treachery was not discover'd till some days after, when the whole Design being laid open to Mr. *Jacob van der Rhee*, he took care to double the Guards, to shut the Castle-gates, and to secure all such as had a hand in the Plot. The next thing was to send for me by a Letter (I being then visiting the Churches in the Country) upon the receipt whereof I return'd immediately to the Castle, where with great Astonishment I had an account given me of the whole Design, how it had been discover'd, and the Traytors secured. For which Delivery I preach'd a solemn Thanksgiving-Sermon in *Low Dutch*, the 15<sup>th</sup> of *Septemb.* 1658. out of the Book of *Esther*, Chap. 9. 20—24.

Not long after most of the Traitors having confest their Crimes, some were condemn'd to be hang'd, others to be beheaded, and some to be laid upon the Wheel. The three chief Heads of this Conspiracy were, a certain Inhabitant of *Atanaar*, one *Don Louys*, and another *Portuguese*; these three were laid upon the Wheel or a Cross, and after they had received





ceiv'd a Stroke with the Ax in the Neck and on the Breast, had their Entrails taken out, and the Heart laid upon the Mouth.

A certain Jesuit nam'd *Calders*, a Native of *Malacca*, was beheaded. This unfortunate Person being prevented by Sickness from going along with the rest of the *Portuguese* Clergymen, had not been concern'd in this treacherous Design, much less given his Consent to it. But some of the Traytors having given notice thereof to him by Letters, wherein they Riled him the *Father of their Souls*; he was unwilling to betray his Countrymen, for which he paid now with his Head: eleven more were hanged, and afterwards exposed in the open Country on Trees; but the Heads of the Ringleaders were fix'd upon Poles in the Market-place.

The Castle of *Jajnapatnam* is of a Quadrangular Figure, and strongly fortified with very high and thick Walls; it is bigger in Circuit than the Castle of *Batavia*, being the Capital City of the whole Kingdom. *Philippo de Oliveira*, after having defeated the *Cingaleses* near *A-*

*chiavelli*, not far from the great *Pagode* (the Ruins whereof are to be seen to this day) took the same from the Emperor of *Ceylon*. Hard by this *Pagode* is to be seen a most miraculous Spring, 24 Rods in Circumference, cut out of an entire Rock, or, as the Inhabitants will have it, open'd by a Thunderbolt, of which more hereafter, when we shall treat of the Isles of *Jajnapatnam*: we took it after it had been 40 Years in the possession of the *Portugueses*.

*Jajnapatnam* is divided into four Provinces, which are very populous; its whole Length is about 6 *Gomm* Leagues, and its Breadth 3, being well inhabited and adorned with Villages and Churches. The whole Number of the Villages amounts to 159, of their own Churches 34, besides the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* Churches. *Jajnapatnam* is on the Northside wash'd by the Gulph of *Bengale*, and borders to the South of a River, which makes it a kind of an Island, and exonerates it self in two different Channels into the Sea.

The Provinces of *Jajnapatnam* are *Pooner*, *Belligamme*, *Tenmarache*, *Waddemara*, and *Uttam*.

*Baldau:* and Patchiarapalle. The Province of Bel-  
*The Church* ligamme has 14 Churches, the chief where-  
 Telipole. of is Telipole a large Structure, with a double row of Pillars; the House thereunto belonging is the Work of the Jesuits, beautified with a pleasant Garden, handsome Court and most delicious Vineyards, affording most sorts of Indian Fruits, and water'd with several Springs.

In August 1658, the Reform'd Religion was the first time (as in all other Churches of *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*)

introduced and taught here by me. The 12th of Jan. 1661. the holy Sacrament was the first time administred to 12 Communicants of the Natives. The 19th of April in the same Year their Number encreased to 15, and before my Departure to 30. In the Year 1663, we had above 1000 Schoolboys, among whom were 480 who could answer all the Questions relating to the chief Points of our Religion. I have sometimes had no less than 2000 Auditors in this Church.



A certain Indian named *Michael Fonseca*, ask'd me once a very odd Question, viz. When John baptized Christ, whether he baptized him in the Name of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; and being answer'd Yes, he reply'd that thus *Jesus Christ* was baptiz'd in his own Name, which he could not well comprehend. I told him, there was not the least Absurdity in the matter, since *Jesus Christ* was not baptized upon his own account, or as God alone, nor as a bare Man, but as being endowed both with the Divine and Human Nature. That the Son of God could not be baptized otherwise but in the Name of God; and that under the

Word God, was not only comprehended the Father, but also the Son and Holy Ghost; that *Jesus Christ* was the same in essence with the Father and the Holy Ghost; and that there were no degrees in the Deity, for tho the Father was the first yet were the Son as well and truly God as the Father and Holy Ghost: wherewith he was well satisfy'd. For the Indians being generally very ingenious, they will ask many acute Questions, as concerning the Creation and End of the World, the Immortality of the Soul, Hell, and such like.

Most of the Churches here have certain Scaffolds or Theaters near them, especially

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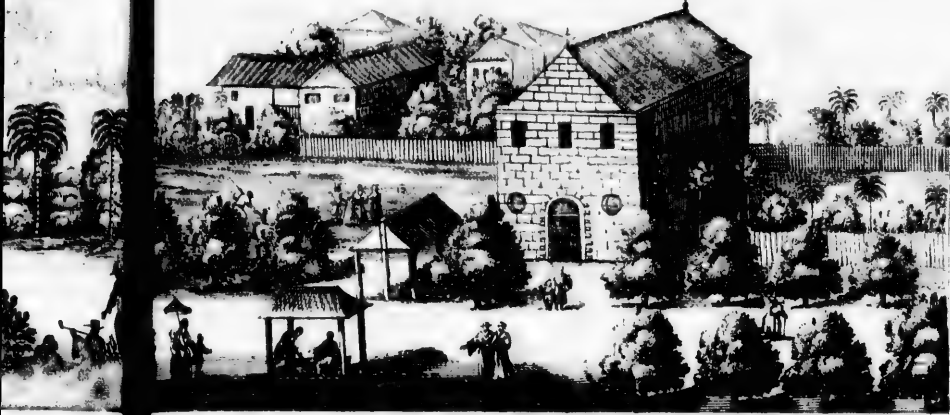
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pecially that of *Telipole*, where the Jesuits used to represent certain Histories of the Bible to the People on Holidays.

The Church  
Mallagam.

About half an Hour thence stands the Church *Mallagam* of good Brickwork, with an adjacent House built upon two Arches, and a handfom pair of Stairs leading to the top of it. The Church was begun by the *Portugueses*, but finish'd by the *Dutch*. It has 200 School-boys, but not above 600 Auditors.

The Church  
Mallett.

The Church *Mallett* is about 5 Quarters of an Hour from *Telipole*. Here are 750 Schoolboys, all taught by one Master, who has more work than the two at *Telipole*: the Auditors of this Church amount to 1500 or 1600. The Church is a large Structure of Stone; the House belonging to it is lofty, with a Balcony on the top of it, affording a very fine Prospect into the main Sea, so that it may well deserve the Name of *Belle videre*. The Church is not above half a Mile from the Sea-side. They abound here in Fish, such as Crabs, Soles, Plaice, &c. as likewise in Hares and Partridges.

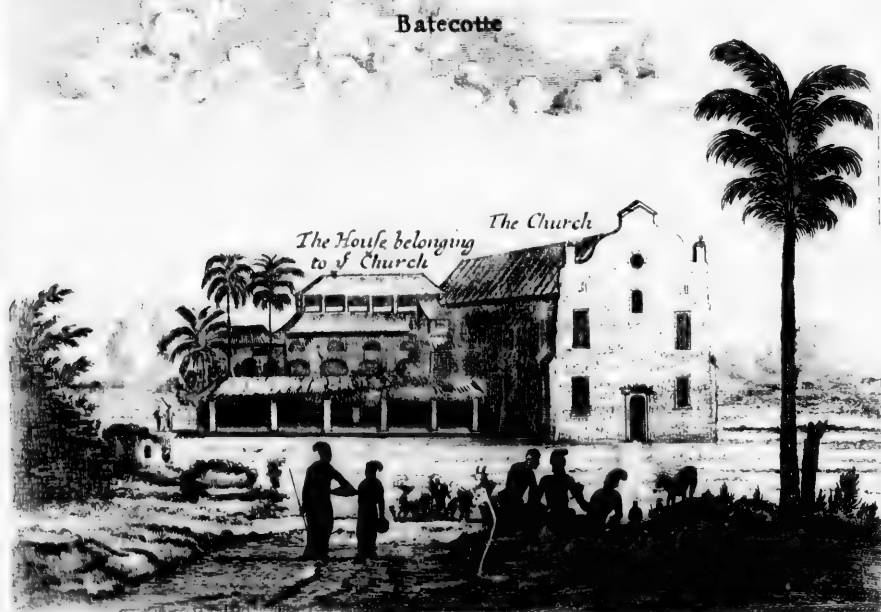
The Church  
Achiavelli.

The Church *Achiavelli* lies about two Hours from *Telipole*, it is a large and lot-

ty Structure built of Stone, capable of containing 2000 Persons; it was not finish'd till in our time. The Village lies extremely pleasant among the Woods, stor'd with vast Quantities of Turtle-Doves, which cue at certain Hours three times a day, and serve the Inhabitants instead of a Clock, to know the time of the Day. They have also Plenty of Hares, Stags and Wild-Boars, but are also annoyed by the Serpents.

As divers old *Brahmans* live in this Place, so were the Inhabitants not so forward in embracing the Christian Religion; the antient *Brahman*, named *Philippo*, does not want the Knowledge of the Fundamentals of our Religion, but is more inclin'd to the Historical, than the Doctrinal part. Among others there lived here a certain *Brahman*, a Learned Person, with whom I used to have frequent Conversation, whilst I liv'd at *Achiavelli*; he was baptized at last in the 46th Year of his Age, and afterwards writ the *History of the Life and Passion of our Saviour*, in a lofty Poetical Stile, in the *Latin Malabar*, call'd *Hanscreet*, which is quite different from the common *Maia-*

*Bairaus.*  
Pleasant-  
ness of the  
Village.



*Bar Characters.* The School here has about 4 or 500 Boys, and the Church 7, 8 or 900 Auditors.

*The Church Ondewil.* About an Hour from *Telipole* stands the Church *Ondewil*, in a great Plain, with an adjacent large Stone-house, formerly the Habitation of a *Franciscan* Fryar. The Soil is very luscious here and fertile in Rice, *Naceny*, and other Eatables. The Schoolboys amount to 600, and the Auditors to 900 or 1000.

*The Church Batecotte.* Two hours distant from the Castle is the Church *Batecotte*, with a lofty adjacent House, flat on the top, and adorn'd with a pleasant Garden, well stor'd with Trees; the Fields round about it are extremely fruitful. It is seated near the *Salt River*, and abounds in Fish and all manner of other Provisions. Of Schoolboys they have here about 8 or 900, and of Auditors in the Church near 2000.

*The Church Paneteripou.* About half an hour from *Batecotte* is the Church *Paneteripou*, a neat and magnificent Edifice of Stone, with a pleasant House near it built upon Arches, with two spacious Rooms and a Gallery, fine Gardens, and a delicious Fishpond or Cistern. The School is frequented by

600 Boys, who in my time had made such considerable Progress, that they could rectify the *Papish* Errors concerning Purgatory, the Mass, Indulgences, Auricular Confession, &c. Mr. *Andrew* the Schoolmaster and his Usher, being Persons very diligent in their Stations. The Inhabitants are very devout here, and at Sermon-time seldom less than 12 or 1300 come to Church.

The Church *Changane* is not above a good Mile from *Paneteripou*, lying with this and *Batecotte* in a Triangle, almost at an equal distance from one another. Both the Church and adjacent House are built of Stone, as is also *Paneteripou*: They are very conveniently built with a Court before, surrounded by a Brick Wall; behind is an Orchard of *Cocoe* and *Portuguese* Fig-Trees, besides *Potatoes*, *Bananaes*, &c. The School is frequented by 700 Boys, who are carefully instructed by their Schoolmaster nam'd *Ambrosio*. The Inhabitants flock to Church with so much Zeal, that there is scarce room to contain them all.

Two hours from *Jasnapatnam*, and one from *Changane*, stands the Church *Ma-*





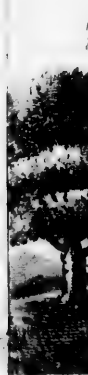
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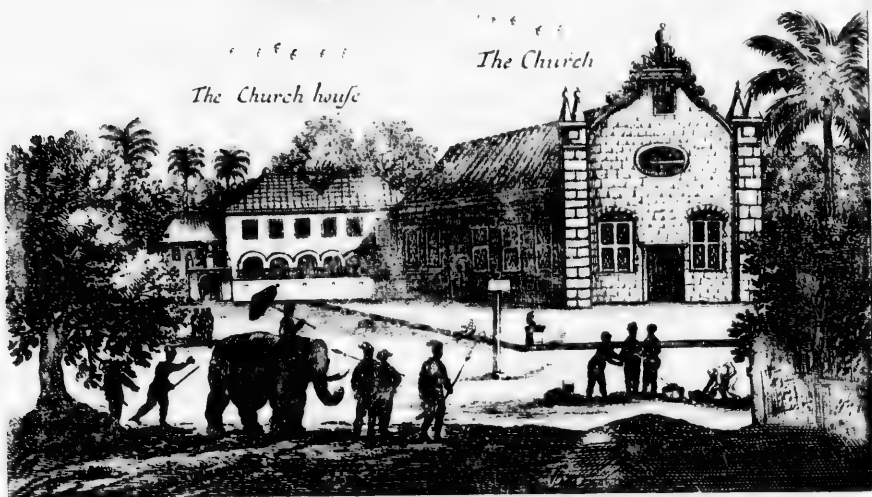


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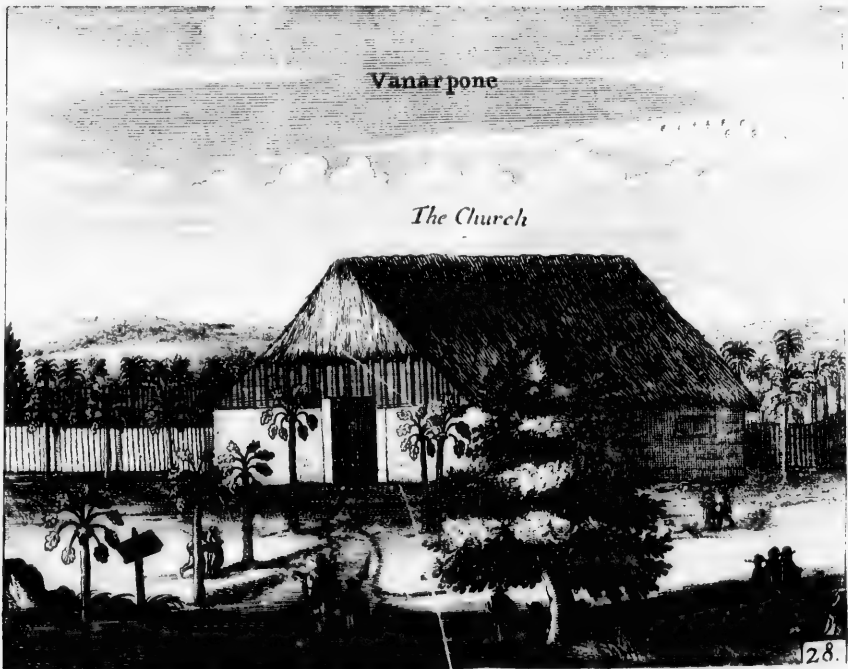
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nipay. About 560 Children are educated in this School. It is scarce to be imagined, that at so small a distance there should be so great a difference betwixt the People, the Inhabitants here being a malicious Generation, superstitious, and still much inclin'd to Paganism. The Church is big enough to contain 2000 Souls, but seldom above 7 or 800 come to hear the Sermons. The House is built only of Clay, and cover'd with Palm-tree-Leaves. Just before the Church is a fine Pond or Cistern with fresh Water, near which stood formerly one of their *Pagodes*. This Place is inhabited by several of the Family of *Madapoli*, who were concern'd in the Plot (lately mention'd) with *Don Louys*.

The Church *Vanarponne* stands just under the Castle of *Jafnapatnam*, most inhabited by *Walshers*; *Vanar* signifying as much as a *Walsher* in the *Malabar*. It is not very big, nor has a House belonging to it. The Schoolboys amount to 200, and the Auditors in the Church to about 5 or 600 Souls.

Just by *Vanarponne* is the Church *Nalour*, built only of Clay, and slenderly

cover'd. Here also stood formerly a *Pagode*. The School is frequented by about 590 Children, who are not so well versed in the Points of the Christian Religion as most of the rest, the People here retaining still a strong Inclination to Paganism, especially since some Years ago about 100 Printers of *Callicoes* were transplanted hither from the Coast of *Coromandel*, to the no small Prejudice of the Christian Religion, tho the Company were no great Gainers by it; since it is evident, that for want of good Water at *Jafnapatnam*, the same can't be brought to their true Perfection, and therefore are much better bought and transported from the Coast of *Coromandel*.

This is certain, that this Generation is very mischievous to the Christians here, it being frequent to see them appear in publick painted with *Cinza* or *Ashes* (accounted holy among them) and to carry their Beads; besides that the *Moors* have their publick Schools allow'd them of late Years. I must confess that whilst Mr. *Anthony Pavilioen* (at the time of my being there) was Governor of *Jafnapatnam*, he did all in him lay to assist me (at

*Baldau.*

Sundecouli





*Baldant.*

my request) in stopping the Progress of the Pagan Superstitions, and was not well pleased to see the Callico Printers introduced here, it being (not without reason) to be fear'd that in time they may (by promiscuous Marriages) increase to such a number as may endanger both the Church and State, especially if they are allowed the burning of their Dead, and some other Pagan Ceremonies they much insist upon.

It is further to be fear'd, that in time there may be a promiscuous Copulation betwixt the Christians and Pagans, which must needs produce direful Effects in the Church. It may be objected, that severe Punishments will put a stop to that Evil (some having already been punish'd with Death upon that account) but this does not altogether remove the Danger; besides, that it ought to be consider'd whether such a Severity be consonant to the Word of God or not.

*A bet Church  
Sunde-  
couth.*

The last Church not far from the City, is call'd *Sunde-couth*, belonging to the Ci-

*vias*, or Chair-men and Water-Carriers. The Church is a neat Structure, but the Inhabitants an idle and base Generation, About 450 Children belong to the School, but seldom frequent it, because they generally go abroad a fishing with their Parents. Seldom above 400 come to Church, whereas there are about 1500 Inhabitants. It is a pleasant place, deliciously seated among Trees of a considerable bigness. Thus far we have spoken of the Province *Belligamme*, and its Churches, unto which belong likewise *Copay* and *Pontour*, containing about 800 School-boys, and 2000 Souls. The Children in these Schools are distinguish'd into several Forms, according to their respective degrees of Proficiency; so that those who have learn'd (for instance) the *Creed*, and *Our Father*, teach those that scarce know to say *Our Father*. Among these Boys, they have some they call *Merinhos*, who take an account of such as are absent, and return them to the Master, or the Head *Merinho*.

#### C H A P. XLVI.

*The second, third and fourth Provinces, with their respective Churches, belonging to Jafnapatnam. The Isles of Jafnapatnam. Vast number of Christians. The Author's Zeal in promoting the Christian Religion.*

*The Church  
Navacouli.*

THE second Province of *Jafnapatnam* is *Tenmarache*, which contains five Churches, with the Villages thereunto belonging. The first is the Church *Navacouli*, seated in a pleasant Plain abounding in Cattel and Fruit; as the Woods afford great store of Apes and Monkys, and all sorts of Venison and Wild Fowl. Both the Church and adjacent House are only of Clay, and cover'd with Palm-leaves. The School is frequented by 400 Children, and the Church by 7 or 800 Auditors.

*The Church  
of Chavagatzery.*

An hour from *Navacouli* stands the Church of *Chavagatzery*, the biggest of the whole Province, and the adjacent House, very strong and well-built, having a pleasant Prospect towards the Sea, with fine Gardens, well stor'd with all sorts of Indian Fruits. They abound in Fish, for they live upon Husbandry and Fishing. The School is frequented by 1000 Children, who are instructed by two Masters and an Usher, and the Church by betwixt 2 and 3000 Souls.

*The Church  
Cathay.*

The Church *Cathay* is an hour from *Chavagatzery*, through sandy and diffi-

cult Ways, but full of Ponds stor'd with Wild-ducks; besides which they abound in Snipes, Herns, Indian Ravens, and all sorts of small Birds. The Church and House are only of Clay, and cover'd with Leaves, like that of *Navacouli*. The School has 550 Children, and the Church 11 or 1200 Auditors.

Betwixt *Cathay* and the Church *Waranni* are sandy and difficult Ways. The Church stands in the midst of a small Wood of *Areek*, *Coco*, *Palm*, *Banano's*, *Mango's*, *Cajon* and *Guavo*-Trees. This place affords, besides the ordinary Melons, the most delicious Water-Melons in the *Indies*. The Church is but slenderly built, and enclosed with a Wall of Earth, as is likewise the House; yet has it divers spacious Apartments, and a handsome Entrance. The School has about 800 Children, and the Church 2500 Auditors.

The last Church of *Tenmarache* is that of *Ilondi Matual*, unto which belongs the Village of *Nagar Kojel*, famous for a large Pagode that stood there formerly. The Church is only of Clay, but the adja-

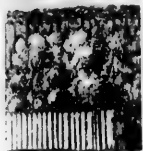
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Cathay



Waranni



*Baldus.* adjacent House of Stone, unto which you ascend by steps; it has three large Apartments, a neat Entrance, and a fair Prospect. Hereabouts are great numbers of Peacocks, and sometimes they see some Elephants in this Tract of Land. The Company also maintains here some tame Elephants, as in divers other places, they being separated at some distance for the better conveniency of their Fodder. Unto this School belong about 650 Children, and to the Church 1100 or 1200 Auditors.

*The Province since Wadde-marache.*

The third Province is call'd *Wadde-marache*, having only three Churches. It affords such plenty of Pasture, of Cows, Sheep, Goats, Fowl, Pigeons, and Partridges, that you may buy a Sheep for 8 d. or 10 d. 60 Eggs for 3 d. and four good Pullets for a *Fanam*, or 5 d.

*The Church Catavelli.*

The first Church is call'd *Catavelli*; the Church and adjacent House are both of Brick, the last having a Summer-house on the top of it, from whence you have a delightful Prospect into the Plain. The School has 600 Children, and the Church 1000 or 1200 Auditors.

The second Church is *Oreputti*; the

Village is inhabited by a set of Vagabonds and Thieves, of the Family of the *Nalloas*, not much inclin'd to Religion. The School is frequented by 690 Children, and the Church by 8 or 900 Auditors less or more. The Children are taught here to make their Letters in the Sand.

The Church *Paretiture* is the finest and largest of this Province, call'd by the *Portugueses*, *Funta das Pedras*, or the *Rocky Point*. *Paretiture* signifies in the *Malabar* Tongue as much as *Cottons Harbour*, from the great quantity of Cotton that grows thereabouts on small Trees. Not long ago, whilst we were engag'd in War with the *English*, a Fort was order'd to be erected here. During the War with *Portugal*, the *Dutch* carried off from hence one of their Priests, and plunder'd *Manaar* at the same time. Hereabouts also happen'd a smart Engagement betwixt the *Portugueses* and us, wherein we were hard put to it, and lost among others Capt. *John Hooghfaen*. During the Siege of *Japna*, *patnam* the *Portugueses* expected the landing of their Succours in this place.

The Road is so good here, that Ships

*A large Lumerind tree under the shade wherof they frequently hear Sermons.*



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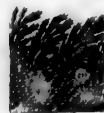
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may ride safe at Anchor for 7 or 8 Months, but they must take care to depart before the Northern *Mousson*, which renders this Shore very dangerous: So soon as any Ships are discover'd at Sea, a Flag is put out on a long Pole for their Direction. The Church was much decay'd, but has been repair'd of late. Just before the Church stands a tall Tamarin Tree, which affording a very agreeable Shadow in the heat of the day, the People are often instructed by the

Minister to the number of 3000. The School has about 1000 Children.

The last and furthestmost Province is call'd *Patchiarapalle*, which has four Churches, and as many Schools. This Province is very sandy and unwholesom, wants good Water, and is much infested by the Elephants, by reason of the vast quantity of wild Palm-Trees that grow here, and afford Food to the poorer sort of Inhabitants, tho the Elephants throw down some hundreds every year, being

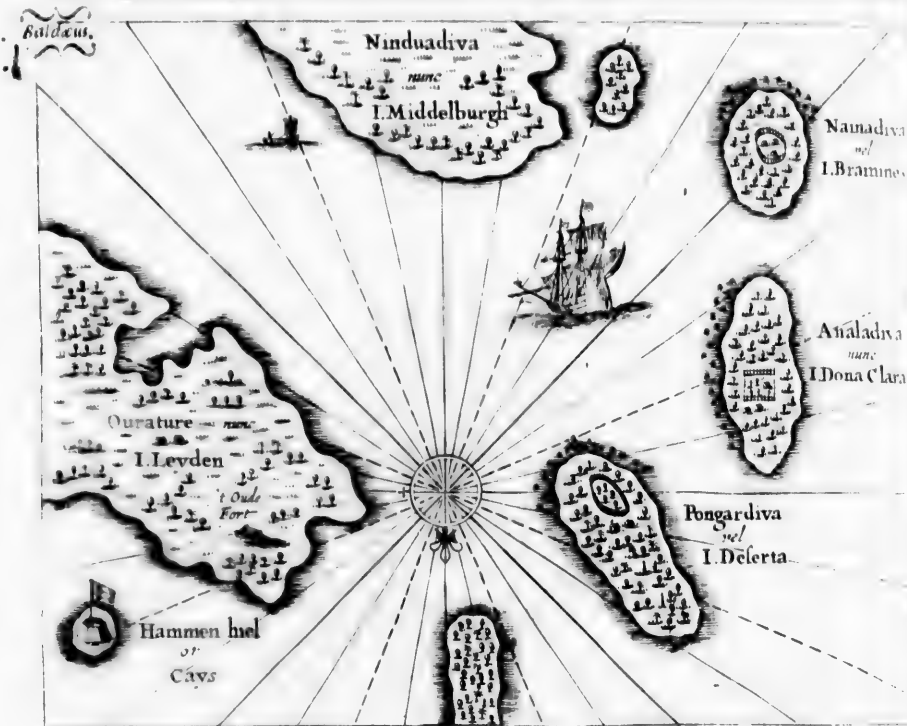
*Baldern*



The Elephants throwing down a Palm tree

very greedy after the Fruit when it comes to Maturity. At a certain season of the year the Children are seiz'd here with a certain Swelling in the Belly and Groin, which sweeps away a good number of them. They are also afflicted with certain Fevers (like those of *Manaar*) which regulate their Fits according to the Moon, and kill in a little time. The Itch and Small-pox are also very common here: The Inhabitants being very poor, and feeding most generally upon unwholesom Diet, such as dry'd Fish, *Pon-nates*, *Kekenges*, and a little Rice. As this Province borders upon *Raja Singa's* Country, so they are subject to the Incur-

sions of the *Cingaleses*, which is the reason that the House belonging to the Church of *Poelepolay* (the first in this Province) is surrounded with a high Wall with Port-holes in the nature of a Redoubt. The School has about 300 Children, and the Church 600 Auditors. Here are certain Women who have a way to play upon Earthen Vessels or Mugs (call'd *Callangs*) by blowing into them as into a Trumpet. This Province affords a kind of Wood call'd *Jagers-Wood* (or *Hunters-wood*) which for its goodness is transported to the Coast of *Coromandel*.



The Church  
Mogomale  
I. C.

Two good hours from Poolepolay stands the Church of *Mogomale* in a Wood, with an adjacent House, both well built; the School has about 450 Children, and the Church 500 Auditors.

The Church  
Tambanne  
I. C.

The Church *Tambanne* is the largest and best seated in the whole Province. The School has 600 Children, and the Church 900 Auditors.

The Church  
Muispatto  
I. C.

*Muispatto* is the last Church, about a day's Journey from *Jajnapatnam*, near the Head of the River call'd *Pajjo Seco*, or the *Dry Passage*; where we have a *Palenka* guarded by some Soldiers. The Church-House is provided with Port-holes for its Defence, but the Church is mean and small. The School has no more than 215 Children, and the Church scarce 350 Auditors.

Thus far of *Jajnapatnam*, and its Provinces, Churches and Schools. We will now pass over into the adjacent Isles, which are six in number.

The first  
of these  
Isles  
is

The first of these Isles is *Ourature*, which has three Churches, viz. *Aleputti*, *Welane* and *S. John*, of *Ourature*, all which have together about 800 School-boys, and 2600 Auditors. This Isle has been

subject to great Floods, both before and in the time of the *Portugueses*, to such a degree that the People were forced to save themselves on the tops of the Trees. Of this we saw an Instance in the year 1658. when a most furious Tempest, accompanied by a Hurricane, raised the Waters beyond the Shore to such a height, that it broke into the Water-Gate of the Castle, throwing down every thing that stood in the way; the Tiles were all blown from the Houses, the Trees tore up by the Roots, and unspeakable damage done both to Men and Cattle. After the fury of the Tempest was somewhat allay'd, several Fishes were taken in the Church-porch, which had been carried along with the Water over the Cortin. This Isle has plenty of Fish and Stags: It produces also a certain small Root call'd *Saye*, us'd by the Dyers to dye Red Cloths. They make also very good Butter here, and have store of Larks and some Sea-gulls.

The Isle of *Ourature* and *Caradiva* are separated by the River, in the middle whereof lies the Fort *Cays* (or *Hams-deel*) of which we have spoken before.

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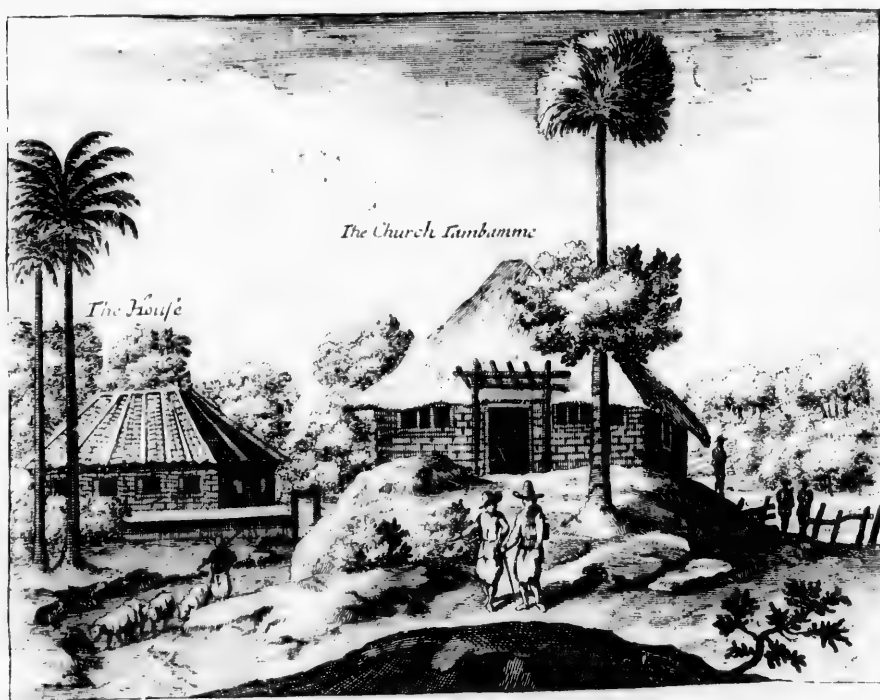
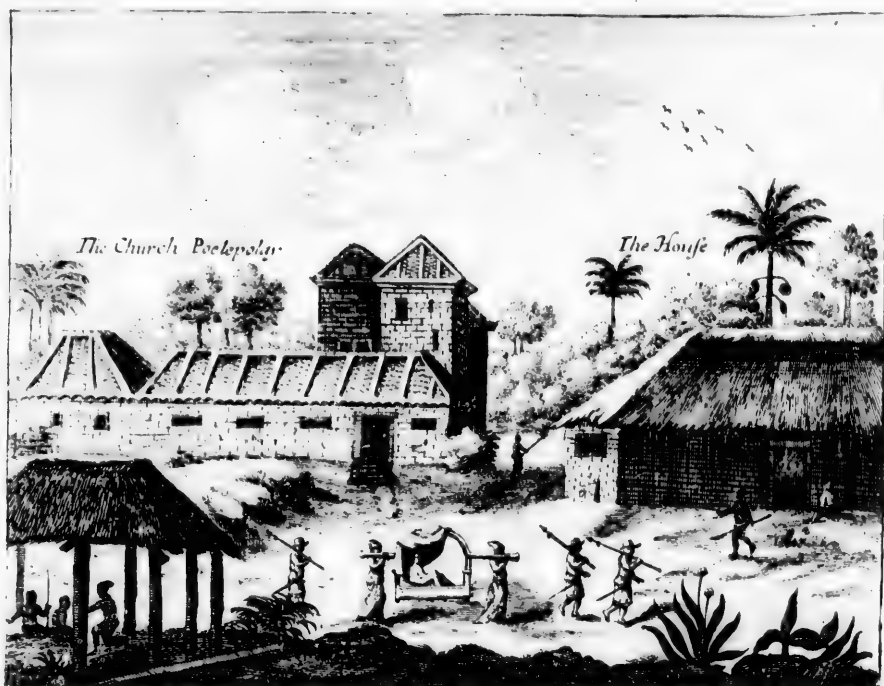
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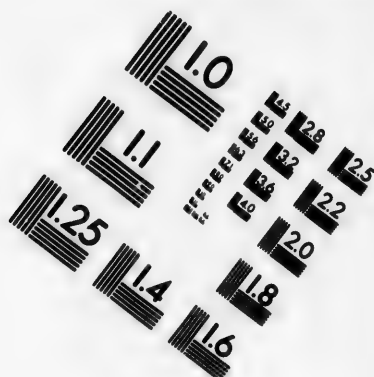
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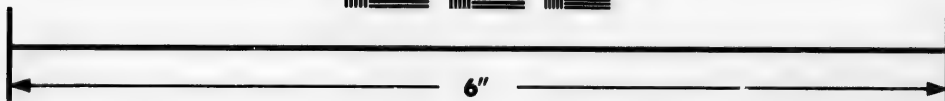
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*This Island was lost by a Mistake.*

From this Isle the Elephants are embark'd by means of a Bridge, and transported to Coromandel and Bengale. This Isle is supposed to produce the best *Saye* in the Indies. It has a well built Church and House belonging to it of Stone; the Church was finish'd in my time, as was that of *Ourature*, which was set on fire by the *Portugueses*. The School is frequented by 490 Children, and the Church by 1000 or 1100 Persons.

Somewhat further into the Sea to the right as you sail to the Isle *Pongardiva*, lies a little Island call'd *Ilha Deserta*, i. e. the *Desert Island*, by the *Portugueses*. This Isle as well as that of *Carativa*, abounds in Serpents, and furnishes our Ships with Fuel.

*Pongardiva* is a large Isle, but the Ground being rocky, produces but little for the sustenance of Mankind, except Stags, Hares and Peacocks in great quantities; they abound also in Fish, and especially in large Oysters, which are better to stew than to be eaten raw. The Men are generally much taller here than in any other part of the Indies.

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The School has 200 Children, and the Church 800 Auditors.

The Isle *Analativa* is small, but produces vast plenty of Oysters. The Inhabitants of both Sexes amount to about 800, and 200 Children. It has a little Church and convenient House near it. It was formerly call'd *Donna Clara*, from a certain Lady that liv'd there, and was Mistress of it in the time of the *Portugueses*. They still shew there a Chair wherein she used to sit, which is big enough to hold conveniently two Persons at once.

The Island *Nainativa* has got its Name from the great number of *Jackals* that are found there; of which more anon. It is very small, and inhabited by *Brabmans* turn'd Christians, who lead very sober Lives. The School has 70 Children, and the Church 300 Auditors. The Church is very small, yet has an adjacent House fit to lodge Strangers in.

*Nindundiva*, or the *Long Isle*, from its length, which is about six Leagues, is call'd *Nindundiva*, or *Ilha das Vacas*, i. e. the *Cow Island*, by the *Portugueses*, because abundance of

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Cattel



*Baldus.*  
*Abounds in*  
*Cattel.*

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*mong them.*

Cattel are transported thither from *Ton-day*, which makes Cattel so cheap there that you may buy a good Cow for four Dutch Shillings (or half a Rixdollar) but their Oxen and Cows are not near so big as those on the Continent of *Jafnapatnam*. Oftentimes a Mortality happens among the Cattel, because the Ground being hot and dry, produces divers venomous Herbs, which they feed upon. The Inhabitants are very poor, and live upon miserable Diet: I remember that being once eight days in this Isle, I and my Company could scarce get Provisions for our Sustenance. The Isle is of difficult access, because the Shore is rocky, and has no Bays, but only a few narrow Creeks, where there is no coming in except in very calm Weather; otherwise the Sea beats with such violence against the Rocks, that there is no coming near them, tho there be sometimes five or six fathom Water. For which reason there is no coming at it except in the calm Seasons, which happen twice a year at the change of the *Moussons*: For the South-wind forces you upon the Rocks, and with the North-wind the Shore is too shallow to approach it. The *Portugueses* had formerly a Fort here, the Ruins whereof are to be seen to this day. They also brought some Horses into this Isle, which multiplying in time produc'd a certain kind of Horses that are very small, but hardy and very fit to travel on stony and rocky grounds: They live in the Wilderness, and are taken by forcing them unto the Bank of a River or Pond, where they catch them in Snares or Ropes. This Isle produces also a certain kind of Goats, out of which they take Bezoar Stones, but they are none of the best. It has about 900 Inhabitants, and 170 Children.

*A remark-*  
*able*  
*Spring.*

It is very remarkable that there is no fresh Water in all this Isle, except what is found in one place among the Rocks, being above half a mile in Circuit. If we may credit the Inhabitants, these Rocks were split by a Thunderbolt, which occasion'd these Springs, some whereof have not above half a foot, others a foot deep Water: The entire Rocks arising betwixt these Springs have often cast Men and Beasts down the Precipices.

There are some other Islands near this Shore, but being very small and not inhabited (as the *Palesiva*, and the two Brothers, since call'd *Hoorn* and *Enchuy-sin*) are not worth our particular Observation.

In the year 1663. I and my Colleague Mr. John à Breyt sent the following account to Mr. Maatzuyker, General of the Indies for our Company, viz. That in *Jafnapatnam* were at that time 15012 Children under the Tuition of the respective School-masters there, being all Natives; not reckoning those of *Manaar* and the Country of the *Wannias*, where in my Visitation 1665. in March and April, I found in those of *Poenery*, *Polue-raincatti*, *Peringale*, *Manstotte*, *Nanatom*, and *Aripou*, all Churches belonging to the *Wannias*, and in the Churches of *Manaar*, viz. *Totavalli Karsel*, *Irkelampatti*, *Tellimanaar*, *Peixale*, the Fishers and City Churches, 1315 Children of the Natives. Such as were come to Age of maturity amounted in the *Wannias* to 4533, and in the Isle of *Manaar* to 3520, not including 214 Slaves lately converted, who had already learn'd certain forms of Prayers. According to the Church-Registers (call'd here *Patolas*) in the year 1663. there were of Christian Men and Women in the Kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* 62558, not including the Slaves, whereof there were 2587. The number of the baptiz'd Children from 1658, till 1661, viz. in three years and a half, in the Churches of *Jafnapatnam* amounted to 5799 Children, and 36 that were come to Age of Maturity. During that time were married 2158 Couples, not reckoning those baptiz'd and married in the *Low-Dutch* and *Portuguese* Churches. At the time of my departure the number of the Children in the Schools was risen to 18000, and that of the baptized Children in 1663 to 12387. From the year 1658, till 1661. the whole burden of visiting all the before-mention'd Churches lay upon my Shoulders, till Mr. Breyt was join'd with me, who dying in his return to *Holland* (his Corps being inter'd at the *Cape of Good Hope*) 1665. Mr. *Bartholomew Heyne* succeeded in his place.

In the Churches of *Jafnapatnam* the Ten Commandments written in large *Malabar* Characters, are hung up on a Table, on both sides whereof are the *Our Father*, and the *Creed*. Every Sunday the People come to Church about Ten a Clock, and after they have sung a Psalm, the School-master reads a Sermon in the *Malabar* Language, for which purpose a certain number of Sermons are allotted to each Church, to be read in the absence of the Minister. This done, they conclude with singing another Psalm.

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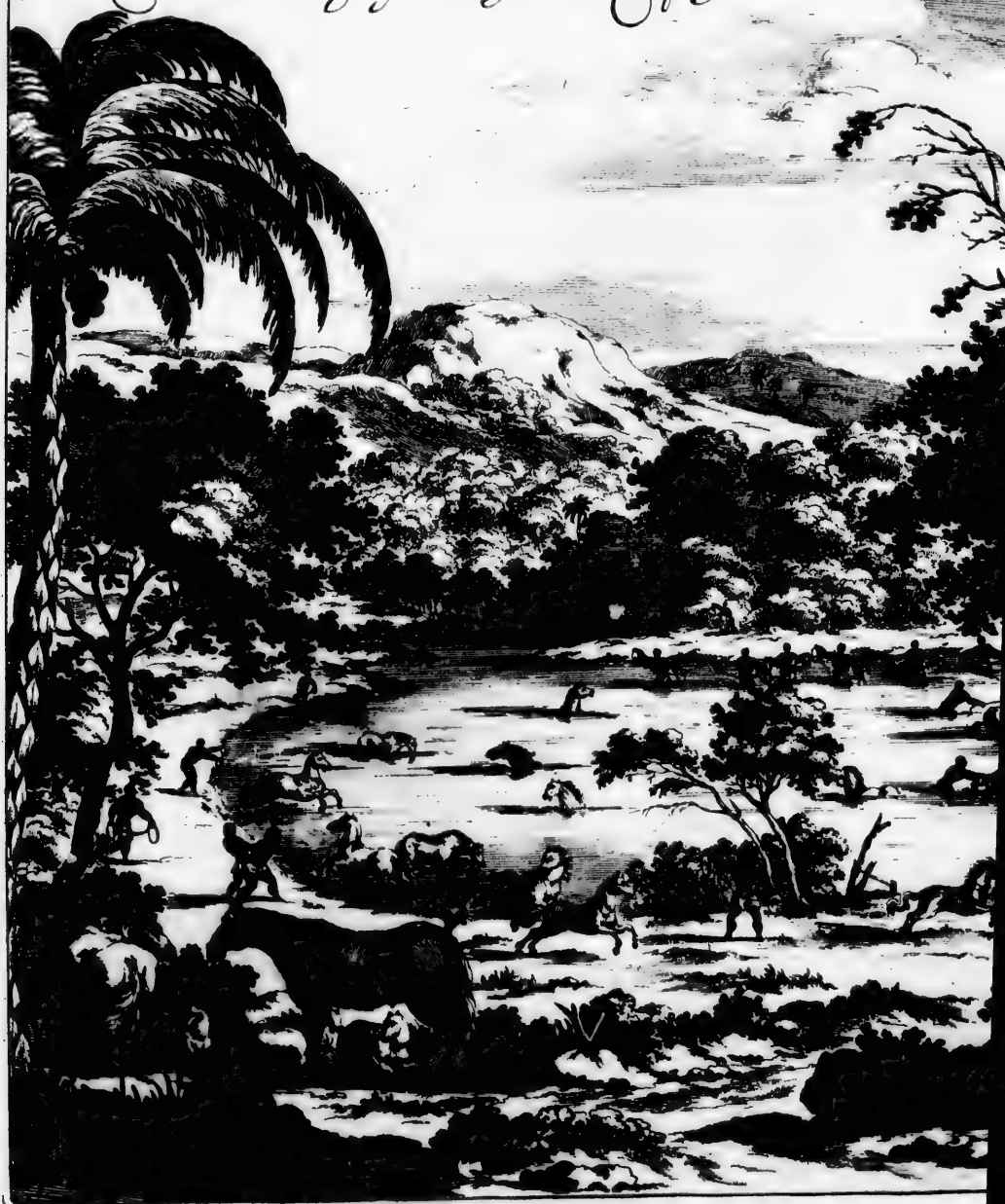
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*The Catching of Horses in Jafnapatnam.*





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But the greatest Trouble that belongs to a Minister in these parts, is the Instruction to be given both to young and old by way of mouth, which is best done by way of Question and Answer, which makes the deepest Impression into the Minds of these tender Christians. Besides, as the *Malabar* Tongue is so difficult to attain to, that none of our Ministers dare pretend to the Perfection of it; so on the other hand, they may learn without much trouble, as much as is requisite for the instructing them in the main Points of our Religion. Add to this, that our Ministers undergo much more Fatigue in their Stations than the *Romish* Ecclesiasticks, who preach very seldom; and each Church having its peculiar Attendant, they are not oblig'd to travel from place to place as we do. Besides, that they bring the *Portuguese* Language commonly along with them, which ours are forc'd to learn upon the spot, not without great difficulty; not to mention several other Disadvantages on our side, sufficient to convince those who extol the Merits of the *Romish* Clergy upon that score, and vilify ours: these I would have consider, that at this time there are no more than two or three Ministers belonging to all these Churches, which had no less than forty in the time of the *Portuguese*; and we have three Sermons every Sunday, and one in the Week; besides the constant Visitations of the Churches in the Country.

Before my departure, I took care to have the next following Pieces translated (the same being revis'd by me before) out of the *Portuguese* into the *Malabar*, by *Francis de Fonseca*, a Member of the Reform'd Churches.

"The Gospel of St. *Matthew*. The  
"Lesser Catechism. Instructions for  
"Communicants. Questions and An-  
"swers out of the New Testament.  
"Short Questions and Answers concern-  
"ing the chief Matters contain'd in the  
"Old Testament. (This was not quite  
"perfected at the time of my departure.)  
"Consolations for the Sick. Formulary  
"of Baptism, both for Children and o-  
"thers. Morning and Evening Prayers,  
"as also Devotions to be used both before  
"and after Sermons, and before and after  
"Meals. Prayers for Rain and a fruitful  
"Season. Thanksgivings on account of  
"Victories obtain'd against our Enemies.  
"Prayers to be us'd in the Army before an  
"Engagement. Prayers for Criminals  
"before Execution. Formulary and Pray-  
"ers of Marriage. Some Psalms of  
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"*David* set in Metre after the *Malabar*  
"fashion. Some Sermons, viz. upon the  
"Nativity of Christ, upon his Passion, and  
"Death, Resurrection and Ascension;  
"upon the sending of the Holy Ghost;  
"the Circumcision of our Saviour, the  
"History of the Wise Men of the East,  
"the Resurrection and Day of last Judg-  
"ment; upon Charity due from one  
"Christian to another, out of *Luke* 10.  
"Who is our Neighbour? the rejoicing  
"of the Angels in Heaven for the Con-  
"version of a Sinner, upon the Question  
"of the Pharisees, *Mat.* 12. v. 38. and  
"such like.

I had abundance of other Sermons by me in the *Portuguese* Language, but for want of a good Interpreter (whom I mention'd before, having his hands full with the rest) the same was fain to be defer'd till another opportunity, tho at the same time I never thought it convenient to overcharge these People with many Books, pursuant to the Opinion of Mr. *John Maatzuyker* our General, in his Letter sent to me from *Batavia*, Sept. 18. 1662.

"I Could not without an extreme Sa-  
"tisfaction understand the happy Con-  
"dition of the Churches in *Tajnapat-*  
"*nam*, and the Effects of your Industry.  
"God Almighty bleis your Endeavours  
"and Zeal to the honour of his holy  
"Name, and the Salvation of many  
"thousand Souls. Being in great want  
"of Books for the Churches and Schools  
"of this Country, it is impossible to  
"gratify your desire, especially since  
"many of these Books are very ill ma-  
"nag'd by some People. I hope you are  
"pretty well provided by this time,  
"that your good Intentions may not be  
"disappointed for want of them. Tho  
"in my opinion Reading and Writing are  
"things not so absolutely necessary for the  
"Edification of these poor Wretches, as  
"that they may be instructed in the  
"Fundamentals of Religion, which con-  
"sists in few Points. For in case we  
"pretend to propagate Christianity by  
"reading and writing, I am afraid it  
"will prove both tedious and chargeable  
"to the Company. To promote this  
"holy Work we have sent three Mini-  
"sters, whereof two are gone with the  
"Ships to *Malabar*, and the third is late-  
"ly arriv'd with the Yacht the *Achilles*.  
"they are all three young Men, and  
"not long ago came from *Holland*, and  
"consequently most likely to do confi-  
"derable Service for a long time, provi-

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"ded

*Baldem.* "ded they are indued with due Zeal, as I hope they are, for the benefit of the Iſle of Ceylon, and the places thereunto belonging. We have alſo ſent a Miniſter to *Nagapatnam*: ſo recommending you to the Protection of

" Almighty God, I reſt

From the Caſtle  
of Batavia 18  
Sept. 1662.

Your affectionate  
Friend,

John Plantinuyker.

## CHAP. XLVII.

*The Nature and Qualifications of the Inhabitants of Jaſaapatnam. The Bellales, and their manner of living. The Brahmans, their Doctrines ſhewn and refuted.*

*Qualifications of the Inhabitants of Jaſaapatnam.*

IT is time to ſay ſome thing of the Inhabitants of *Jaſaapatnam*; which done, we will return to *Batecalo*, and ſo leaving the Iſle we will turn our ſelves another way.

In *Ceylon* are divers Clans, or Families, as well as on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. The Generation of the *Bellales* is the chiefſt here ſince Chriſtianity has been introduc'd, the *Brahmans* challenging the firſt rank among the Pagans.

*The Habit of the Bellales.*

The *Bellales* wear a kind of Garment from above the Navel, turning betwixt the Legs like a pair of Drawers. They alſo make uſe of *Scripous* (or Soles) tied to the bottom of the feet with Leather Straps, the upper part of the feet being bare, to prevent their ſweating. Upon the Belly they have a kind of a Bag (call'd *Maddi*) being part of their Garment roll'd together, wherein they keep their *Aceek* and *Betel*, and ſome Paper to make uſe of upon occaſion. On the right ſide they carry a kind of a Knife in a Sheaf, and an Iron Pen pointed with Silver, as is likewiſe the Sheath, in which they keep alſo a piece of Steel to ſharpen their Knife upon. They make holes in their Ears from their Infancy, which being adorn'd with Golden Pendants, draw them down to their Shoulders. They live upon Huſbandry, and are rich in

*Are rich in Cattel.*

Cattel, ſuch as Cows, Oxen for the Plow, Sheep, Goats and Buſſlers. Their Habitations are both convenient and neat, with pleaſant Gardens, well planted with *Betel*, and furniſh'd with excellent Springs, which furniſh them (during the dry Summer Seafon) with Water for the watering of the Gardens. Their Harveſt is in *January* and *February*; their Winter, or rainy Seafon being in *November* and *December*. In ſome places, viz. in the low marſhy Grounds, they have Harveſt twice a year: They thręſh their Corn (after the manner of the *Iſraelites*)

*Their manner of thręſhing the Corn.*

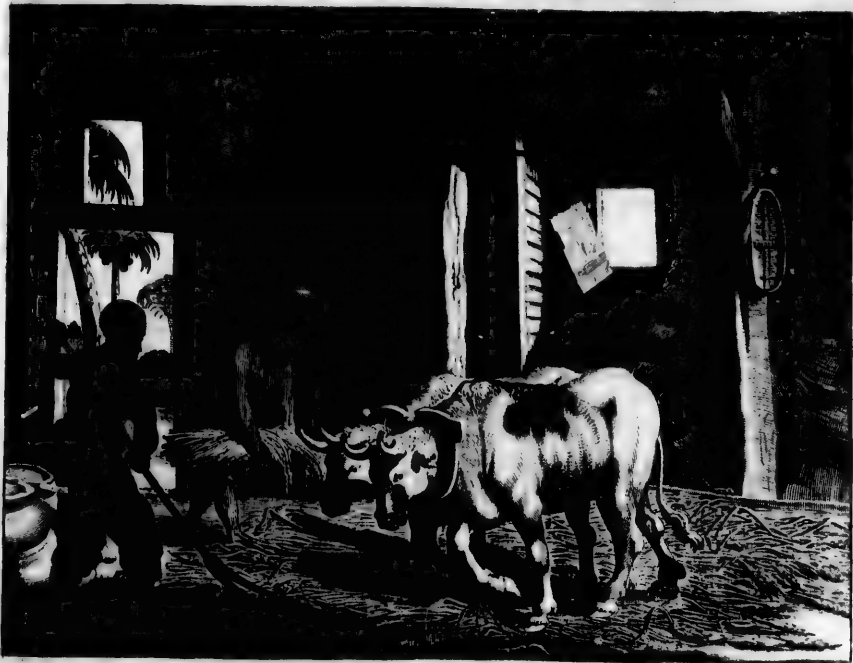
with Oxen, not muffled; theſe tread the Seed out of the Ears.

During the rainy Seafon it rains with ſuch violence, that the Fields are all overflow'd; and I remember that in my time a conſiderable part of the *Corrin* of the Caſtle was waſh'd away by the Rains. This continues for two months, and *Great* it happens oftentimes, that for eight months after it rains not above three times, which is the reaſon that they are oblig'd even to water the *Coco-Trees* till they are ſix years old. If you dig about two foot deep you meet with rocky ground, ſo that if you will have a Spring you muſt cut them out of the *Ground* rocks. Rocks with vaſt Charge.

The before-mention'd *Bellales* make likewiſe Butter, but not after the ſame manner as we do in *Holland*. They take a kind of a Mill made like a Star at the bottom, this they roll betwixt both hands (as we do with our *Chocolate*) till the Butter comes. Some of our *Dutch Women* make alſo good Cheeſe, but it is not regarded among the Inhabitants; but Butter is in great eſteem among them as well as among the *Moors*, nay the Family of *Commetty* uſe Butter like Drink. Milk turn'd to Curds (call'd by them *Tayr*) is alſo in great requeſt with them, and uſed like a cooling Medicine in Fevers, and the Small-Pox, which are very frequent here.

Their Cattel they keep both day and night in the Field, tho' towards night they drive them into a certain Encloſure. They are never houſ'd in the Winter, but feed in the Grounds where the Corn firſt ſprouts forth, and afterwards are fed with Hay till Harveſt time. If the Cattel happen to break into a Neighbour's Field, the Owner is oblig'd to make good the Damage. The *Bellales* are generally the richeſt of the Country; they don't marry except in their own Family, and

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commonly in the Spring; as the *Romans* did formerly in *May*, and the *Persians* in the Spring: if it happens to be a fruitful Year, they are the more inclined to marry. They are very litigious, and will go to Law for a Trifle, because they are constantly envious at one another.

The *Brahmans* living in *Jafnapatnam*, or any other part of the *Indies*, are for the most part Men of great Morality, sober, clean, industrious, civil, obliging, and very moderate both in eating and drinking; they use no strong Liquors, wash or bathe twice a day, eat nothing that has had or may have Life, yet are much addicted (like all the rest of the *Indians*) to Pleasure. Notwithstanding they are Christians, they carry still certain Beads, and (as *Rogierius* observes, fol. 71.) like those of *Coromandel*, never marry out of their Families, but frequently their Brothers and Sisters Children; tho' else they are great Enemies to Incest, but excuse this near Alliance by the great Value they put upon their Generation, which they deduce from *Bramma*, and some Learned Men from *Abraham* and *Keturah*, whose Children, according to

*Gen. 25. v. 6. went into the Eastern Coun-  
try.*

Tho they bear the Name of Christians, and know how to discourse rationally of the Ten Commandments, and the other Points of the Christian Doctrine, they still retain many of their Pagan Superstitions. If you tell them of the Christian Liberty in Victuals and Drinks, they reply, that they are not ignorant of it, but as the Essence of Christianity does not consist in eating and drinking, so they do not think themselves oblig'd to feed upon such things as are contrary to their Nature and Education, being from their Infancy used to much tenderer Food, which agrees best with their Constitution, and makes them generally live to a great Age.

They are not ignorant in the Course of Their years, in calculating the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, know the seven Stars, which they call *Arramien*, i. e. *Six-fishes*, because, say they, we see no more than six. They understand also the Names of the Planets, and chiefest of the fixed Stars, but this must be understood from the most Learned among them.

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Tho we shall treat in particular hereafter of the Errors of the Pagans, yet can I not pass by here in silence, what I have observ'd my self concerning their Opinion of the Creation of the World, its Age, and Transmigration of the Soul. In the Year 1665, after I had catechiz'd the People after Sermon in the Church of *Parititure*, happening to discourse concerning the Creation and Age of the World; some of the Indians affirm'd that the World had stood 4864 Years since their *Kaligam* or fourth Period. For they have four Periods, the first called *Creinagam*, the second *Treitagam*, the third *Dmaparugam*, and the fourth *Kaligam*. And whereas the Indians in *Coromandel* did in the Year 1639, compute no more than 4739 Years since the Creation of the World, I told 'em that they follow'd the Footsteps of the *Chineſes*, who in their Computations made no great account of 100 Years less or more, which made 'em smile. I told 'em further, that there was no certain Computation from the beginning of the World, except what was founded upon the Holy Scripture; and that in the Year 1665 (according to the *Jewish* Computation) the World had stood 5425 Years. Concerning the Origin of the Soul, I found them of the same Opinion with the *Great Rabbi*, viz. That all Souls were created in the beginning, and kept till they were to be communicated to certain Bodies. Unto which they have added the *Pythagorean* Tradition of the Transmigration of the Soul.

I remember that at a certain time, as I was walking with some of them, and endeavouring to refute this Opinion; they objected that it was impossible for a Child to be born Blind, Dumb or Lame, without having receiv'd a Soul that had been guilty of very gross Sins. For, said they, since the Child has not committed any Sins, and God does not punish any Body without sinning, this must be attributed to the Sins committed by the Soul whilst yet in another Body, and now entered into the Child. Unto which I reply'd in our Saviour's Words, out of *John* 9. 1. when his Disciples ask'd him concerning the blind Man from his Birth, *Neither had this Man sinned nor his Parents, but that the Works of God should be made manifest in him*. Whence it seems that the *Jews* were somewhat infected with this Tradition, mention whereof is also made by *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 18. c. 11. and *de Bello Judaeo*, l. 2. c. 8. The Words of *Herod.* *Mat.* 14. 2. when he says concerning Christ, *This is John the Baptist, he is risen*

from the Dead, intimate the same, as likewise what the *Jews* said concerning Christ, *Mat.* 16. 13, 14. some that he was *John the Baptist*, some *Elias*, and others *Jeremias*. Hence *Elias* (commonly call'd *Levita*) in his Book *Tibi*, and the other Cabalists of the *Jews* were of Opinion, that the Souls pass thro three distinct Bodies, which they pretend to evince from the Words of *Job* 33. 29. *Lo! all these things worketh God twice or thrice thro one Man*. Thus the *Jews* affirm that the Soul of *Adam* was translated into the Body of *David*, and afterwards into that of the *Messiah*; which Error having been introduced into *Palestine* by *Antiochus's* Philosophers, the *Jewish* Doctors did not stick to maintain that the Souls of *sinful Men* did transmigrate into the Bodies of Beasts, according to the degrees or heinousness of their Crimes; whereas it is manifest, that a rational Soul can't fix its Habitation but in the Body instructed with proper Organs, whereby it exerts its Operations; and the Scripture tells us expressly, that the Soul and Spirit returns to God who gave it; besides many other Arguments I alledged to them upon this Head against their Opinion.

The learned *Possius* is of opinion, that this Error took its beginning from the true Tradition of the Resurrection of the Dead, which was spread even among the *Druids* in *Gaul*, according to *Cesar*, lib. 6. with this difference however, that the *Pythagoreans* affirm the Souls to transmigrate even into the Bodies of Beasts; whereas the first restrain it only to the Bodies of Men, which made them face Death with an undaunted Courage, according to *Lucan* lib. 1.

*Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum  
Maximus baud urget leti mei, inde  
mendii  
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque ca-  
paces  
Mortis, & ignavum est reditura parcere  
vitae.*

*Appian* says of the ancient *Germans* among other things, that they despised Death in hopes of another Life; and *Thomas Avion* an *Englishman* assures us, that the same had been found in *Virginia*. *Joseph Acosta* says the same of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and the same is related of *Guinea*, of the *Chineſes*, the ancient *Egyptians* and *Geses*. The *Pythagoreans* say of *Atthalides*, that his Soul before it entered the Body of *Pythagoras*, transmigrated into three several other Bodies, first into that of

*Baudens.*

*This Opini-  
on receiv'd  
among the  
Druids.*

*Eu-*



*Baldæus.* Euphorbus, the Son of Panthus in the Trojan War, afterwards into Pyrrhus, next into Eleus, and then into Pythagoras. All the Indian Pagans are infected with this erroneous Opinion, as we shall see more at large, hereafter: but what is more surprizing is, that the Sadduces among the Jews, who had so much Veneration for the Books of Moses, should deny the Immortality of the Soul; when it is said in Gen. 1. 16. That the Soul of Man was not created, like material Substances, but was part of the Spirit of God. The same say all the Gentiles, as Hermes,

Zoroaster, Chalcidius and Epicharmis. Cicero in *Somnio Scip.* says, There is a near Relation betwixt God and our Souls. Seneca in his Letter to Lucilius tells him, That the Souls are in Heaven; and speaking of the deceased Son of Marcia, he says, in *meliori Statu est*, he is in a better State. The Turks, and Persians, and Mahomet in his *Alcoran* acknowledg the Immortality of the Soul; which put these Christians to the blush, who affirm that the Souls of the Wicked are annihilated, or what others assert, That the Souls rest in the Matter till the Day of Judgement.

## C H A P. XLVIII.

*Marriages of the Bellales and Brahmans. Divers Circumstances observed upon that account. Families, Degrees, and Handicraftsmen of Jainapatnam. The Taking and Description of Trinquenemale.*

*Marriage-Customs.*

IN the preceding Chapter we told you concerning the Marriages of the Bellales, and how the Brahmans often marry their Brothers and Sisters Children. Among some of the Christians in Ceylon obtains a certain Custom to this day, to tie the Tali or Bracelet of the Bride about the Bridegroom's Neck, a thing introduced by the Pagans, and imitated by the Christians: for as Rogerius observes, the Inhabitants of the Coast of Coromandel look upon it as a Ceremony so necessary towards the Confirmation of the Marriage, that whenever the Husband dies, the Tali he wore about his Neck on his Marriage-Day is to be burnt with him.

As Maidens without a good Portion are a very bad Commodity here, hence it is that frequent Collections are made to help the poorer sort to Husbands. They are of Opinion, that a single Man is but half a Man; nay that those who neglect or lose any time in propagating their own Kind, are not far different from a Murderer and a Destroyer of Human Kind (according to the opinion of Plato, which was likewise encourag'd among the Athenians and Romans) which is the reason they often marry their Daughters at 10 and 11 Years of Age, and nothing is more frequent than to see them bring forth Children at 13 or 14.

*Weddings.*

After they have been three times claimed from the Pulpit, the Marriage Ceremony is perform'd by the Minister; the House where the Wedding is kept being generally adorn'd with a kind of

Triumphal Arch raised without Doors, made of Fig-tree Branches, Flowers, Pomegranates, and such like. The richer sort seldom fail to give a good Entertainment to their Friends, of Venison, Hares, Partridges, Fish, Fruits, Preserves, &c. and the Evening is spent in dancing, singing, and divers other Diversions. However strong Liquors are never made use of on such Occasions, unless the Hollanders (who can't well be merry without them) bring some along with them. These Marriage-Diversions continue sometimes four or five days successively.

I remember that during my Residence here, sometimes Children of eight or nine Years of Age would have engaged in mutual Promises of Marriage, in mine and their Friends Presence; which I always opposed, fearing, not without reason, that they might repent their Bargain, before they came to a marriageable Age. For the rest they constantly observe this Custom, that the Female is younger than the Bridegroom; nay they seldom will chuse a Maid, that has already had her Monthly Times: this Custom is so strictly observed on the Coast of Coromandel, that if a Brahman's Daughter remains unmarried till that time, she must lay aside all hopes of it for the future.

The learned Selden shews out of Rabbi Moses Maimonides, that the Jewish High Priests were not allow'd to marry a Maiden, unless she was under 12 Years of Age; and the ancient Romans commonly married their Daughters at 10, 11 or 12 Years

*They marry very young.*

*The same is practised by the Jews and Romans.*

*Children were married without the Consent of their Parents.*

*Doctors Tiber. The Tribe of the Children.*

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Years of Age. It is sufficiently known what *Moses* says, in relation to the Marks of Virginity, *Deut.* 12. 17. which to this day is followed by the *Moors* of *Fez* and *Morocco*. If they happen to die without Issue, the Mother's Portion returns to her Friends, the rest to the Husband's. One laudable Custom they have, which is, that scarce ever Children marry here without the consent of their Parents; a Custom not only agreeable to the express Command of God, express'd in divers Places of the Scripture, and the Practice of all Ages even among the *Pagans*, but also consonant to the Civil Constitutions, and the Decrees of the Council of *Lateran* and other Councils, which declare a Marriage betwixt *Raptorem* and *Raptam* invalid in it self.

The Tribe or Family of the *Chivias*, use formerly to attend the Service of the King of *Jafnapatnam*, but now do all sorts of Drudgery, as carrying of Water and Wood for the *Dutch* Inhabitants; they make use also of them for Littermen, 10 or 12 of them being sometimes employed at a time, to carry a good bulky *Hollander*, 10, 20, nay 30 Leagues in a Litter. However as they are defended from Courtiers, so they are too proud to carry any ordinary Person, who must be contented to be carried by the ordinary *Coelys* or Labourers, who live all over the Country; whereas the *Chivias* inhabit in the District of the Church of *Chundecouli*.

Those of the Tribe of the *Parruas* do not live in such great Numbers in *Jafnapatnam*, as they do about *Tutecoryn*; they apply themselves to the Sea, and especially in diving for Sea-Horse Teeth and Pearls. They generally speak *Portuguese*, and are an active sort of People.

The *Chittis* live for the most part upon the Linen Manufacture and Traffick, the word *Chitty* signifying as much as a Merchant; they are a crafty Generation. Each of these Tribes does not marry into any other, besides their own, nay commonly in the same Family. Besides which, each Handicraftsman educates his Son to the same Trade he is of; thus a Weaver's Son follows the Weaving-Trade, as the Smith's Son does that of a Smith.

The Tribe of the *Carreas* live upon Fishing, which they perform with monstrous large Nets; they inhabit near the Sea-shore of *Jafnapatnam*, and the Banks of the *Salt-River*. Those of the Tribe of the *Mokhuas* are likewise Fishermen.

The *Nallouas* are generally Slaves to the *Bellales*, and much blacker than the

rest. Their Business is to gather the Liquor that flows out of the *Coco-Trees*, call'd *Suyri* and *Eumak* by the *Indians*, to dig the Ground, tend the Cattel, water the Trees, and such like Drudgeries, as is commonly done also by the *Coelys* or ordinary Labourers. They are a nasty Generation, you may smell them at a good distance, not unlike the *Hottentots* on the Cape of *Good Hope*.

The *Parreas* are the most despicable of all, their Employment being to carry out Dung and such like filthy things, they feed upon Rats and Mice.

It is observable, that the Tribes of the higher Rank look upon the inferior Ones with a great deal of Scorn, these being obliged to salute the others in the Streets with deep Reverence, and other Ceremonies to shew their Submission. On the other hand, all the Men of what Rank or Quality soever, exercise a great Authority over their Wives, whom they rarely honour so far as to eat with them, but commonly dine alone. None of all these Tribes eat Cows Flesh, which is the reason that no Cows are killed but by the *Dutch*, the Cow being look'd upon among the rest as a Sacred Creature, as it was formerly among the *Egyptians* \*, of which more hereafter.

Tho their Tribes are very numerous, yet do they relate to some few Families, from whence they take their Original, like the Branches from the Stem of a Tree. The same was practis'd among the antient *Egyptians*, who distinguish'd their Nation into four Head Tribes, viz. the *Priests*, the *Soldiers*, the *Artisans* and *Handicraftsmen*, and the *Sheep* and *Cowherds*. Just as now-a-days some of the *European* Nations are distinguish'd into four Estates, viz. *Noblemen*, *Patricians* or *Gentlemen*, *Citizens*, and the *Common People*.

For the rest, the generality of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* are naturally ingenious, and have a strong Memory; they are very sober and moderate in their Diet, and (except the *Nallouas* and *Parreas*) very clean in their Apparel, not quarrelsome, but very free with their Tongue.

Their general Vice is Fornication and Adultery, especially among the young Men, as the old Ones are much addicted to Superstitions, as to the choice of certain Days (whereof something was said before concerning *Raja Singa*) the Cries of Birds, and such like things used among the antient *Romans*. Hence it is that the *Portugueses* in those Parts have a Proverb to this day, I know

N n n n n

Baldau.

Of the Parreas.

Great Difference in the degree of their Tribes.

\* See Exo. 8. 25. & Gen. 43. 32.

The Inhabitants of Jafnapatnam.

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*Baldæus.* not what unfortunate Sight (Rosto Mofin-  
ho) did come in my way this day.

*Their Su-  
perstition.*

Thus on the Coast of *Coromandel*, they look upon it as fortunate, if they see a certain red Bird, with a white Ring about his Neck. *John van Twist* in his Description of *Gufuratte*, tells us of the Natives there, that they look upon it as a good Sign, if they meet an Elephant or Camel laden or unloaden, a Horse without a Burden, or a Cow or Buffler with Water on their Backs, for without a Load they were accounted unfortunate; a Ram or Dog with a piece of Meat in his Mouth, a Cat passing to the right hand of them: they also reckon it fortunate, if they meet any Body that carries Meat, Milk and Butter, or if a Cock crosses the way.

It is certain, that the Observations of the Cries and Flights of the Birds have not only been usual among the antient *Romans*, but also the *Jews*, with several other such like Superstitions, Predictions, asking Advice from the Devil, the finding out of stolen or lost Goods, &c. for *Necromancy* was forbid, *Isa.* 8. 19. Incantations, *Acts* 19. 15. Observations of the Cries of the Birds, *Ezek.* 21. 21. the choice of certain Days, *Esth.* 3. 7. & 9. 24. the consulting of Woods, *Hof.* 4. 12. besides which, the Predictions from the different Appearance of the Water, Air, Fire and Earth, out of certain Union of Characters or Numbers (called *Cabala*) Chiromancy, Astrology, Inspections into the Magic Glass, and such like Diabolical Illusions, described more at large by *Peucerus* in his Treatise, *de variis Divinationum generibus*.

*Lawyers  
in Jafnapatnam.*

Besides the Artisans and Handicraftsmen, whereof there is great Plenty in *Jafnapatnam*, they have certain Persons who apply themselves to the Law; and in the high Court of Justice, composed of *Hollanders* and *Indians*, were set always (besides the *Modeliers*) a certain Person well versed in the Laws and Constitutions of his Native Country. They have also their Advocates, who make very long Speeches in their Pleadings.

*Their Physicians.*

Neither are they destitute of Physicians, such as they are; for to speak Truth they are more than Empiricks, who practise according to certain Books and Traditions, transmitted to them by their Ancestors, and confirm'd to them by their own Experience. They know not what Anatomy is, and very little of the nature of purging Medicines, which are not often used in this hot Climate: However when a Purge is to be given (whether

a Potion or Pills) the Composition is always made of fresh Herbs; and if it works too strong, they mix some powdered Pepper with Water, and apply it to the Navel in the nature of an Ointment. I can tell it by my own experience, that it is a good Remedy against the Belly-ach and Looseness.

They have also good Store of Surgeons and Barbers, the last carry always a small Looking-glass along with them, their Razors are thicker on the back than ours; they not only shave your Beard and Head, but also pare your Hand and Toe Nails, and cleanse your Ears.

Weavers are here in abundance. These fit flat upon the Ground, their Feet being plac'd in a Hole dug for that purpose, whilst they are at work.

Callico-Printers or Painters are numberless here, who have a way of preparing their Colours, that they never go out by washing, tho those printed at *Jafnapatnam* are not near so good as those of the Coast of *Coromandel*, and especially those done at *Majulipatan*.

They are excellent Workmen in Ivory and Ebony Wood, as likewise in Gold and Silver, and will come with their Tools (which are but few) to work in the Houses of the *Dutch*. They are exactly well versed in the Essaying of Gold.

They are as well provided with Smiths, Carpenters and Bricklayers, as most Places in *Europe*, tho a Carpenter or Bricklayer gets not above five or six Pence a day.

Having thus given you a full account of the Kingdom of *Jafnapatnam*, we will now go from thence along the Seashore to *Trinquemale*, taken 1639 by Mr. *Anthony Caan*, which might have been done before whilst Mr. *Adam Westermold* was in *Ceylon* (there being no more than 50 Men in *Garifon*) had not *Raja Singa* bent his Thoughts upon *Batecalo*, or as some will have it upon *Matecalo*. *Trinquemale* has a most excellent Harbour, (as you may see by the Draught) nay to speak the Truth, the best and largest in the whole Isle of *Ceylon*, there being more secure riding at anchor here, than in the Harbours of *Belligamme*, *Gale* or *Columbo*.

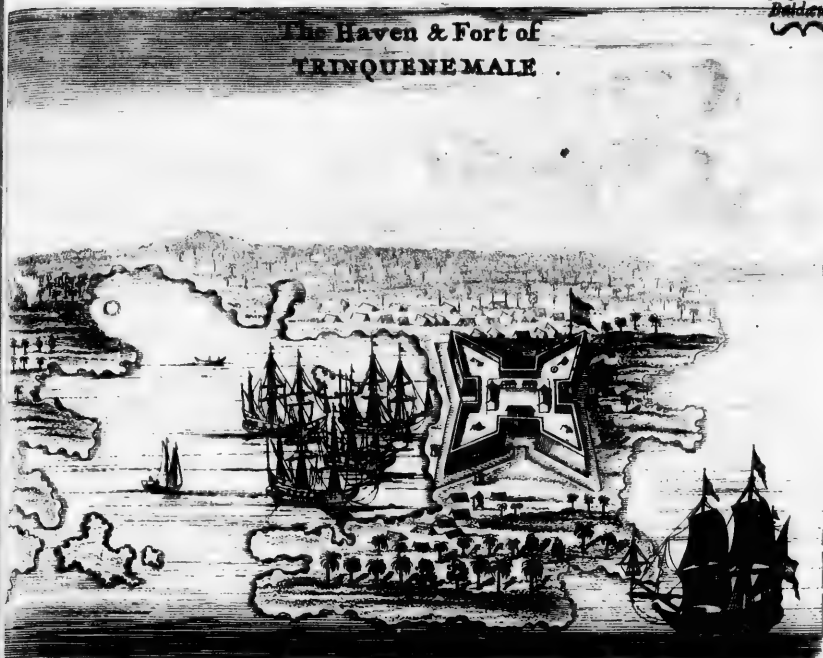
This Place was several times relinquish'd and rebuilt by our Company, especially during our War with the *English*, it being not thought convenient to leave so good a Harbour, and so conveniently seated for the interrupting all Correspondence betwixt Foreigners and *Raja Singa*, to the Discretion of an Enemy;



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nemy; tho the repairing of it (during my stay in Ceylon) under Captain Peter Wajh, cost us abundance of People, that were swept away by a Phrenical Distemper, which made them drown themselves in the Sea. Some of their Bodies being open'd, certain Worms were found in the Substance of the Brains, occasion'd questionless by the Violence of the Heat, the continual Labour, Watching, and the feeding upon Salt-Provisions; but more especially by the cold Night-Fogs. After which time it was strengthened with some additional Fortifications, as appears by Captain Peter du Poi's Letter, dated the 5th of Octob. 1667. from Macassar in the Isle of Celebes.

"I was once more order'd to sail with some Forces to Trinquenemale, to take once more possession of that Harbour and Bay for our Company, which I did accordingly with good Success; and having reafortify'd the Place with four Bastions, and reduc'd the circum-

jacent Inhabitants to our Subjection, I left a sufficient Garrison there, and so return'd to Columbo.

From Trinquenemale you travel by the way of Capello to Batecalo, the first place conquer'd by the Dutch in this Island, whereof we have given you the best account we were able, not questioning but that in case we should once live in Peace with the King of Candy (who is very old, almost doting, and much addicted to strong Liquor) our Countrymen will be much better acquainted with the Inland Countries than they have been hitherto.

According to the last Letter I receiv'd from Tuncocoryn, dated Decemb. 20. 1668. there had been lately an Insurrection in the Isle of Ceylon, so that they were forced to draw their Forces together out of Saffragam and Mannekewarre, but was appeased since, tho the Forces were not as yet dismissed.



## C H A P. XLIX.

*Natural History of Ceylon. Their Pagodes, Convents, Monks. Manners, Habit and Oeconomy of the Cingaleſes.*

HAVING hitherto taken a view of those Places of Ceylon that are under the Jurisdiction of the Dutch Company, we will now take a turn to Candy, the Imperial Residence, as the most proper place to be inform'd concerning the real Constitution of this Isle, and its Inhabitants.

*The City of Candy.*

The City of Candy is seated about 30 Leagues from the Sea-side, and 9 from *Vintane* up the River of *Trinquemale*, about 21 Leagues by Land from *Matecalo*, and 9 from the Sea-shore, where the Emperor has his Docks for building and refitting his Ships and Gallies. The other Cities of Ceylon being not described in any Books, we must also pass by in silence here. All over the Isle you see abundance of very splendid Pagodes. The Foundation of that of *Vintane* has no less than 130 foot in Circumference; it is of a great height, and gilt on the top; it is oval on the bottom, and arises into a four-corner'd Point like a Pyramid. The Great Pagode betwixt *Gale* and *Matecalo* is also much celebrated, serving for a Light-house to Ships as well as that of *Trinquemale*. In the large high Pagode before-mention'd stands an Idol representing a Man with a naked Sword in his hand, lifting up his Arm, as if he were ready to strike. To this Idol the Cingaleſes pay their Reverence, and offer their Sacrifices upon all Emergencies, or in time of Sickneſs; for which reason they keep a Basket in every House, wherein they gather such Provisions as they are to sacrifice. They believe that the World will not have an end so long as that Pagode stands. Some worship an Elephant's Head of Wood or Stone, to obtain Wisdom. They adorn their Idols with Flowers. These Elephants Heads are plac'd sometimes on Trees in the High-ways, sometimes in little Brick Houses or Chappels. You see also frequently in the high Road certain heaps of Stones, Earth or Dung, upon which each Passenger throws something as he passes by.

*And Idols.*

Just by *Belligamme* I saw the Figure of a Man at least six Yards high, cut in a Rock about half a yard deep, who us'd to be worship'd by the Cingaleſes.

Near it is a high-peak'd Mountain, ac-

counted the highest in the Indies, call'd *Pico de Adam*, or *Adam's Peak*; because they are of opinion, that here stood formerly the Paradise, where Adam was created: they also tell you, that the Print of the Foot of Adam is to be seen to this day in the Rock, the Draught whereof is kept in the Imperial Court. Unto this Rock a vast number of People flock from far distant places, to see this sacred Relick, tho the Mountain is of very difficult access, nay (if we may credit *Maffaeus* the Jesuit) quite inaccessible, unless by means of certain Iron Chains and Iron Spikes fastened to the Rocks.

Some are of opinion that they reverence the Chamberlain of the Queen *Candace* in this place, who according to some Historians, but especially *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyrus* (a Man equally famous for his Learning and Sanctity under *Constantine* the Great) preach'd the Gospel in the *Happy Arabia*, *Erythraea* and *Taprobana*.

There are also divers Convents in Ceylon, and a great number of Brahman and Priests, who are in great Veneration among the common People; they never eat any thing that has been living, or is capable of producing any living Substance, as Eggs, &c. Their Friars wear yellow Habits, with their Heads shaven all over, for which reason they never appear in the Streets without Umbrello's, and Beads in their hands, muttering out certain Prayers as they go along. Their Convents have divers Galleries and Chappels, wherein are placed the Statutes of several Men and Women, who, as they say, have led holy Lives. These are adorn'd with Gold and Silver Apparel, and attended with burning Lamps and Wax-Candles day and night, plac'd upon Altars: The Candlesticks being supported by naked Boys artificially carved. The Friars have their certain hours for Prayers, which they perform in these Chappels.

They have also their publick Processions: The Head or Abbot of the Convent being mounted on a fine Elephant, sumptuously harness'd with an Umbrello over his Head, marches along the Street in great Pomp, under the sound of Horns, Trumpets, and other such





The Indian Procession.



such sort of Musick, making an odd kind of Harmony, accompany'd by a great number of Men, Women and Children; the Maidens of Quality dance all along before the Elephant naked down to the middle, their Heads, Arms and Ears adorn'd with Golden Bracelets and Jewels; the Garments which cover their under parts are of different Colours. They pay their daily Devotions to a certain Idol call'd *Sambaja*, by prostrating themselves upon the ground, and afterwards clasping their hands together over their Heads. But concerning the Religious Worship of the *Cingalese* we shall have occasion to say more in the following Treatise, which effect differs very little from the *Malabars* and those of *Coromandel*, except that they are not altogether such Bigots, the Emperor of *Ceylon* allowing Liberty of Conscience to all Nations. The *Cingalese* are not so stubborn, but that many of them have been without much difficulty converted to the *Roman* Faith, and since that to the Reformed Religion.

The Genius of the Cingalese.

For the rest the *Cingalese* are naturally active and ingenious, and good Work-

men in Gold, Silver, Ivory, Ebony, Iron Works, &c. Arms inlaid with Silver, eloquent, nimble, courageous, fit for Warlike Exploits, sober and watchful. They march one single Man after another, by reason of the many narrow Lanes in this Country; their Arms are a Half-pike, their Drums are small, but make a great noise, which may be heard at three Leagues distance in the Mountains; they are best in the pursuit of a routed Enemy. Since they have conversed so much with the *Portugueses* and other *European* Nations, they are grown so cunning that they must not be too much trusted, nor despised.

Incest is so common a Vice among them, that when Husbands have occasion to leave their Wives for some time, they recommend the Conjugal Duty to be perform'd by their own Brothers. I remember a certain Woman at *Gale*, who had Confidence enough to complain of the want of Duty in her Husband's Brother upon that account. The like happen'd in my time at *Jafnapatnam*, which had been likely to be punish'd with Death, had not at my Intercession, and in

*Baldew.*

*The Habits.*

in regard of the tender beginnings of Christianity, the same been pass'd by for that time.

The *Cingalese* are in Shape and Manners not unlike the *Malabars*, with long hanging Ears, but not so black. The Dress of the Men is a Vest call'd *Ropillo*, of Woolen or Linen Cloth; their under Garment is a piece of Linen wrapt about the middle, and drawn through both their Legs, like a pair of Breeches: On their Heads they wear a kind of red Caps, such as we call *Rock Caps*, which they look upon as a singular Ornament, and in their Ears Rings and precious Stones. The Hilt of their Swords or Scymeters are commonly of Silver, Ivory, or Gold, with flaming Blades.

The common People appear for the most part naked, having only a piece of Cloth wrapt round the middle to cover their Privy Parts. The Women go with their Breasts uncover'd, being generally well limb'd: Instead of a Head-dress they have a way of tying their Hair together like a Cap. They wear Golden or Silver Necklaces about their Necks, and Rings on their Fingers and Toes.

The *Cingalese* as well as the *Malabars* are much addicted to Idleness and Pleasures, and insist much upon their Pedit-

gree. They marry as many Wives as they think fit, as well as the *Mahometans*, of which there live a considerable number in this Isle. They marry their Daughters at 10 or 11 years of Age, a Custom not to be rooted out among them, they being very fond of the Virginity of their Wives. They bury their Dead after the manner of the Pagans.

In their Houses they are excessive neat, *Their* use instead of Trenchards and Table. *concom.* Cloths the Leaves of Fig-trees; their Spoons are made of *Coco* Nutshells, and their drinking Vessels of Earth, with hollow Pipes, through which they pour (like the *Moors*) the Drink into the Mouth without touching their Lips; for as the *Cingalese* and *Malabars* insist much upon their Noble Descent, so they will neither eat nor drink with those of an inferior Rank; nay many of them are so proud as not to eat with their own Wives.

The most current Coin here are the *Silver Larys*, each whereof is worth about 10 d. a *Fanam* is only 5 d. tho they have Golden and Silver *Fanams*; a *Pagode* was formerly no more than 84 *Stivers*, but is since raised to 120, or six Dutch *Gilders*; as well in *Ceylon* as *Malabar*, two Golden *Fanams* at 5 d. a piece make a *Laryn*.

## CHAP. L.

*Fertility of Ceylon. A Description of the Cinnamon and Snakewood. A strange Tree.*

*Fertility of Ceylon.*

THE Isle of Ceylon is very fertile in Rice, and all sorts of Fruits, as *Ananas*, *Cocoas*, the best Oranges, Lemmons, and Citrons, exceeding by far those of *Spain* and *Portugal*; Fig-trees, *Cajouves*, Grapes, Potato's, *Quiavos*, *Papajes* and Pomgranats. You have here fresh Grapes the whole year round, except in the three Winter or rainy Months. It abounds also in Sugar-reeds, and Mulberry-trees, which produce a good quantity of Silk; as in Ginger, Pepper, Cardamum, Tobacco, wild Palm-trees, affording vast quantities of a kind of Sugar, and the Juice call'd *Suyri* their ordinary Drink. They are stor'd also with *Calabass* Trees, Cotton Trees, *Areck* Trees, *Portuguese* Figs, *Mangos* of divers sorts, long Pepper, Melons, Water-Melons, Onions, and Garlick. Since the settling of the Dutch here, they have also propagated with

good success Cabbages, Asparagus, Carrots and Radishes: But the *Helen* or the *Bride* in Contest of this Isle is the finest and purest Cinnamon, which growing only in this Island, no wonder if we have disputed the entire Possession thereof for so many years with the *Portugueses*.

This precious Spice is call'd by the *Cingalese* *Cweneo potto*, and the Tree *Curindo-gas*, some of which are of a great bulk, their Leaves resembling those of the Lemmon Trees, but not quite so broad; the Blossom is white and of an agreeable scent, which produces a yellowish Fruit, not unlike a small Olive, out of which the Inhabitants press an Oil not much differing both in Colour and Virtue from that of Nutmegs, but in smell like the Cinnamon it self.

*A Description of the Cinnamon, and the Tree.*

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The Cinnamon-Tree has a double Bark, the outward Bark being taken off with a crooked Knife; the inward Rind is cut with a Knife first round the Tree, and then in length, which being expos'd to the Sun-beams in the Fields, shrinks together into such small Rolls as we see them in Europe. The Trees that are thus peel'd perish, instead whereof the Fruits that fall upon the Ground produce other Cinnamon-Trees. The Wood is very white, and used by the Inhabitants for building. It is observable that these Cinnamon-Trees don't grow all over Ceylon, but only in some certain places: For in the whole Kingdom of *Jafnapatnam*, and the Isle of *Manaar*, none of these Trees are to be seen, but only beyond the River *Chilau*, in the Country about *Negumbo*, and the Inland Countries, as likewise near *Gale*. These Trees seldom grow together, but are generally seen in Woods mixt with other Trees. Whilst I was Minister at *Gale*, some of my Slaves us'd now and then to bring some Cinnamon Wood among the rest into the Kitchen, which when put into the Fire emitted a very odoriferous scent.

It is further worth taking notice of, that whereas according to the Judgment of the Naturalists and Physicians, the Cinnamon is very hot, yet does the Root of the Tree produce not only a Water smelling exactly like Camphyr, but also the strongest scented Camphyr it self: I have several pieces of it, which smell so strong that I am scarce able to endure it. Out of the Cinnamon Wood, whilst yet green, they distill a Water of an agreeable smell, and very wholesom to our Bodies. The Natives make out of the outward Bark of these Trees curious Cabinets: I have such a one by me of a considerable bigness, which was presented me by Major *Peter du Pon* 1665. just upon my departure from Ceylon.

*Three sorts of Cinnamon.*

The East-Indies produce three different sorts of Cinnamon. 1. Is the finest Cinnamon call'd *Canel Fino* by the Portuguese, being the same that is taken from very young, or at least not very old Trees. 2. The coarse Cinnamon call'd *Canel Grosso* by the Portuguese, taken from very thick and old Trees. And, 3. The *Canel de Ato*, or wild Cinnamon, which grows likewise on the Coast of *Maabar*, but is in no esteem, for whereas a Baar of Ceylonese Cinnamon is sold for 50 or 60 *Rixdollars*, the wild Cinnamon yields not above 10 or 12. Tho I have heard some of the most ingenious of the Natives affirm, that the wild

Cinnamon might be much meliorated, and made fit for use: The Dutch Company is now, through God's Blessing, in the possession of the Cinnamon of all kinds, as likewise of all the Spices, viz. of the Nutmegs, Mace and Cloves, except the Pepper, which grows in several places.

The Snake-wood or *Lignum Colubrinum*, The Snake-wood grows most frequently in the Isle of Ceylon; it is white inclining to yellow, very hard, and of a bitter taste; it is in great request among the Indians, and accounted a good Remedy against several Distempers: They powder it, and rub the whole Body with it to cure the Itch. They also take an Ounce of powder'd Snake-wood in Water or Wine against the Colick, burning Fevers, and other Distempers, but especially against the Stings of the Serpents, of which there are many in this Island.

The Cingalese Naturalists say that the Virtue of the Snake-wood was first discover'd by a certain small Creature call'd *Quil*, or *Quirpele*, by the Portuguese, being of the bigness of our *Ferrets*, wherewith we catch the Rabbits; of this kind the Indians keep many in their Houses, partly for Sport, partly to catch Rats and Mice with. This Creature having a natural Antipathy against the Snakes and Serpents, whenever it is stung by them runs to the Snake-wood, and after having eaten of it, is cur'd of its Wound. *Marcellus de Boscbbouwer*, a Person in great esteem in Ceylon, relates, that he has several times seen this *Quirpele* engag'd with Snakes, and among the rest one that vanquish'd a Serpent; but being wounded run to the next Wood, and having eaten some of this Snake-wood, return'd in half an hour to the place, where its vanquish'd Enemy lay extended dead upon the ground. The Cingalese call the Root of this Tree *Nay Lelli*, unto which they attribute a singular Virtue for the Cure of divers Distempers.

There grows a strange Tree in the Isle of Ceylon call'd the Root-tree, because its Branches turn to the ground like Ropes, where taking Root again, they produce a Tree that spreads in a short time over a spacious Tract of Ground. Ceylon produces also *Tamarind*-Trees of a considerable bulk, the Fruit whereof is accounted an excellent Remedy against the Scurvy and Dropsy. There grows another Tree in Ceylon like our *Noli me tangere*; for if you go to touch it, it moves backwards, and gives way to your hand.

For the rest, Ceylon is sufficiently provided with Medicinal Herbs, and they cure

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Its use among Indians

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Antipathy betwixt the Quirpele and the Serpent.

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cure all their Distempers with green Herbs, in the use whereof their Physicians are better vers'd (by Experience) than many of our pretending Chyrurgeons;

God Almighty having provided Remedies suitable to the Distempers of each Country.

Baldew.

### CHAP. LI.

*Great number of Elephants in Ceylon: Are very pernicious. Divers Instances of it. How they take the Elephants. Their Bufflers, Tygers, Bears, Birds, Fishes, Crocodiles and Porcupines, or Sea-hogs.*

THE Isle of Ceylon abounds in all sorts of four-leg'd Creatures, Birds, Fishes, Stones and certain Products of the Sea, of each whereof we must say something.

Among the four-leg'd Beasts the Elephant challenges the first Rank; of these there are great numbers here, and so pernicious, that it is not safe travelling without some Soldiers with their Drums and Kettles, the noise whereof frightens these Creatures: They are most dangerous towards Evening when they are hungry; for the Coleys or Littermen often run away at the sight of an Elephant, leaving those they carry to shift for themselves.

I remember that in my time, a Portuguese Reform'd Minister, nam'd John Ferreira d'Almeyda, travelling with his Wife from Gale to Columbo, the Litter-Carriers (according to their Custom) ran away at the sight of an Elephant, who did however not the least harm, but laying his Trunk upon the Woman's Palankin or Litter, went away: But things of that nature happen not always alike.

I observ'd once as I was travelling from Manaar to Jafnapatnam, that the Elephants had done considerable mischief hereabouts, and during the rainy Season had render'd the Ways almost unpassable. We had the good fortune to escape narrowly the danger of an Elephant who kill'd a certain Negro, one of the Commanders of the Elephant-Hunters, in a place we had pass'd not long before.

At Mature are vast Stables, where the wild Elephants are tam'd, and afterwards sold to the Moors of Bengale and Coromandel. They take the Elephants near Mature in the following manner: They fix abundance of large Stakes or Trunks of Trees in the ground, so as to leave the Entrance wide enough, but growing narrower within by degrees; in these they have certain Traps, and the wild

Elephants being decoy'd by the tame ones into these Enclosures, are catch'd in the Traps or Snares, like as we do in our decoying Ponds. They are very hard to be tam'd, and require sometimes four whole Months before they can be brought to lie down: All this while they must be carried twice a day to some River or other to swim. This is done by putting a wild Elephant betwixt two tame ones, who take such care of the other, that they hit him from both sides with their Trunks, till they make him pliable, and at last quite tame.

It often happens that the young Elephants are taken in following the old ones. These are very unlucky: I remember, that one time as several of us were talking together, one of these young Elephants came sily and push'd with his back-side against one of our Company, that he was ready to fall upon his Nose.

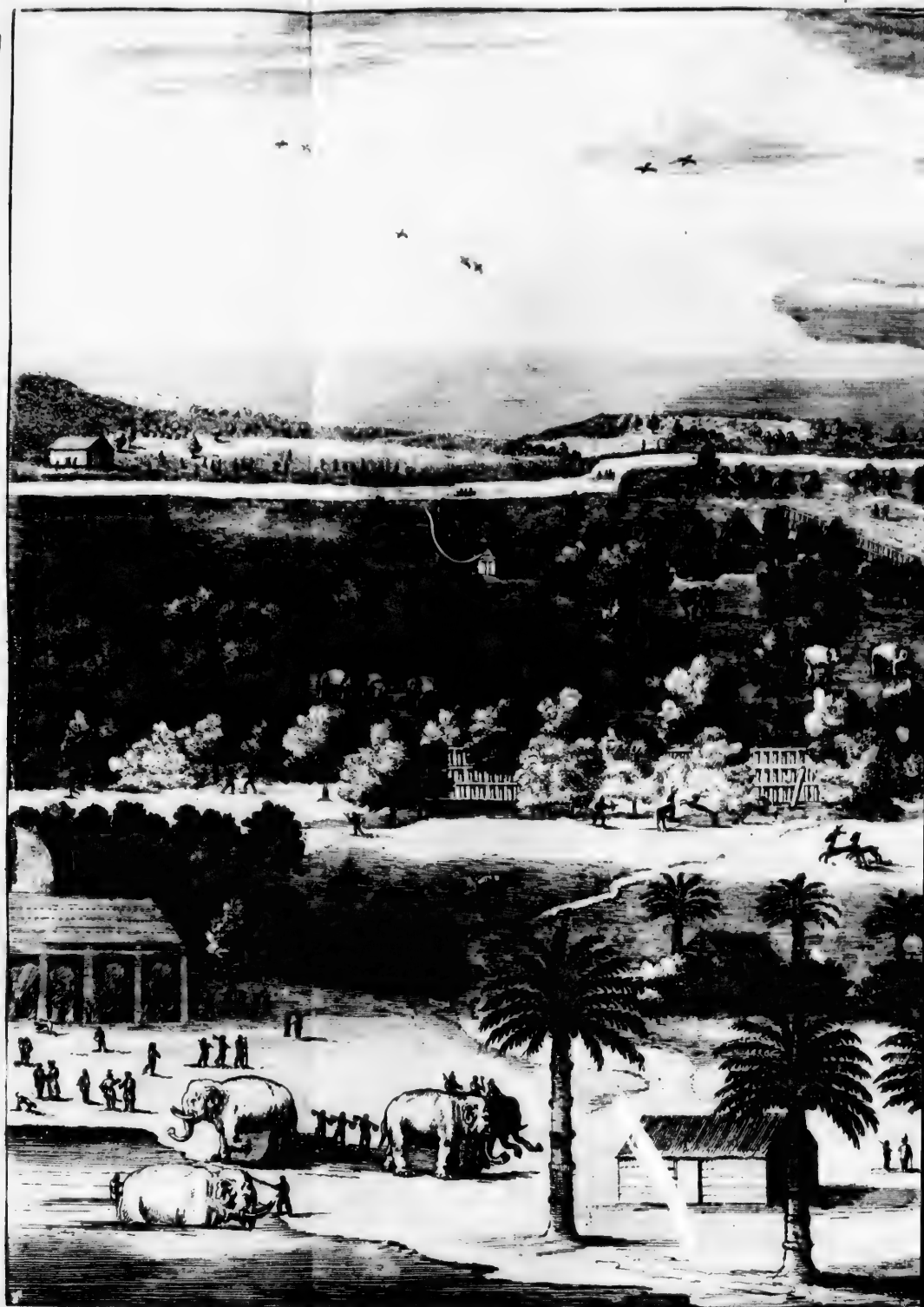
They feed upon green Herbs and Leaves of Fig-trees, Coco, and other Trees; neither do they refuse Areek and Sugar. At a certain time of the year an Oil issues out of the Heads of the old Elephants when they run mad, and oftentimes kill their Carnak or Guides. The Ceylonefe Elephants are accounted the largest and best in the Indies, and, if you will believe the Natives, are ador'd by the other Elephants.

Horses (great Enemies of the Elephants) were first brought from abroad into this Isle. The Portugese having some years since sent Horses into the Isle de Vacas, they are multiply'd to such a degree, that you may see them feed in Herds of 60, 70, 80, or 100.

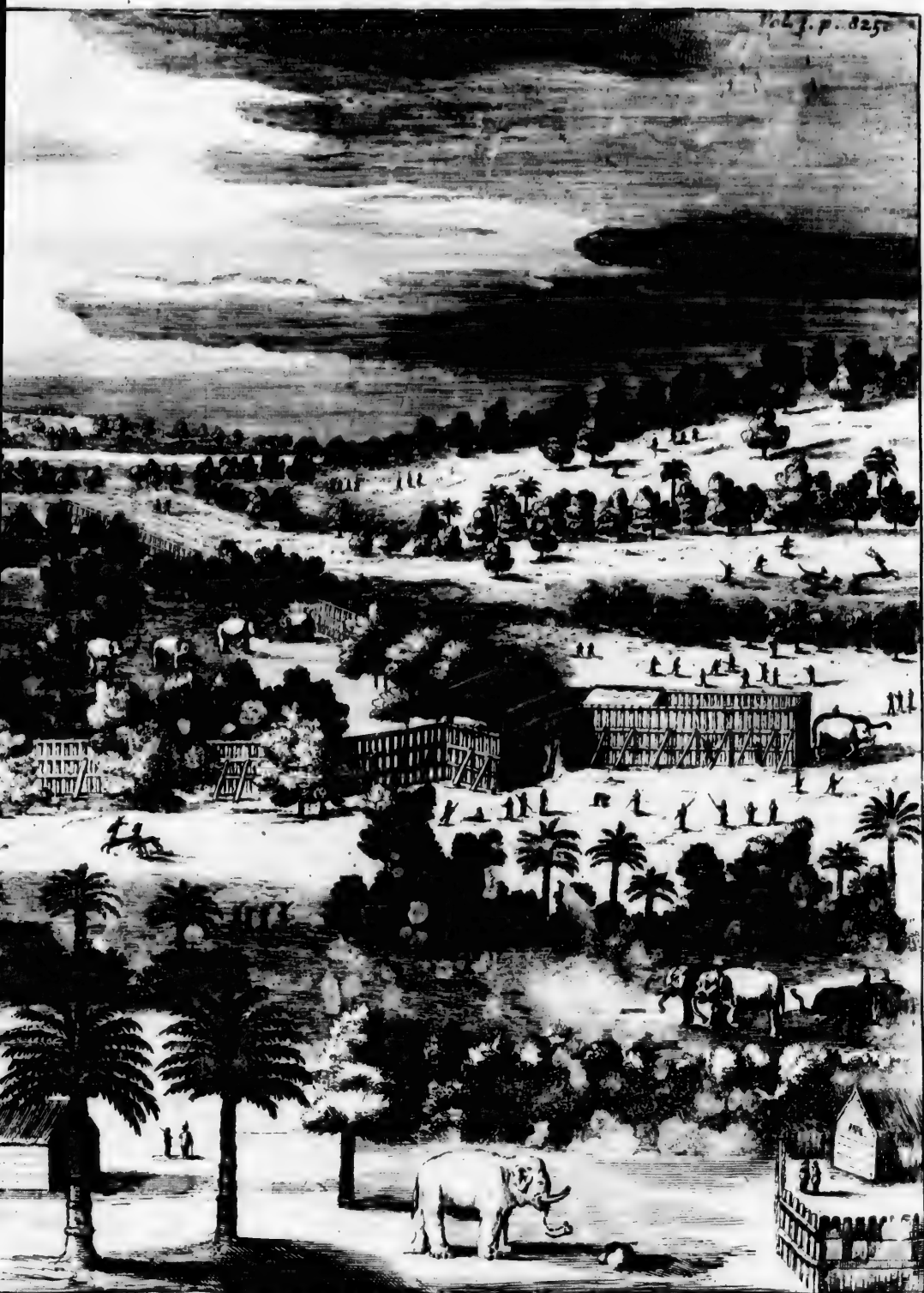
Of Bufflers they have a great store in Ceylon; I have seen whole Herds of them of 100 and more feeding in the Countries of Chilau and Madampe, which were but indifferently peopled at that time. They have also Hedg-Hogs, Oxen, Cows, Bulls, Sheep, Goats, Stags, Does,

Elks,

How they take the Elephants.



*The Catching of Eliphants on the Island*



s on the Island of CEYLON.

*Baldaus.* Elks, tame and wild Boars, Hares and Partridges, Peacocks and Apes in abundance.

*Tygers and Bears.* The Woods here produce also some ravenous Beasts, as Tygers, tho I never saw any, but had a Grey-hound given me by a Portuguese, who bore the marks of a Tyger's Claws on his Buttocks. Bears I have seen both in *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*; I saw once five or six young ones drowned in *Manaar* by the Inhabitants, who had found them at *Mantotte*, and thought fit to take this course with them to prevent their increase.

*Jackals.* They abound also in *Jackals*, a Creature very greedy after Mens Flesh, for which reason they cover their Graves with great Stones; they sometimes take them with Grey-hounds, but when they are hard put to it, they piss, which emits so nauseous a scent that the Hounds can't endure it. The Flesh of the *Jackals* is given with good success by the Physicians of the Country to cure the Consumption. Towards the Evening the *Jackals* meet and make a most dreadful noise, and will some times fall upon Passengers. In my time a *Caffer* who was in drink had his Teeth eaten out by the *Jackals*. The *Jackal* is not unlike a Fox, and has exactly such a Tail. The *Malabars* call the *Jackals* *Adirivis*. I saw but one Leopard in the Isle of Ceylon, and not one Unicorn or Rhinoceros.

*Crows.* Ceylon affords vast quantities of Birds, call'd by the Inhabitants by peculiar Names. Crows you shall see by thousands about Noon upon the Houses, but they are so cunning as not easily to be shot except through a hole or small Window. Towards night they leave the Towns, and retire to the Trees in the Country, and in the morning early look about for Prey. If one of them happens to be kill'd, the rest make a most terrible Outcry.

*All sorts of Fowl and Birds.* There are certain Birds in Ceylon call'd *Mimbos* by the Portuguese, who often make bold with the young Chickens; they have also Owls that make a dreadful noise in the night-time. They abound in Geese, Herons, wild and tame Ducks, Peacocks, Pigeons, Turtles, Partridges, Parrots, of most delicious colours; Peewits, Swallows, Bats, &c. Among the rest here is a certain Bird which builds his Nest hanging on the Branches of the Trees: They have also abundance of fine singing Birds, Nightingals and Larks in abundance, Sea-gulls, Water-snipes, Bees, Fire-flies, Gnats and Locusts.

Ceylon produces great plenty of Fish, *Fishes.* as *Cacap*, Plaice, Crabs, Pikes, *King-fishes*, *Sail-fishes*, *Craw-fishes*, *Haddockes*, *Galleon-fishes*, *Sharks*, *Orados*, *Sardins*, large *Smelts*, *Bat-fishes*, *Seals*, *Oysters*, *Muscles*, *Shrimps*, *Pampus*, *Barbels*, *Bomtos*, *Corquados*, &c.

Among the Amphibious Creatures, the *Crocodiles*, *Kaiman* or Crocodile, call'd *Lagarto* by the Portuguese, is very frequent here; some of which are 18 foot long. They have four Feet with crooked Claws, their Skin cover'd with Scales, which are so hard upon the Back, that they are Musquet proof; so that they are not vulnerable except in the Belly and Eyes: Their under Jaws are unmovable, but they have sharp Teeth: Their Back-bones being without Joints, they can't turn short, whence the best way to escape them, is to get away from them by many windings and turnings. 'Tis generally believ'd here that the Crocodile has a Stone or rather Bone in the Head, which given in Powder is an excellent Remedy against the Stone. The Bones of the Sharks are accounted very good against the same Distemper.

Mr. *Rocbefort* says, that in some of the Rivers of the Isles of America are certain Crocodiles that smell like Musk, I have with amazement seen Crocodiles lying upon the Water like Logs of Wood, with their Eyes shut; and if they happen to meet with a Prey, they leap at it on a sudden, like an Arrow from the Bow.

*Vincent le Blanc* tells us a story of a Burgermaster's Servant of Alexandria, who passing near the River-side was devour'd by a Crocodile which he took for a Log of Wood swimming upon the Water. They say that they have a white Fat, which is an excellent Remedy against sharp Humours that settle in any part of the Body. In *Jafnapatnam* there are many Crocodiles in the Fens, Ponds and Lakes, which if they happen to dry up in the Summer, they dig holes to live in; we were often visited by them in our Camp before *Jafnapatnam*, but they did no mischief. The Chinese make a dainty Dish of the young Crocodiles.

In the Isle of *Manaar* are great numbers of very large *Porcupines*, or Sea-hogs; they have very sharp Teeth, and their Flesh is fit for Food; the Females have Breasts and Milk, they come often ashore and feed upon Herbs.



## C H A P. LII.

Baldau.

*Serpents of Ceylon. Remedies against their Stings. An odd Story of a Serpent-Catcher. Precious Stones, Products of the Sea. Amber-Grease, its Goodness.*

Serpents are very common all over the Isle of Ceylon: The Sea-Serpents are sometimes 8, 9, or 10 yards long. The Land-Serpents call'd Ratcatchers are also very large, live on the tops of the Houses, but are harmless Creatures. The most dangerous are those call'd Cobres Capellos by the Portugueses, which frequently used to kill People whilst I liv'd in Jafnapatnam. So soon as any body is stung or wounded by these Serpents, they apply the Adder-stone to the Wound, and give the Patient some Milk. Our Chyrurgeon Albert van Lambergen writ to me 1666. that being stung by a Serpent, he became blind, but after some time recover'd his sight. A Parishioner belonging to the Church of Manipay, as he was mending the top of the Church, happen'd to be wounded by a Serpent that lay hid among a heap of Leaves, and died soon after. I saw once two Serpents twisted round one another sporting under

the Wall of the same Church, which I order'd to be cut to pieces by a Soldier. Such of the Inhabitants as retain still some Remnants of Paganism, will not allow the Serpents to be kill'd.

The Malabars call the Serpents Pambó and Naga, and give their Cattel and Children their Names; nay they feed them because they should do them no harm. The Serpents come frequently into the Houses, especially in the rainy season. During my Abode at Jafnapatnam two Dogs were stung to death in the House, and I have seen them sometimes pass up stairs over the Beds. Another time a Serpent pass'd so near my Wife in the House, that he touch'd her Leg with the Tail, and was afterwards kill'd by the Servants.

There is also here a kind of Adders call'd Vipers by the Portugueses, they are speckled and very venomous. Whilst I liv'd at Jafnapatnam, a certain High-German Sol-



*Baldous.*

An odd  
Story of a  
Serpent-  
catcher.

dier belonging to the Garison (commonly known by the Name of the *Serpent-Catcher*) being sent for by Mr. *Anthony Pavilion* Governor of *Coromandel*, to take a certain *Cobra Capel*, that was in his Lodging-room; he came accordingly, and with his Hat only before his Face, laid hold with his other hand of the Serpent, without receiving the least harm; he did handle the Creature afterwards in our Presence, and not only carried it away in his Snaplack, but also used to sleep near it. I suspecting some Witchcraft in the matter, talk'd to him seriously about it; but he assured me, that nothing was done but by natural means, and that he always carried the Head and Heart of a Serpent about him: wherewith I was forced to rest satisfy'd, he being not willing to discover the whole Mystery.

Among the Inhabitants of the Coast of *Coromandel*, and the *Cingalese* and *Malabars*, are certain Fellows, who have an Art of making the Serpents stand upright and dance before them, which they perform by certain enchanting Songs. Those that are to take an Oath in those parts, put one of their Hands into an Earthen Vessel, wherein is a Serpent: if they escape without being wounded, they are supposed to swear true; but if not, on the contrary.

Remedies  
against the  
Stings of  
Serpents.

Upon this Occasion I can't forget to mention some Remedys used against the Stings of Serpents. First of all it is requisite to bind the affected Part above and below the Wound, to prevent the Poison from being communicated to the Mass of Blood, and afterwards hold it over or as near to the Flame as it is possible. I would have every body that goes to the *East-Indies*, to provide himself with some *Orvietan*, *Theriac*, *Mithridate*, Confection of *Aikermes*, Balsam of *Peru*, *Rue*, *Scordium*, *Scorzonera*, *Angelic*, and *Contrabierwa* Roots, these being great Cordials and Antidotes.

They must keep to a cooling Diet, and avoid purging and bleeding, but instead thereof make use of bathing to open the Pores of the Body. The Peel of Lemons or Citrons taken fresh from the Tree, is accounted an excellent Remedy, and fasting Spittle applied to the Wound. If you can take the Serpent that has given the Wound, bruise the Head, and apply it to the affected part. However the *Adder Stone* surpasses all the rest, but is often adulterated. The right one raises no Bubbles upon the Water, and sticks close to the Lips, if put to the Mouth.

The Serpents of *Ceylon* are not altoge-

ther so large as those of *Java* and *Banda*: at *Batavia* there was once taken a Serpent, which had swallowed an entire Stag of a large Size; and one taken at *Banda* had done the same with a Negro Woman.

Besides these Serpents, *Ceylon* produces several sorts of other crawling Creatures, as *Thousand Feet*, called *Millepie* by the *Portuguese*, which are sometimes 7 Inches long; Scorpions, Spiders of a prodigious Bigness, Frogs, Tortoises, Toads, &c. *Ceylon* also affords divers precious Stones, as *Sapphirs*, *Rubies*, *Topazes*, *Garnets*, &c. Some say it also produces Gold, Silver, Iron, and other Metals, but that their Kings will not allow these Mines to be dug. This seems not improbable, it being certain that Iron has been bought out of the Country. It affords also Chrystal in abundance. The Commodities chiefly vented here by the *Portuguese*, were colour'd Stuffs of all sorts, Velvets, Silks, Red Caps, Porcelain Spices, *Amfira* or *Opium*, *China Root*, *Campyr*, *Musk*, *Sandel wood*, *Lead*, *Copper*, *Tin*, *Saltpeter*, *Brimstone*, gilt Looking-Glasses, glass Bottles, painted Callicoes of *Suratte* and *Coromandel*, all which are still in vogue here.

Comm:ties sold here.

The Isle of *Ceylon* has besides Fish, several Products of the Sea. Of the Pearls and Pearl-fishery we have spoken before, in the Description of *Tatecorrym*. *Ambergreece* is found here sometimes near the Sea-shore, in good large pieces and of the best kind: they call it *Panabam-bar* in the *Maldiva* Islands. This precious Drug was altogether unknown to *Hippocrates*, *Dioscorides* and *Galen*, and to this day its true Origin is a Riddle to us; tho some will have it to be the Seed of the Whales, others a certain fine Earth, others a certain Pitch or Rosin, growing at the bottom of the Sea, and forced thence to the Shore by Tempests. Certain it is, that it is generally found after stormy Weather. Mr. *John Huygan van Linschoten* mentions a piece of *Ambergreece*, taken up near the *Cape Comoryn*, 1555, which weighed 30 Quintals. It's said, that the Birds are very fond of the Scent of it, and the Prints of the Bills of Birds have sometimes been perceived in the *Amber*, and is accounted a certain Sign of its Goodness.

Amber-greece.

Its Origin.

Mr. *Kochford* in his *Natural History* of the *American Islands*, says, that the *Amber* there, when first taken, has so nauseous a Scent, that the Birds are drawn towards it as by the Smell of a Carcion: He says, it smells like rank Bacon.

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Amber-greece is sold here.

reference. The Amber is of different kinds; the black (the worst of all) is found near the Isle of *Mauritius*; next is the *White*, and the *Grey* the best of all. In some parts of *America* there is a kind of *Amber*, they call the *foxed Amber*, because it is swallowed and vomited up again by the *Foxes* without any Alteration, except that it loses something of its Scent. The best *Ambergreece* is of an Ash Colour, like Ashes mix'd with Wax. It is adulterated with Wax, Rosin and Pitch; to know the real Goodness of it, you must thrust a hot Needle into it, and by the Smell of the Moisture that adheres to it, you may judge of its Goodness: You may also lay a small quantity of Amber upon a hot Knife; if it be good, it will melt

immediately like Wax; and provided the Knife be very hot, it will quite evaporate without leaving the least Dregs behind. *Scaliger*, *Garcias*, *Monard*, *Fernandes Lopes*, *Clusius*, and *Rochesford* have written of the *Ambergreece*, its Medicinal Virtues we will leave to the Judgment of the Physicians.

The Sea about *Ceylon* produces likewise whole Coral Trees, some Branches whereof curiously grown I preserve in my Study. It affords also certain Horns of Sea-Horses, called *Chankos*, which are frequently transported to *Bengale*, besides divers other sorts of Horns and Shells (but not so curiously twisted as those of *Amboyna*) *Sea-Apples*, *Sea-Stars*, and such like.

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THE



# THE IDOLATRY OF THE East-India Pagans,

Giving a true and full Account of the Religious Worship of the *Indosthans*, the Inhabitants of *Coromandel*, the *Malabars* and *Ceyloneses*; with a Description of their Idols.

## PART I.

### CHAP. I.

*The general Consent of all Nations concerning the Existence of God. Divers Sects of the Brahmans. Their Opinion concerning the Creation. The Idols Ixora and Quivelinga.*

*The Existence of a God.*

THE Existence of a God or supreme Being, is so firmly rooted in the Heart of Mankind, that there is no Nation in the World but what has acknowledged the same. What is alledged to the contrary by some, of the *Chilenses*, *Tapujars*, *Brasilians*, *Madagascarians*, as also of the Inhabitants of *Florida*, the *Caribee Islands*; and especially of the *Cape of Good Hope*, must rather be attributed to the want of Knowledge of those Authors, than real Truth. Of this I was sufficiently convinced 1666. when I tarried three Months at the *Cape of Good Hope*, where I found these Barbarians to perform their Religious Service in the Night time, which I had no Opportunity to observe in 1665, when I came that way before.

What is said of *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Cyrenaicus*, *Bion*, *Evemerus*, *Lucianus*, *Epicurus*, and especially of *Protagoras*, *Abderites* and *Socrates*, and their Denial of the Existence of God, being to be understood only of the Plurality of Gods, which was always rejected by the wiser sort among the Pagans; whence it is that we meet with the Titles of *Ens Entium*, the Being of all Beings, *Ens primum*, the first Being, *Primus motor & vis motrix*, the first moving Cause and Substance, in their Writings.

This being laid down as a fundamental Rule, we will proceed to give an account of the Idolatry of the Pagans inhabiting the Coast of *Malabar* and the *Indies*, on both sides of the *Cape Comorin*, viz. at *Tutecoryn*, *Trevanor*, *Conilang*, &c.

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*Caleculang, Cocbin, Cranganor, Calecut, Cananor*, as also on the Coast of *Coromandel*, and the Isle of *Ceylon*. According to *Rogerius*, the *Brahmans* are distinguish'd into six Sects, viz. *Weistnowas, Seiria, Smaerta, Schaerwacka, Pasenda and Tscheltea*; and the *Benjans of Gufuratte* into no less than 63: but in the forementioned parts, the *Brahmans* are divided into four head Sects.

It is of  
the Brah-  
mans.

The first are the *Conrawack*, who use neither Fire, nor Candles, nor cold Water, for fear it should contain some living Creatures; they don't pass the Streets unless they be swept before with a Broom, which they always carry with them, for fear of treading upon any thing that is living. They believe neither God nor Providence, but that all things are produced by Chance.

The second Sect is called *Samarath*, they actually believe a G-d.

The third *Bisnou*, who call their God *Ram*. They have a Fast which begins in *August*, and holds 40 days.

The fourth Sect is that of the *Goegii*, who have no Habitations of their own, but sleep in the Night-time in the Churches; they walk generally naked, having only a Cloth to cover their Privities, and besmear themselves all over with Ashes. They believe a God (whom they call *Bruyn*) the Creator of the Universe, who is in every thing, whether Man or Beast (tho he can't be seen by the Creature) gives Light to Sun and Moon, and annihilates what and when he pleases. They say, that such as die in their Faith, go directly to their God *Bruyn*: they do not burn, but bury their dead. Whoever embraces their Sect, is obliged to take near a Pound of Cowdung every day among his ordinary Food, for six Months successively, the Cow being accounted sacred, and her Dung the purest thing among them. They are very superstitious: a Cart, Buffler or Ass without a Load, a Dog empty mouth'd, a Hegoat, Ape, a Goldsmith, Carpenter, Barber, Taylor, Smith, Cottonweaver, a Widow, a Burial, or some body going to a Burial, are altogether ill Omens to them; as an Elephant, Camel, an Horse without a Burden, a Cow, an Ox and Buffler laden with Water, pretends good Luck in their Opinion. Some acknowledge one *Vishnou* for their supreme God, but the most one *Ixora*; we will first treat of *Ixora*, and afterwards of *Vishnou* and *Bramma*.

See Rogerius, Texeira, Carolinus, John van Twist, &c.

The *Brahmans* have a very odd Opinion of the Creation of the World (of

which more hereafter) They say that this World will diminish by degrees, till it comes to a Drop of Water, which is the *Ixoretta* or Divinity it self: After that it shall encrease again, when *Ixoretta* crying out aloud, *Quen, quen*, will make it turn again into a single drop of Dew; this will make it revive again, first into a Mustard-Seed Corn, then turn to a Pearl, and lastly into an Egg, containing the five Elements. This Egg they say is to have seven distinct Shells or Partitions like an Onion, whence will break forth the Fire and Air upwards, and the others downwards; and the Egg being thereby broken into two pieces, the upper part produced the Heavens, as the under part did the Earth; and because the Egg had seven Shells, which by the Division thereof made 14 half ones, the seven uppermost Parts furnished the matter for seven Heavens, as the seven undermost did for as many Worlds. An unpardonable Contradiction, when they themselves acknowledg their *Bramma*, and implore him as the Creator of Heavens and Earth; and how incongruous is it, to make the *Ixoretta* or Divinity subject to decrease?

They further add, that at the opening of the before said Egg, there appear'd a Thred drawn all along the middle, which join'd the 14 upper and under Worlds: *Ixoretta* then taking his Place in the highest Sphere of the Heavens, there arose at the same time a Mountain on the Earth, named *Calaja*, on the top of which stood a Triangular Substance (*Triconia Sacra*) which produced a round Substance, called *Quivelinga*, i. e. the Members of Generation of both Sexes; which *Quivelinga* they say, is *Ixoretta* or the Divinity: for finding that all living Creatures were procreated by the carnal Copulation of Men and Women, they revered this *Quivelinga*, as the Original of all created things, and adorned him in their Temples with the best sweet Herbs and Flowers. They have a certain religious Order called *Jogii*, who wear the Figure of this *Quivelinga*, either of Wood or Copper, about the Neck, and offer him daily the best of their Victuals. *Rogerius* speaks to the same purpose of the *Lingam*, i. e. *Membrum virile* in *Muliebri*, as the *Ixora* or *Eswara* is represented in their *Pagodes*.

What Quivelinga was.

St. *Austin* \* tells us something like this of the *Priapus*, which used to be carried in Procession in Honour of *Bacchus*, thro the Cities of Italy, and that the Matrons used to crown his *Membrum virile*

\* L. 7. c. 21. de Civitate Dei.



Baldow.

Canarins  
offer their  
Brides to  
Priapus.

virile with Garlands. I have read in several Authors of known Integrity, and speak it upon the Credit of divers People yet living, that the *Canarins*, and Inhabitants about *Goa*, do carry their Brides to such a *Priapus*, in order to deliver them of their Virginity. The whole matter whereof I will for Modesties sake relate in Latin: *Sponsa magno comitatu multaque cum pompa inter plausus ac sonos musicos ducitur ad Idolum, quod aenea virga vel ferrea, vel eburnea prominente praeditum conspicitur, & ad hanc nudata vultu: Sponsa a Matre vel a proximis Consanguineis vebementer impellitur, quod cum absque gravi dolore fieri nequeat, illi qui adfunt, cantando & saltando sponsae debiles voces opprimant, si quae est, quae dolorem immensum verita, hoc modo Virginitate privari recusat, blandis Consanguineorum verbis ad Idolum paulatim adducitur, atque ad id a Matre tandem (invita quamvis) adigitur, donec Virginitatem amiserit; postea Sponsa domum redens Sponsus traditur, qui de hoc praese suscepro Labore sibi maxime gratulatur.*

*Baal Phegor* seems to have been the *Priapus* of the Jews. *Jerom* in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Hosea*, says, That the Jewish Women worshipped *Baal Phegor*, ob obsecrans magnitudinem Membri, quem nos *Priapus* possumus appellare.

The *Brahmans* will indeed not allow of this Interpretation, alledging that they adore under this, the Circular Fi-

gure which is infinite, whereas the Signification of the word sufficiently contradicts them. *Quivelinga* being composed out of the word *Linga* or *Lingam*, i. e. the Manly Yard, and *Quiven*, the same with *Ixora*; and the Figure carried by the *Jogii*, expressly represents the Conjunction of the Members of both Sexes.

*Quivelinga* then (as we said before) is of a Circular Figure, which being enclosed in three distinct Kinds or Shells, which they say are transmuted into three Gods, viz. *Bramma*, *Vishnum* and *Quiven*; the first and hardest produces *Bramma*, the second *Vishnum*, and the innermost *Quiven*. *Quivelinga* being thus despoil'd of his Shells, was burnt to Ashes by Fire, and fix'd in the Triangle: *Quivelinga* being thereby become a thing without Sense or Motion, it was requisite it should be guarded by some body; which *Bramma* and *Vishnum* refusing to do, *Quiven* undertook the Task, and constantly attending *Quivelinga* with Prayers and Sacrifices of Flowers, deserved thereby to be ranked above his Brothers, and obtain'd the Title of the Great God, as their Poets call him. The *Brahmans* say, that *Bramma*, *Vishnum*, and *Quiven* or *Ixora*, are commissioned by the First Being to rule the World in the Nature of his Viceroy. They say *Ixora* resides in *Calaja*, *Vishnum* in the Milk-Sea, and *Bramma* in *Sattialogam*, or the highest Place in Heaven, of which more hereafter.

## CHAP. II.

*A Description of Ixora, his Wives. Abstinency of the Brahman. Divers sorts of Eunuchs.*

A Description  
of  
Ixora.

His  
Bigness.

This Pan  
was antiently  
represented  
with horns  
reaching  
up to the  
Clouds.

**I**XORA is as bright and white as Milk, with three Eyes, two whereof are plac'd as those of other Men, and the third in the Front, being so full of Fire, that it consumes every thing it looks upon. His Stature is immense; for *Bramma* being desirous to see his Head, soar'd up high into the Earth, but could not reach it. *Vishnum* (whom they call the God of Inventions and Changes) having the same Curiosity to see his Feet, which reach'd deep into the Ground, transform'd himself into a Hog, the better to dig up the Earth, but could likewise not obtain his Wish. For, say they, *Ixora* is of so vast an extent, that the *Serpent Bategu* (which is so long as to compass the seven Worlds and the seven Seas) was

not big enough to serve him for a Bracelet. I heard a Pagan once ridicule a *Brahman*, because he put the Figure of *Ixora* in his Chamber; whereas according to their Opinion, it was much larger than the *Serpent Bategu*.

*Ixora* has no less than 16 Hands, where-  
with he holds the following things, *As Pan*  
Heart, a Chain, a Fiddle, \* a Bell, Por-  
cellain Basin, Capalla, i. e. *Bramma's* † Pan  
Head, a Trident, a Rope, an Ax, Fire,  
Gold, a Drum, Beads, a Staff, an Iron  
Wheel, a Serpent, with a Crescent or half  
Moon on his Forehead. His Apparel is  
a Tygers Skin, his Cloke the Hide of an  
Elephant, surrounded with Serpents †.  
He wears about his Neck a Collar of the  
Skin of a certain Creature, called *Mau-*  
dega, *Yster*, &c.

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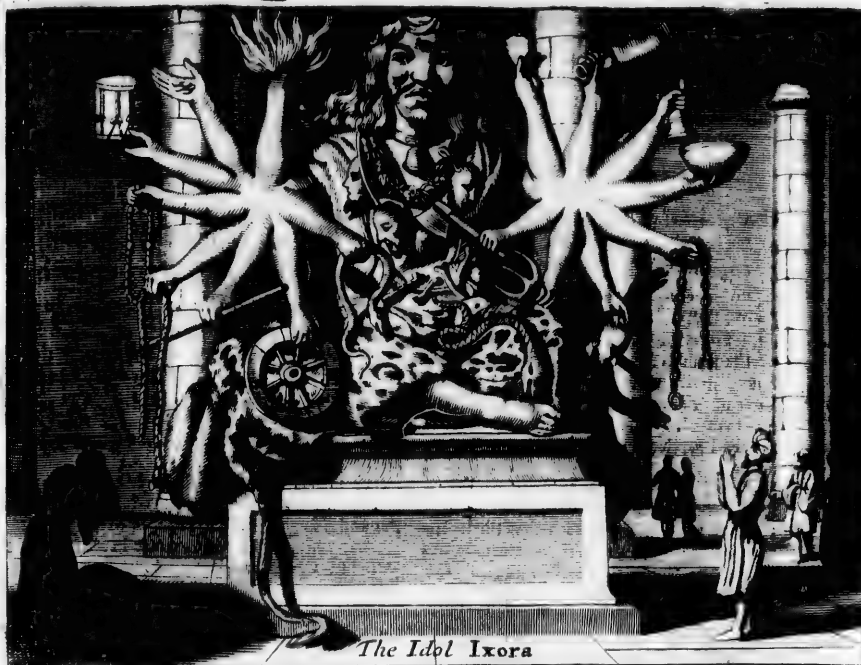
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dega, on which is fastened a Bell, such as our Oxen or Sheep commonly have about their Necks.

He has also about his Neck three Chains, one whereof being intermix'd with Roses and other Flowers, affords an

odoriferous Scent. The second is made of the Heads of *Bramma*; for they say, that *Bramma* dies and revives every year, and that *Ixora* gathering his Heads as often as he dies, had made this Chain of it. The third is made of the Bones of

*Baldau.*



The Idol Ixora

*Chatti*, one of *Ixora's* Wives. For it is so be known that he has two Wives, one named *Griega* or the Goddess of the Seas, whom he always carries in his Hairlocks; the other this *Chatti*, otherwise called *Paramejveri*, who they say dies and revives once a Year; and as often as she dies, he takes one of her Bones, which are put into this Chain. He carries also the same Beads as the *Brahmans* do, his whole Body being besmear'd with Ashes, and thus rides in Triumph thro' *Calaja*, upon an Ox named *Irixapatan*, unto whom they offer certain Sacrifices.

His Attendants are called *Pudas*, *Pixaros* and *Pes*. *Pudas* is represented like a fat and short Person, with a large Paunch, without a Beard, having Serpents hanging down with their Tails from his Head. He wears a Bracelet on his left Arm, and two others about his Thighs, made of Serpents, and a Staff in his Right Hand. The *Pes* and *Pixaros*

are represented much taller, with burning Torches in their Hands in the Night-time.

They say that *Bramma* has created the Universe, *Vishnum* governs it, and *Ixora* kills and puts a Period to every thing. They further add, that *Ixora* has communicated part of his Substance to his Wife *Paramejveri*, alias *Parvati*, and she again to him; so that they are both Hermaphrodites, and *Ixora* is sometimes represented as such; and *Rogierius*, lib. 2. says, that the *Brahmans* call their *Ixora*, *Arabanari*, i. e. a Manwife. There are however a certain sort of *Brahmans* called *Tirimimpi*, who are so far different from the rest, that they won't as much as cast an Eye upon a Woman; for which reason as often as they pass thro' the Streets, they have certain Persons, who bid the Women go out of the way. Thus the Hierophantes of Athens, and the Priests of the Goddess *Cybele* among the

A strict sort of Brahmani

*Baldans.* Romans, used to deny themselves the use of Venerie, the first by castrating themselves, the others by certain Drugs. *Divers sorts of Eunuchs.* The Jews distinguish betwixt Eunuchs made by God, and those made by Men, the last are believed to owe their Original to the Persians; and among the Jews they had certain Persons, called *Impingentes*, because they used to run against Posts and Doors, rather than to look upon a Woman.

Rogierius \* mentions another sort of Brabmans, call'd *Sausiazii*, who renounce all Worldly Pleasures, abstain from Women, and even the *Betel* (tho generally used all over the Indies) eat but once a day, have no fix'd Habitations, use nothing but earthen Vessels, and live upon Alms. The fundamental Rules of their Sect being to withstand Lust, Anger, Covetousness, Pride, the Pleasures of the World, and Revenge.

### CHAP. III.

*Contest betwixt Bramma, Vistnum and Ixora, who is obliged to be a Mendicant twelve Years. A Child produced out of the Blood of Vistnum, occasions new Differences.*

THE Residence of *Ixora* is upon the Silver Mount *Cajaja*, to the South of the famous Mountain *Mahameru*, being a most delicious Place, planted with all sorts of Trees, that bear Fruit all the Year round. The Roses and other Flowers send forth a most odoriferous Scent, and the Pond at the Foot of the Mount is enclosed with pleasant Walks of Trees, that afford an agreeable Shade, whilst the Peacocks and divers other Birds entertain the Ear with their Harmonious Noise, as the Beautiful Women do the Eyes. The circumjacent Woods are inhabited by a certain People, called *Mumis* or *Rixis*, who avoiding the Conversation of others, spend their time in offering daily Sacrifices to their God.

It is observable, that tho these Pagans are generally black themselves, yet do they represent these *Rixis* to be of a fair Complexion, with long white Beards, and long Garments hanging crosswise, from about the Neck down over the Breast. They are in such esteem among them, that they believe, that whom they bless are blessed, and whom they curse are cursed.

Within the Mountain lives another Generation, call'd *Jexaquimvera* and *Quendra*, who are free from all Troubles, spend their Days in continual Contemplations, Praises and Prayers to God. Round about the Mountain stand 7 Ladders, by which you ascend to a spacious Plain, in the middle whereof is a Bell of Silver, and a square Table, surrounded with nine precious Stones of divers Colours. Upon this Table lies a Silver Rose called *Tamara Pua*, which contains two Women as bright and fair as a Pearl;

one is called *Brigafiri*, i. e. the Lady of the Mouth, the other *Tarafiri*, i. e. the Lady of the Tongue, because they praise God with the Mouth and Tongue. In the Center of this Rose is the Triangle, (mentioned in the 1st Chap.) of *Quivelinga*, which they say is the permanent Residence of God.

*Ixora* being one time diverting himself in this *Cajaja* or *Paradise*, with *Pudas*, *Pes* and *Pixajos*, let fall some Words, intimating him to be the greatest in all the World; which *Bramma* and *Vistnum* not able to brook, a Contest arose about the Precedency, to decide which *Ixora* told them, that which of the two could take a full view of him from Head to Foot, should be accounted the Greatest.

*Bramma* hereupon got upon his Bird *Annam* (whereof more anon) and passed up into the Air, to get Sight of *Ixora's* Head, whilst *Vistnum* transforming himself into a Hog, dug into the Ground, to come at his Feet: whilst he was thus employed, meeting with a most poisonous Serpent, he was so startled at it, that he desisted from his Enterprize. This Story is related more at large by several of the *Malabar* Poets.

*Bramma* on the other hand, resolute in his Designs, soared very high into the Air, when being met by three Flowers, they ask'd him whither he was a going; he replied, to get sight of the Head of *Ixora*; they told him, his Labour was in vain, by reason of the vast distance, which made *Bramma* change his Resolution: but at the same time desired the Flowers to tell *Ixora*, that he was prevented from coming so high as his Head, by a sudden Giddiness in his Brains, which

*Contest betwixt Ixora, Bramma and Vistnum.*

*Ixora attacked by the Mumis.*

*Children of Ixora.*

which they promis'd, and did accordingly; but *Ixora* being sensible of the Deceit, did with his *Chakra* or Scymeter, cut off one of the four Heads of *Bramma*, and curst the Flowers. Out of the Blood of *Bramma's* Head, came forth a Man with 500 Heads and 1000 Hands, named *Sagatravacaxen*. The day on which *Bramma's* Head was cut off, was ever after looked upon as ominous, and named *Pongalacha*, i. e. *Dies infestus*; whence arose the Proverb of a thing that is never to be done, *It shall be as Pongalacha*.

The three Flowers were curst, viz. That one of them should grow upon a Dunghil, and be cut down there; the other to be turn'd into a Crow, and the third into a Cow.

The *Brabmans* further say, That *Ixora* to expiate the Crime he had committed by cutting off the Head of *Bramma*, turn'd Mendicant as the *Jogii* do, with *Bramma's* Skull in his Hand, till the same should be filled with Alms; whence arose that Custom practis'd to this Day, that he who kills a *Brabman*, must beg Alms for 12 years in the Skull of the *Brabman* killed by his Hands. *Ixora* therefore beg'd Alms for 12 Years; for tho he receiv'd sufficient Alms, yet by the fiery Rays that darted from his Eye in his Forehead, it was all consumed and turned to Ashes in an instant.

One day as he was gathering Alms among the before said *Mumis*, their Wives came running with whole Ladles of Blood to fill the Skull; but not being able to sustain the Glance of his Eyes, they were so surpris'd, that they let slip not only their Ladles, but also their Clothes. The *Mumis* seeing their Wives naked, did fall Pellmell upon *Ixora*; one attack'd him with an Ax, which he seized and got up into the Air; another would have killed him with a Serpent, which he took in his Hands, without receiving any harm. Then they brought a furious Tyger to devour him, this he killed and flec'd, and made a Garment of the Skin; then they set upon him a wild Elephant, who un-

derwent the same Fate, his Hide serving him afterwards for a Cloke; this Ax, Serpent, Tyger, and Elephants, are the same Trophies he holds in his Hands.

*Vishnum* willing to deliver *Ixora*, appear'd to the *Mumis* in the shape of a most beautiful Virgin, which occasion'd such a Surprize to them, that the Men (as their Wives had done before) fell into a Trance, and *Ixora* spill'd his Seed upon the Ground, which *Vishnum* with his Hand form'd into a Child.

*Ixora* being towards the end of the 12th year, quite tired with his Mendicant Life, had recourse to *Vishnum*, who commiserating his Condition, put out the fiery Eye, that consumed all the Alms in the Skull; which done, *Vishnum* wounded himself in one of his Fingers, and fill'd the Skull with the Blood, which put an end to his Pilgrimage, but gave birth to the Order of the *Jogii*, who in the Memory of *Ixora's* Pilgrimage, lead a Mendicant Life to this Day.

Out of the Blood of *Vishnum* a Child was procreated, called *Vareu*, which occasion'd new Contests, *Bramma* challenging it as his own, because it was begot in his Skull, *Vishnum* because it came forth out of his Blood, and *Ixora* because it came out of his Hands. To reconcile this Difference, *Devaindra*, a King of the aerial Spirits, perswaded them to relinquish their Pretensions by joint Consent; which they having consented to, *Devaindra* educated the Child at *Devalagam*, where becoming a famous Bowman, he protect'd that Place against *Sagatravacaxen*, who, as we told before, being the Product of *Bramma's* Head, had 500 Heads and 1000 Hands. Afterwards *Ixora* returned to *Calaja* his former Residence.

It is observable, that if one of their Kings dies, they tie his Hands and Feet, when certain Soldiers come to threaten him with their Sticks; which Affront, they believe is a means to expiate the Trespasses committed by him in his Lifetime against his Subjects.

#### CHAP. IV.

*The Children of Ixora; the Nativity and Constitution of Quenavady. The Origin of Surra. Quenavady castrated. Contest betwixt him and Superbenma. His Habitation and Gluttony. Funeral Feasts of the Malabars.*

Children of Ixora.

**I**XORA had three Sons and one Daughter, the eldest resembling an Elephant, the second an Ape, the third

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had 6 Faces and 12 Hands. The Daughter, who was as black as a Coal, had the Face of a Hog. The eldest Son named *Que-*

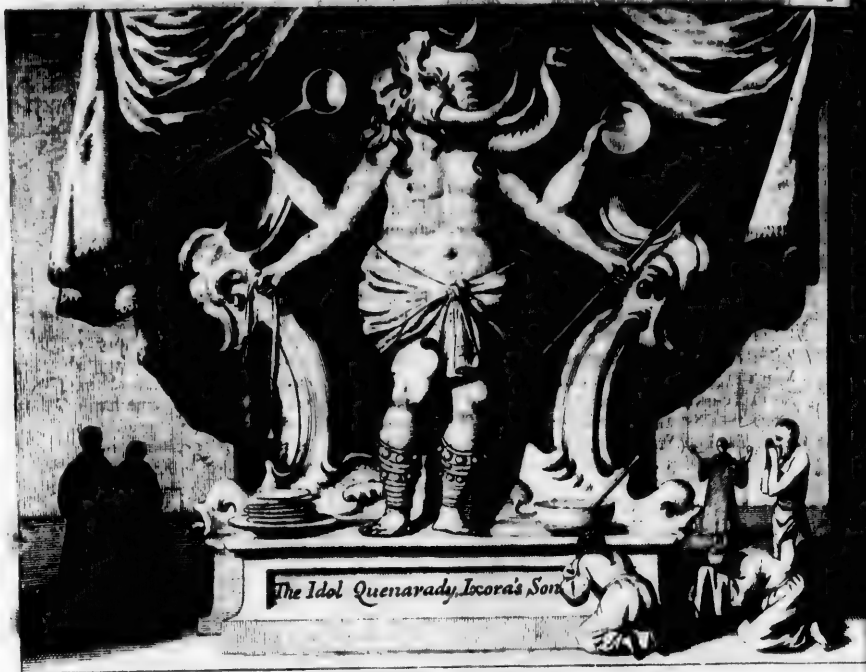
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nenavady,

*Baldew.* *Quenavady* was born in the Wood by *Piragu*, with an Elephant's Head and Face, the rest of his Body being like other Men. For *Ixora* walking one time with his Lady *Parameseri* towards the Wood *Piragu*, she saw an Elephant sporting with a Female of the same kind, and so raised her Appetite, that she desir'd *Ixora* to be both transf-

form'd into Elephants; which being done accordingly, they ate of a certain Fruit in the Wood, which made them quite frenzical, so that they made the same noise, overturn'd the Trees, threw up the Sand with their Trunks, and did all the other Actions of Elephants, not excepting even their Copulation. The

*Quenavady's* *Ornament*.



Female having conceiv'd immediately, brought forth this Child with the Elephant's Head and Face, and soon after they resumed their own Shape. *Parameseri* tried to give suck to this young Monster, but being in danger of having her Breast torn in pieces by it, she deliver'd it up to *Ixora*, who had it brought up in *Calaja*.

*A Description of him.* This *Quenavady* had the Hand, Teeth and Face of an Elephant, with large hanging Ears, and ugly Lips, with red Pimples all over the Face: His Hair is long (like his Father's) tied about with a Serpent or Adder, with a Crescent or Half-moon on his Fore-head, and four Hands, besides the Trunk; the rest of his Body like other Men, but shining like Gold, with a large Paunch tied about with a red piece of Stuff: He wears also

the Girdle of the *Brahmans*, and on his Feet divers Gold Rings and Bells.

They tell you another Story of *Ixora*, viz. That being one time inebriated with the *Sury*, or Juice of the *Coco-Tree*, and having Carnal Copulation with *Parameseri*, a small quantity of *Ixora's* Seed was spilt upon the ground, and afterwards cover'd with Earth by *Parameseri*; this produc'd a Palm-tree. *Ixora* coming soon after into the Wood, and seeing the young Tree, cut off the top thereof with his *Chacra*, or Weapon. The Liquor which issued thence so well pleased *Ixora*, that he took a good quantity of it in his Cup he always carried along with him, and having drank his full share, ty'd up the Tree, and so return'd to *Calaja*. He repeated this so often, that *Parameseri* finding him always return in Drink

from

*A Story of Ixora.*

Difference between Quenavady and Suberbennia.



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from the Wood, took the next opportunity to follow him thither, and finding the Juice very acceptable, he tasted so long of it, till he was also inebriated. *Isora* when he first esp'd his Wife behind him, cry'd out to her, *Calli*, that is, you *She-Thief*: whereupon she answering, *Calla*, i. e. *Thief*; the *Malabars* to this day call the said Juice *Calla*. *Isora* being well pleas'd with the young Tree, he stretch'd it with his hand higher and higher, and so turn'd it into a Palm-tree.

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It seems somewhat odd, that the *Brahmins* who pretend so much to Sobriety, should make their *Supreme God* a Drunkard, when they are so nice in this Point, that they will never make use of our Ink, for fear there should be some Wine in it. Thus the *Samoyns* of *Calecut* kill'd his own Brother-in-law because he was drunk, and the King of *Cochin* did the same to a Company of drunken *Nairos*.

They further tell us of this *Isora*, that he caus'd his Son *Quenavady* to be castrated, because he once, whilst yet in his Mother's Arms, touch'd her Privy-Parts with his Trunk: others say he actually enjoy'd her; which is the reason the *Malabars* say that the Elephants have no Testicles.

It is to this *Quenavady* the Pagan Artisans, Workmen, &c. offer the first-fruits of their Labour. After they have revered and offer'd Sacrifices to him for 12 years, he moves one of his Ears, as a sign that they must continue the same; which being done 12 other years, he shakes the other Ear, to give them to understand that he requires still more at their hands; if they hold on 12 years longer, he opens his Eyes and grants their Requests.

*Isora* being at a certain time desirous to try the Agility of his two Sons *Quenavady* and *Superbennia*, offer'd a very fine Fig as a Reward to him who should carry the day. *Quenavady* having a very thick Skin, and riding only upon a Mouse, whereas *Superbennia* had 6 Faces and 12 Arms, and rid upon a Peacock, being sufficiently convinc'd that his Brother would carry the Prize, took his opportunity whilst the other was riding round the *Calaja*, to turn short and so lay hold of the Fig. *Superbennia* having taken his turn, pursuant to the Wager, and not finding the Fig, did fall upon *Quenavady* so furiously, that he beat out one of his Teeth: But *Isora* giving *Superbennia* another Fig, the difference was soon ended. But not knowing what to

do with the Tooth, he gave it to *Vishnou*, desiring him to restore it to *Quenavady*, which he did accordingly by putting it into a Fig which he gave to his Nephew, who as he was going to eat the Fig found the Tooth, which he turn'd into a nice writing Pen, and kept it to write his Poetry with.

Baldern.

For the rest *Quenavady* is represented as very voracious, for they say he could devour the whole World; nor is he to be satiated but in the *Sugar-Sea* call'd *Jexucadibil*, which is of a vast extent, and always boiling-hot, having in the midst a Mount compos'd of 9 very fine Stones, with a Plain on the top, deliciously seated, in the Center whereof stands the Tree *Luola*, inclosed with a row of precious Stones curiously wrought. In this Enclosure is a Structure of the finest red Coral, cover'd with precious Stones: The Doors whereof, as well as the Avenues to the place, are guarded by a good force of the *Pudas*, who spend their time in holy Meditations and Prayers in the Company of a good number of Women; who sing to the Praise of God. Close about the Tree *Luola* are Seats of Gold, and a Table made of the most precious Stone call'd *Bairacalle*, upon which stand a bright shining Mouse, and a Rose, in the Leaves whereof are written 14 Letters or Characters. This is the Residence of *Quenavady*, who rides upon the said Mouse.

The Sugar-  
Sea.

He has on each side of him a most beautiful Woman, who are continually employ'd to lade Sugar mixt with Honey into his Mouth; and for fear he should be tir'd with the same Diet, good store of *Asses* (*Indian Cakes*) fried in Butter-milk, Butter, and divers other Provisions, stand always before him. The Hills near it afford also Figs, Grapes, *Coco Nuts*, and all other sorts of the best Fruits, as well as Roses and other Flowers; the Musicians that attend divert him with Fiddles, Trumpets, Flutes, Hautboys, and other Musical Instruments, as many Women are employ'd to make rich Incenses, and to anoint his Body with Sandal Wood, Civet, Musk, and to offer all sorts of odoriferous Flowers.

The *Malabars* celebrate yearly the Memory of their deceased Friends with great Pomp and vast Charge, according to their Abilities. The Kings upon this occasion entertain the *Brahmins* (who are in high esteem there, as being the Interpreters of their *Pedam* or Law-book) magnificently, and distribute Money after the Feast. And because in the

Funeral  
Feasts of  
the Mala-  
bars.

Indies,

*Baldew.* Indies, but especially on the Coast of Malabar, there are many petty Kings, as those of Travancor, Coilang, Calcutlang, Porca, Cochin, Cranganor, Cananor, &c. these Feasts are frequent in those parts, and the *Brabmans* will be sure to partake of them, tho they travel sometimes 10,

15, nay 20 Leagues for it, and take their full share; for tho they value themselves much for abstaining from Flesh, Fish, Eggs, Wine and other strong Liquors, yet will they make themselves a full amends with such Victuals as are allowable by their Constitution.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the other Children of Ixora. A Coco-Nut in the Head of an Ape. Siri Hanuman born an Ape. Reviv'd from the dead. Combat betwixt Superbennia and Quenavady. His cursing of the Moon.*

THE next to *Quenavady*, is styled *Egajourubum*, or the true God, represented with an Elephant's Head, and 11 Hands. He is only to be worship'd by the *Brabmans*, tho others also sacrifice to him, but must at the same time abstain from Flesh, Fish, Eggs and Wine. Next to him comes *Cruxi*, whose Origin is related thus: *Paramesceri* *Ixora's* Spouse having anointed her Body with Oil and Saffron, and washing her self in a Pond, did form from the Impurities of her Body a living Man; *Ixora* seeing him at a distance, and believing him to be her Lover, hastned thither, and struck with his Weapon his Head off at the foot of the Mountain *Calaja*, which was turn'd into a Coco-Tree, whence it is that the *Indians* say, that the print of a Man's Face was fix'd in the Coco-Nut. *Paramesceri* being sorely afflicted at her Son's Death, *Ixora* pleaded his Ignorance, and to comfort her in her Affliction, cut off the Head of a white Elephant, which he put upon the Shoulders of her dead Son, and so restor'd him to life again. He is represented with an Elephant's Head and two Hands.

*Ixora* had also another Son, named *Siri Hanuman*, by *Paramesceri*, which was born an Ape. *Ixora* it seems was a most celebrated Dancer, and used frequently to shew his Activity in the presence of the Celestial Spirits, as well as his Spouse *Paramesceri*, who was so active in dancing, that one time when she had lost her Ear-Jewel out of one Ear, she took it up with two Toes of her Feet, and put it in her Ear again, to the incredible surprize of the Spectators. Hence perhaps arose the Custom used among the Ladies of the *Nairos*, who whilst they are dancing at a certain Feast celebrated in honour of one their Idols, let on a sudden slip all their Clothes, and remain naked. But

to return to *Ixora*: Having invited many of the Celestial Spirits to see him dance, *Paramesceri* happen'd to see two Apes sport together in the adjacent Wood; the desir'd *Ixora* to transform both her and him into Apes, which done, they leapt about in the Wood till coming to a Bambo-Tree, *Paramesceri* then conceiv'd an Ape. In the mean time the Celestial Spirits being come, according to invitation, and among them *Jeexa*, *Quinnora* and *Quendra*, and finding their Host abroad, they sent the Wind (as the nimblest of all) to find out *Ixora*, who having told him his Errand, they both resum'd their former shapes.

*Paramesceri* being now alham'd of her Burden, requested the Wind to convey the Ape into the Womb of *Anbema*, one of the Ladies of the Celestial Spirits; and so they return'd home, where *Ixora* danc'd to the admiration of the whole Assembly. *Anbema* afterwards brought forth an Ape as white as *Ixora* himself, who being endow'd with peculiar Virtues by his Father, performed many noted Exploits; of which more hereafter in the History of *Siri Rama*.

Two odd Stories they tell of this Ape: *Odd Stories* First, That being one time very hungry, of the Ape and taking the Sun for a dainty bit, he *Siri Hanu-* was endeavouring to leap up towards it, man. but was beat back by the Iron Weapon of *Ixora*, who gave him a good knock on the Pate, but without any harm, whence he got the Name of *Hanuman*. The other is, That meeting one time with a white Elephant call'd *Acrapadia*, on which was mounted *Devaindra* King of the Celestial Spirits, a Quarrel arose betwixt them, in which *Hanuman* was slain: His Father the Wind being afflicted at his Death, hid his Face under ground, so that the Inhabitants of the Earth being ready to perish for want of Air in the

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Man's Face.

The Wives  
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extremity of Heat, they address'd themselves to *Ixora*, who restor'd *Hanuman* to life, and recal'd the Wind above ground.

Thus the Wind was ador'd as a God both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Athenians* erected a Temple to the Wind, as *Augustus* did in *France*; the *Phenicians* did the same. This Ape has divers celebrated Pagodes erected to him by the *Indians*. We read in the *Portuguese Histories*, that in 1554, when they plunder'd the famous Pagode upon the *Adams Mount* in *Ceylon*, they found an Ape's Tooth, (the most sacred Relick of the Pagans of *Pegu*, *Ceylon*, *Malabar*, *Bengale*, *Coromandel* and *Bishnagar*) enclosed in a Box set with precious Stones, which they carried to *Goa*; some of the *Indian Princes* offer'd 700000 Ducats to redeem it, but it was not accepted of, by reason the Bishop of *Goa* oppos'd it.

Another Son of *Ixora* was call'd *Superbenna*, with 6 Faces and 12 Hands, the occasion whereof happened thus: *Parameswari* being one day employ'd in washing her self in a Cistern, 6 Weavers happen'd to pass by, who inflam'd with Lust, look'd very wishfully at her; this having the same effect upon her, she conceiv'd the same instant: but fearing *Ixora's* Anger, she threw it out with her Spittle upon the ground, which turning in an instant into a Child with 6 Faces and 12 Hands, much resembling in all other respects the 6 Weavers, they took it along with them, and educated it in all

manner of Accomplishments. One time being ingag'd in a Dispute with *Ixora*, he was so taken with his Wit, that he receiv'd him for his Son, assign'd him a Place at *Calaja*, and presented him with a Peacock to ride upon.

Before I conclude this Chapter, I must tell you one thing more of *Quenavady*. Returning one day pretty late at night from a Banquet, when the Moon was not very light, it being only the 4th day after the New Moon in *August*, with his Umbrella in one hand, in the other a Poem, and some Cakes under his Arm, he ran unwarily against a Post with such violence, that he fell upon the ground and dropt not only his Umbrella, but also his Poems and Cakes: As he was most concern'd for the last, so he took a good bite or two of them before he rose again, or look'd for his Book and Umbrella. The Moon seeing this pleasant Spectacle, could not forbear laughing; which *Quenavady* perceiving, broke out into this Curse, *Who ever, O Moon, shall see thee for the future upon this day in August, shall be damnify'd in his Privities*. Hence it is that the Pagans will not stir abroad the 4th of *August* after Sun-set, nay even not on the 5th, for fear of partaking of this Curse; and if any one is oblig'd to stay without doors, he covers his Face, and even will not look into the Water for fear of seeing the Moon, tho they see the *St. Thomas Christians*, the *Jews* and *Mahometans* look upon it at the same time without the least detriment.

Baldew.

Quenavady curses the Moon.

## CHAP. VI.

*Ixora's Daughter, and the Origin of the Small-Pox: Fear of the Malabars of that Distemper. Their Pagode Amadyri plunder'd by the King of Cochinchina. She comes to Coulang.*

A Certain Giant named *Racxada* (of which more anon) having liv'd 12 years with *Bramma*, he receiv'd among many other Presents a Book from him, and some Bracelets, as also the Virtue of being invulnerable. The Natives of *Coromandel* believe these Giants to have been Children of the *Brabman Cassiopa* by his Wife *Aditi*, just as the *Jews* say that *Lilith* brought forth Devils begott by *Adam*. *Darida* finding himself th above the common rank of Men, Strength bestow'd upon him by *Es* would needs challenge *Ixora*, who knowing his Strength sent against him a certain

Female named *Sorga*, who cut off one of his Heads (for besides his true Head, he had many others, but only in appearance) but *Darida* returning the next day, reiterated his Boasts, when *Ixora* engag'd five holy Women, call'd *Chamundigai* by the *Malabars*, in his Quarrel, who cut off his false Heads; but all to no purpose, so that *Darida* persisting in his Insolence, *Ixora* *Darida* consulted with *Vishnum*, what to do in this exigency. Whilst they were debating the matter, *Vishnum* sent forth from his Body a certain matter (call'd *Bixa* by the *Malabars*) which entering that of *Ixora*, pass'd again thro the Eye on his Front,

Baldew.

A Description of  
Ixora's  
Daughter.

Front, and falling upon the ground produc'd in an instant a Female, which *Ixora* acknowledging for his Daughter, gave her the Name of *Patragali Pagode*.

This Daughter had 8 Faces, 16 Hands as black as a Coal, with large round Eyes, her Teeth like the Tusks of a Boar: In lieu of Pendants she has two Elephants in her Ears, and Serpents about her Body instead of a Garment; her Hair-locks are Peacocks Tails, in her Hand she carries a Sword, a Trident, a large Porcelain Bafon, another Vessel call'd *Capala* by the *Malabars*, a Scymiter call'd *Mautegam*, a Hanger call'd *Carutela*, an Arrow, a Weapon call'd *Cona*, a Rope, an Ape with an Iron Wheel.

This Monster was no sooner born, but she went to revenge her Father's Quarrel, and fighting for seven days successively, she cut off 7 of his imaginary Heads; but finding all her Endeavours in vain, and that *Darida* was not vulnerable as long as he kept the Book and Bracelets given him by *Bramma*, she apply'd her self to *Sorga*, intreating her to take upon her the Habit of a Beggar, and by that means endeavour to get the before said things into her hands. Accordingly *Sorga* took the opportunity to ask Alms of *Darida*, when he was at some distance from his House, who told her, that if she would go to his House his Wife would answer her desire, which if she did not, he would do it himself. *Sorga* then went to his House, and ask'd his Wife for the Bracelets and Book in her Husband's Name, who freely delivering the same, she brought them instantly to *Patragali*. *Darida* having thus lost his best Treasures, wherein *Bramma* had enclosed all his Happiness, and thereby being bereav'd of his former Strength, was soon after engag'd again, and had his true Head cut off by *Patragali*.

Being much exalted by this Victory, she came strait to *Ixora*, who being then just undress'd leapt into a Cistern, for fear of being seen by *Patragali*, from whence he gave her some Flesh and Blood; but finding her not satisfied thus, he order'd her to hold out her Bafon, and cutting off one of his Fingers he fill'd it with his own Blood; but *Patragali* continuing still unsatisfied, took one of her Golden Chains (composed of small pieces like Pepper Corns) and threw it into his Face, which raising in his Face great numbers of Pimples, or small Ulcers, he cry'd out with great surprize, *Bafuri*, i. e. O you revengeful Woman! and desiring her to desist, created two young Men

named *Birapatrem* and *Quetraguele*, whom he bestow'd upon her, and thus pacified her Anger; but to rid his hand of her for the future, he presented her with a Vessel of Sandal Wood, ordering her to go with it into the World, and to reside (tho unknown) among the Mortals, and to require Vows and Sacrifices at their hands.

The Pagans therefore imagining that it is *Patragali* sends the Small-Pox among the People, leave the Patient so soon as he is seiz'd with it; and hence perhaps it is, that they have a certain Idol representing a Female with a Child laying his Arms about her Neck, and imploring her Assistance. They deliver up these Patients to the care of the *Comaras*, a Fraternity belonging to the *Pagode* of *Patragali*; these offer the Blood of some Cocks and other Sacrifices to the Gods in behalf of the Sick; and for the rest give them only some *Cannies*, or Rice boil'd in Water; and leaving them for the rest to their own disposal, more die for want of good looking after, than by the Violence of the Distemper; nay sometimes are kill'd by *Comaras*, who inherit all their Moveables.

We told you before, that *Ixora* call'd his Daughter *Bafuri*, which to this day signifies the Small-Pox among the *Malabars*, which they say is the Sword of *Patragali*, and for that reason endeavour to mitigate her Wrath by Sacrifices, wherein they follow the footsteps of the antient *Greeks*.

They say that *Patragali* has her chief Residence in the Great *Pagode* of *Cranganor*, call'd the *Pagode* of Pilgrims, from the vast number of Zealots that flock thither; and as this brings in a Revenue of many thousand *Fanams* to the King of *Cranganor*, so the King of *Cochin*, who fain would have had a share in the Booty, did post some Forces on the PASSES, who rob'd and plunder'd the Pilgrims, intending by this means to oblige them to resort to the *Pagode* built in the Kingdom of *Palsuri* under his Jurisdiction. Thus the old King of *Cochin* did plunder and rob the famous *Pagode* of *Ammadivi*, of all its Treasure, at the head of a Body of 10000 Men, and afterwards laugh'd at them into the bargain, saying that he had taken it only as his Inheritance, as being the Son and Heir of the Idol; just as *Dionysius* the Sicilian Tyrant did with *Jupiter* and *Esculapius*.

But to return to *Patragali*; she was no sooner got out into the Main with her Vessel of Sandal-wood, but being attack'd

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Adventures  
of Patraga-  
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Patragali's  
Husband  
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Patragali's  
Adventure  
whilst she  
goes  
quest by her  
Husband.

by some Fisher-men and Ape-Hunters, was forc'd to return to *Calaja*, where finding *Ixora* overwhelm'd with Sleep, she overturn'd his Bedstead, which awakening him, she told him her Disaster; whereupon being endow'd with new Vigor by *Ixora*, she return'd to her Vessel, and having defeated the *Ape-Hunters*, and landed safely on the South-side of *Coulang* (a City of *Malabar*) the Queen thereof sent for her to Court, and entertain'd her there for 12 years as her own Daughter.

The Lord of *Cauleta* (a Country 7 Leagues to the North of *Calecut*) then

desiring *Patrágali* in Marriage for his Son, the same was concluded, and she taken home, where she liv'd for 12 years without ever cohabiting with her Husband, as boasting her self to be the Daughter of *Ixora*. *Atendora* speaks of a certain Idol in *China* with a Child hanging about her Neck, which the Jesuits would fain persuade the World to have been intended for the Virgin *Mary*, tho it seems much more probable, that it was intended for this *Patrágali*. What Mr. Le Blanc tells us of the Female Idol of *Calecut*, seems very suspicious to me.

Bald cut

## CHAP. VII.

*Patrágali's Father and Mother suffer Shipwrack. She sends her Husband to sell her Jewels, and goes in quest after him. Nine several Adventures which happen to her. The rest of Ixora his Children, their Adventures. What further becomes of Paramécéri.*

**A**fterwards *Patrágali's* Father and Mother-in-law being embark'd aboard a Ship with all their Riches, in order to traffick with them in Foreign Countries, they were attack'd at Sea by the *Ape-hunters*, who sinking their Ships, they lost all their Riches. *Patrágali* then gave her Golden Foot-rings to her Husband to sell them, who departed accordingly, but meeting upon the Road a Goldsmith (a Highway-man of *Pandy*) he under pretence of viewing the Rings, entertain'd the Husband, till by several By-ways they brought him to *Pandy*. Here the pretended Goldsmith (who had not long before stoln just such Rings from the Queen of *Pandy*) accus'd *Patrágali* of the Robbery, who was put in Prison, and afterwards empal'd alive on a Palm-tree. The Goldsmith's Wife having an aversion to so foul a Fact, upbraided her Husband with it, who kill'd and buried her near a Well.

*Patrágali* having staid six days without hearing any News from her Husband, resolv'd to go in search after him.

The first thing she met with was a Pigeon, which she ask'd, whether she had seen her Husband? The Pigeon reply'd, she had seen him go that way, but not return. In recompence whereof *Patrágali* gave her this Blessing, That she should never want Water in *February* (being the driest season here) and presented her with a piece of her Chain, which she threw about her Neck, (the Turtles have

such a Ring about the Neck.)

*Patrágali* following the way shewn her by the Pigeon, met with another Bird, of whom having enquir'd as she did before of the Pigeon, she receiv'd the same Answer, which made her bestow a Tuft upon his Head, being perhaps the same we call the *Piewet* in our Country, call'd *Carpenteiro* by the Portuguese.

Afterwards *Patrágali* coming to a *Man-go-Tree*, she ask'd the same Question; but receiving no Answer, she curst it, that for the future the dead Corps should be burnt with no other Wood, and that all Vessels built of that Wood, should rot and be worm-eaten at Sea.

Meeting next a Cow, she was kick'd by her hindermost Legs; which she resented so ill, that she gave her this Curse, That of her four Teats one should be for the use of the *Pagode*, the other for the Prince of the Country, the third for the Owner, and the fourth only for her Calf; that they should make Drums of her Skin, and that consequently she should be subject to Blows both dead and alive.

The fifth she met with being a *Naira*, or Soldier of *Malabar*, this Fellow had dug a hole, and having cover'd the same with some Twigs and Sand, *Patrágali* fell into it as she pass'd along; he gave him this Curse, that he should be call'd Coward all his life-time.

The next was a *Naira*, or a *Nairo's* Daughter, who being ask'd by her, whether she had not seen her Husband? she

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*Patrágali's*  
Husband  
executed.

*Patrágali's*  
Adventures  
whilst she  
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quest of  
her  
Husband.



*Baldau.*

clapt her Hands, saying in scornful tone, What are you running after you: Husband? I have not seen him. She gave him this Curse, That she should be married to a *Nairo*, a Coward, who as soon as he turn'd Soldier should leave her in 40 days after.

She then coming to a *Jaguo-Tree*, she ask'd after her Husband again: the Tree bowing its Twigs, furnished her with some of its Milky Liquor (as this Tree does if you cut any of its Twigs) she bestow'd this Blessing upon it, That its Fruits should be highly esteem'd by the Kings and Princes, and that tho' its Stem might corrupt, it should continue to bear Fruit (as in effect it does) and that they should employ its Wood in making their Cymbals call'd *Tabelyne*, and the Statues of their Idols.

The eighth she met with was a *Polia*, a Man of mean Extraction, who not going out of her way (as they usually do) she told him, that he should not be admitted into the Houses of Persons of Quality from *October* till *February*.

The last she met with was a *Parrea*, likewise a Person of low Birth; but having paid her the usual Reverence, she admir'd at his Civility, which made her ask him, Whether he did know her? He reply'd, that he took notice of her Swines Tusks, and the Elephants in her Ears; which so pleased her, that she told him, he should drink of the Liquor of the Palm-tree (which in effect they do when they gather it) and that he and his Family should feed upon Cow's Flesh. Then tracing the way shew'd her by the *Parrea*, she found her Husband empal'd upon the Palm-tree; which being too high for her, she obtain'd by her Prayers that the Palm-tree broke, and so deliver'd her Husband, whom she brought to Life again.

*Patragali* now burning of Revenge to punish the Murderers of her Husband, address'd her self to *Ixora*, who having furnish'd her with a strong Body of *Raxaxos*, or Devils (having been wicked Men in their life-time) she enter'd the Territories of *Pandy*, and at last kill'd the King and the Goldsmith. His Wife she reviv'd from the dead, who having brought forth a Son, she granted him a Privilege to work in the *Pagodes*, and to receive to himself the tenth part of all the Gold he should make use of, the fourth in 10 of what he should work for the King, and as much as he could get from private Persons.

We told you before of the *Pagode* of *Patragali* in *Cranganor*, where besides

her Statue stands that of a large Man in Marble, which the *Brabmans* knock every day with Hammers upon the Head, to keep it from growing too big.

Thus much of *Ixora's* Children, who were, properly speaking, only four in number (*Suprabennia* being only an adopted Son) we must also go on in the Story of *Paramesceri* his Spouse and her Origin. *Jecxa Paje*, a King of the *Peringales* had four Daughters, the eldest whereof was *Paramesceri*, otherwise call'd *Parvati*; *Sarossodi* and *Gojatris* the second and third being married to *Bramma*, and *Pagode Siri* to *Vistnum*. Their Father being desirous to see his Daughters in their full Glory, invited *Bramma* and *Vistnum* to a most magnificent Feast. *Vistnum* asking him whether he had invited *Ixora*, he answer'd, No, (*Ixora* being then in his Mendicant State) but afterwards considering the matter, he invited him at last, which *Ixora* took so hainously, that he resolv'd to spoil the Feast.

The Day appointed for the Feast being come, *Siri Pagode* came in great Pomp in a stately Chariot made of nine most precious Stones, most artificially wrought, her self being adorn'd with numberless Jewels and Pearls, and attended by a splendid Retinue of Servants and Musicians: *Sarossodi* and *Gojatris* the other two Sisters appear'd with the same Splendor. *Paramesceri* in the mean while having obtain'd leave to go to the Feast from *Ixora*, he order'd her to put on her best Apparel, and gave her his Serpents, his Umbrella of Peacocks Tails, his Chain of Bones, his Tygers Skin, and Elephants Hide; thus equip'd she mounted upon an Ox, and with a large Attendance of Drummers, and *Pudas* and *Pixares*, came to her Father's Palace, where being met at the Gates by her Sisters and the other Guests, these seeing her Equipage much below what they expected, instead of welcoming her as they ought to have done, burst out into laughter, which so vexed *Paramesceri*, that without more ado she return'd to *Calaja*, where she gave an account of what Treatment she had met with, because her Sisters appear'd at the Feast in a most sumptuous Equipage, their Apparel being cover'd all over with precious Stones and Pearls, whereas she who was the eldest Sister, and married to *Ixora*, had been despis'd for her mean Appearance.

*Ixora* mov'd at the just Complaints of his Spouse, sent his Son *Quenavady* to spoil the Feast. *Vistnum* being well acquainted with *Quenavady's* Temper, order'd good store of Cakes to be set before

him

*Patragali*  
revenges  
her Hus-  
band's  
Death.

*Vistnum's*  
Descent  
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sidence.

him in the Hall, which pleased him so well, that he soon forgot his Father's Orders. *Ixora* wondering at *Quenevady's* long stay, sent his Brother *Superbennia* upon the same Errand; *Vishnum* knowing him not to be diverted with Trifles, sent out to him some ingenious Persons, who entertain'd him so well with subtle Discourses and Arguments, that he likewise neglected his Father's Commands.

At last *Ixora* finding both his Sons to stay behind, order'd his Daughter *Patragali* thither; *Vishnum* no sooner heard of her coming, but he commanded a most delicious Banquet to be set before her in the Hall, through which she was to pass, which so diverted her Senses, that she soon forgot what she came about.

*Ixora* finding all these Endeavours to prove ineffectual, resolv'd to go thither in Person; which *Vishnum* no sooner got notice of, but he told King *Jecxa Prajava*

his Father-in-law, that not being able to cope with *Ixora*, he would retire with his Wife; and *Bramma* doing the same, the *Sun* and the *Moon* (two of the Guests) staid only behind: *Ixora* coming to his Father-in-law's Palace, upbraided him with the Contempt he had put upon him and his Wife *Paramejveri*, and so taking him by the Hair full of Anger, there came forth at the same instant a stout Warrior arm'd *Cap-a-pee* (like the *Mars* of the antient Pagans) call'd *Virapatron* by the *Malabars*, who cut off *Jecxa Prajava's* Head, the Hands of the God of the *Five*, and beat out the Teeth of the *Sun*. What *Rogierius* says concerning *Jecxa Prajava's* having got a Goats Head instead of the other, and that the *Moon* also got a good banging, I could never learn either from these Pagans themselves, or from the Portuguese Histories.

Baldern.

## PART II.

### CHAP. I.

*The Idol Vishnum, and his Transformation into a Fish. Mats Altar. Another Transformation of Vishnum. An Account of the Milk-Sea. Cauram's Altar.*

*Vishnum's  
Descent  
and Refi-  
dence.*

**V***ishnum* the second in rank among the Gods next to *Ixora*, is also descended from *Quivelinga*. He is of a black Colour, with one Head, and four Hands; he resides on the *Sugar-Sea*, and governs the World sleeping. Instead of a Bed, he reposes upon a noted Serpent call'd *Annatam*, with five Heads; two whereof serve him for Pillars, one for a Bolster, and two under his Hams. This Serpent, as they say, being once in the humour to try the Power of *Vishnum*, got a sixth Head, which *Vishnum* no sooner saw, but he got another Hand to lay upon the Head, and the Serpent having got a seventh Head, he got likewise another Hand; so that, as the Serpents Heads did grow to the number of a thousand, his Hands encreased in proportion; whence it is that they look upon the Serpents as Celestial Spirits, keep them in great Veneration, and never kill them, tho they are often hurt by them. Thus

Vol. III.

the Serpents were reckoned by the antient *Lithuanians*, *Samogitians*, *Prussians* and *Egyptians*.

They tell us further, that *Vishnum* wears a Print of a Foot upon his Breast: For one *Ricxi Sirmelstena* being desirous to know which of the three was the most Potent God, came to *Calaja*, and gave *Ixora* a good Box on the Ear, who transform'd him into a Stone; but having after 12 years recover'd his Life, he did the same to *Bramma*, who let him go without doing him any harm. Then coming to *Vishnum*, and finding him upon his Bed, he set his foot upon his Breast, which *Vishnum* fix'd there, so that he was forced to continue there 100 years.

*Vishnum* had two Wives, one call'd *vishnum's Leximi* alias *Lactemi*, and *Siri Pagode Wives* before-mention'd. The first *Vishnum* found in the *Milk-Sea*, in a Rose of 108 large and 1008 lesser Leaves; her chief business is to scratch his Head. The

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Baldæus.

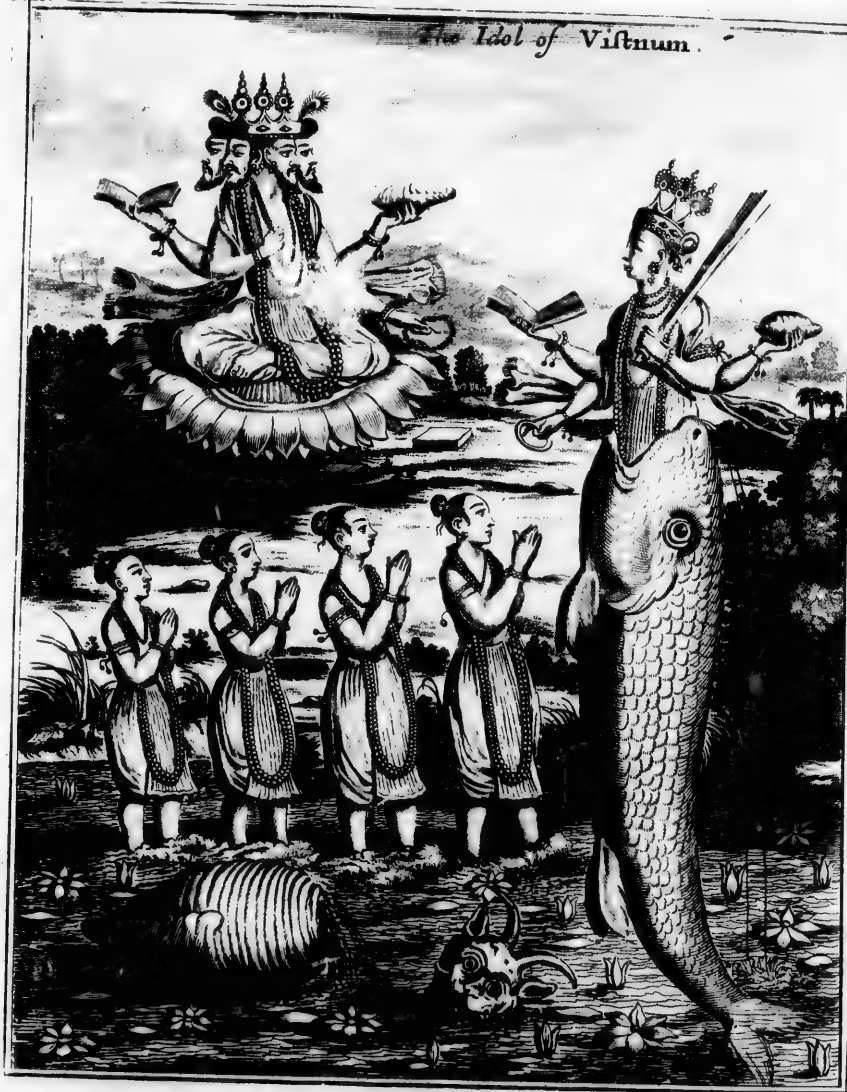
other is call'd *Pumi Divi*, i. e. the God-  
dess of Heaven, in whose Lap he lays his  
Feet, which she is to rub with her Hands.

They attribute no less than ten several  
Transformations to *Vishnum*, nine where-  
of they say are accomplish'd already, but  
the tenth is to come. Father Kircher the  
Jesuit \* mentions the same to have been  
related to him by Father Hen. Roth an Au-

stin Frier; and Rogerius says likewise some-  
thing of them: but as under these ten  
Transformations are hid the chief Mys-  
teries of the Pagan Religion on both sides  
of the *Ganges*, so we will treat of them  
at large with this Precaution, that these  
Pagans often give divers Names to the  
same God, by reason of the great dif-  
ference betwixt the Languages of the Ben-

*Vishnum*  
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jant, *Gentives* and *Malabars*: So, tho they acknowledg the same *Ixora*, *Bramma* and *Vishnum*, some of them call'd *Ixora Mabex*, or *Mahadeum*, *Bramma*, *Bruma* or *Ram*, and *Vishnum Bexuo*, &c. which seems to intimate as if they had a certain respect to the Trinity; just as the *Chineſes* worship three Divine Attributes under the Name of *Puffa*, and the *Greeks* placed the three *Charities* near the Throne of *Jupiter*; and if the Modern *Jews* were not quite obstinate in their denial of the Trinity, they might be convinc'd by their own *Rabbies*, *Rabbi Isaac*, *Rabbi Judas Nagi*, and *Rabbi Simeon*.

The first Transformation was into a Fish, occasion'd by *Raxiata* alias *Adivem*, who having carried away the Law-book of the inferior Gods call'd *Devagal* or *Dewetas*, hid himself at the bottom of the Sea. The inferior Gods making their Complaints to *Vishnum*, he transform'd himself into that ravenous Fish the *Shark*, and thus diving to the bottom of the Sea, laid hold of *Raxiata*, otherwise call'd *Seremiacen*, and *Sancaſoor* by the *Benjans*, kill'd him, and seiz'd the Law-book, divided into four parts; the first whereof treated of the Souls of the Blessed, the second of the vagabond Souls, the third of good Works, the fourth of bad Works. But what *Rogierius* says, l. 1. c. 3. viz. that the fourth part is lost, I could never be convinc'd of. The Fish is call'd *Mas* or *Matbia*, tho the *Malabars* and *Benjans* call it *Zecxia*. The *Benjans* tell us, that these Books were stoln from *Bramma*, but the *Malabars* from the *Dewetas*, or inferior Gods. The *Benjans* say that *Bramma* was transform'd into a Fish, whereas the *Malabars* ascribe it to *Vishnum*. The *Benjans* call these Transmutations *Altars*; so that according to their supposition *Mas* Altar being the first, has now stood 2500 years.

Upon this occasion I must agree with *Rogierius*, when he says, l. 2. c. 3. that he could not dive into the Mysteries of the Transformations, because I am certain that it cost me a great deal of trouble before I could attain to the knowledge thereof, and that not without the Assistance of a certain *Brabman*, who coming from *Bengale* settled at *Jafnapatnam*; and as I frequently convers'd with him, so I often used to discourse with him concerning the Animadversions made upon this Head by *Rogierius*: He being afterwards converted to the Christian Faith, and baptized in the Church of *Panarpon*, and our Discourse running upon the Transformations of *Vishnum*, he told me that this

*Pedam*, or Law-book, being inclosed in a *Chanke*, or Sea-horse's Horn, the same was found out by *Vishnum*; whence it is that they say the Prints of the Fingers are to be seen in these Horns to this day; and that they have put the *Saccaram* or Sword, and the *Chanks* or Horn into his Hands, as you see in the preceding Draught, tho some ascribe the same to *Bramma*.

But before we enter further upon the Description of the Transmutations, we must add certain Preliminaries as tending to the Explanation thereof.

All these Transformations were perform'd in four different times or spaces: The first call'd *Kortefinge* by the *Benjans*, they say continued 1728000 years. The second *Tretafinge* 1296000 years: The third *Duaperfinge* 8064000 years: The fourth *Kalifinge* 4032000 years, being the same term of time we now live in; so that according to their Computation at *Suratte* there were in 1657, at least 4758 years elapsed of this last term of Time. For it is to be known, that the *Benjans*, and most other Pagans, *Egyptians*, *Chineſes* and *Japoneſes*, differ several 1000 of years in their Computations from ours. And to convince you that the *Benjans* have the same years with ours, it is to be observ'd, that they as well as we divide their Years into 12 Months, amounting in the whole to 360 days in the year; and to make amends for our odd days, they have thirteen Months in every fourth Year, yet so that the 13th Month hath no more than 16 days. And it is further their opinion, that after the expiration of this last term of Time of 4032000 years, the World shall be renew'd. In which Point they follow in some measure the Footsteps of *Plato*, who allow'd no less than 36000 years before the Sun could pass through the 360 deg. of the *Zodiack*; tho they make their *Annu magnus*, as the antient Pagans call'd it,

*Interea magnum Sol circumvolvitur Annum* \*.

\* Virgil.  
l. 3. *Æneid*.

The Pagans on the Coast of *Coromandel* and *Malabar* call these four terms of time, *Critagom*, *Treitagom*, *Dwaparagom*, and *Kaligom*; where it is to be observ'd, that according to the Computation of the Pagans, and the *Gentives* of *Suratte*, there are in this year 1670 elapsed 4771. whereas those of *Coromandel* compute 4770, being only one year's difference: but finding in 1665, that the Inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam* computed then the 4864th year

Baldaus.

jant,

*Baldens.*

*The second  
Transformation of  
Vishnum.*

year of the last Term; I told them that they did not stand for 100 years less or more, whereat they smiled.

But it is time we should now proceed to the second Transformation. The 33 Gods and the *Adives* held an Assembly in the *Milk-Sea*, to consult how to get into their possession the *Ambrosia*, call'd by some *Amuritam* and *Amortam*, by others *Amratam*. Some say that *Ixora* and *Vishnum* having call'd together all the good and evil Spirits, enter'd upon a Debate, how to find out something endu'd with such a Virtue as to make Men live without Victuals or Drink, and without danger of Death, or being tir'd. Whereupon it being agreed, that they should turn the Mount *Abamervu* (call'd *Merowwa* by *Rogerius*) like the Turners do, and instead of a Rope make use of the Serpent *Harugu*, call'd *Sescha* by the *Brahmans*, being of so vast a bulk, as to enclose the seven Worlds and Seas; accordingly they began their Turners-work, but finding the Mount immovable, they address'd themselves to a noted Ape call'd *Baly* (of whom more anon in the History of *Siri Rama*) by whose Assistance the Mount began to stir; and meeting at the same time with a beautiful Woman named *Dara*, they bestow'd her upon *Baly* as a Reward for his Services. But continuing their Work, the Mount by turning round tumbld into the Sea; so that being destitute of all means to recover it thence, they were forced to have recourse to *Vishnum*, who taking the shape of a *Tortoise*, dived to the bottom, and brought the Mount up on his Back. Here it was that *Vishnum* met with the beautiful *Macha Lecxemi*, whom he married afterwards. But the Mount being exceeding high, *Vishnum* took the shape of a Bird, and flew round about it, till it was brought lower. This Story seems to have some relation to the Fable of Mount *Atlas*, and what is said *Heb. 1. that God bears up the World*.

The Gods and the *Adives* then continuing their Work, did light upon some Poison, which being too strong for them they sent to *Ixora*, but were still in pursuit after the *Ambrosia*, which they intended to present to their Great King *Deva Indra* (who was then very sick) firnamed *Quiera Navam*, because his whole Body was cover'd with *Manly Tards*, in revenge of the Adultery he committed with the Wife of the Great *Rixi Quendama*: For *Deva Indra* being extremely in love with the said Lady, transform'd himself into a Cock, and coming

to her House in the night-time, began to crow most briskly. *Rixi* thinking, it had been near break of Day, got out of his Bed, and whilst he was going to an adjacent Pond to perform his usual Devotions, *Deva Indra* took the opportunity to enjoy his Wife. *Rixi* returning from his Devotion, and perceiving the Cheat, transmuted his Wife into a Stone, and laid the other Punishment upon her Lover.

By this time the *Adives* having seiz'd upon the *Ambrosia* without giving a share to the Gods, these made their Applications to *Vishnum*, who thereupon taking the shape of a most beautiful Nymph, sat down at Table with the *Adives*, when their Attendants were just ready to distribute the *Ambrosia* among them. Being all extremely enamour'd with her Beauty, every one courted her for his Spouse. To decide the matter she told them, that they should put the *Ambrosia* into her Hand, and with their Eyes shut and Hands ty'd behind them, but their Mouths open, receive every one their share of the *Ambrosia*; and that he upon whom she should pitch for her Husband, should be the last. This being done accordingly, she seiz'd upon the *Ambrosia*, and carried it to the Gods. But whilst they were all opening their Mouths to receive the said *Ambrosia*, *Ravaben* (who had assum'd the shape of one of the Gods) shew'd his Boars Tusks, which *Vishnum* seeing gave him such a powerful Blow, that his Head flew from his Shoulders; whence the *Adives*, whatever shape they assume, always retain their Tusks. However *Vishnum* throwing the Body and Head into the Air, the same were transform'd into two Planets, call'd *Rabu* and *Quendaum*. *Rogerius* calls them, *Ragou* and *Ketou*, which in the *Malabar* signifies as much as *Caput* and *Cauda*, or the *Dragon's Head* and *Tail*. But here the *Brahmans* commit an Error in Astronomy, for they have no Planets, but a fixed *Sidus* consisting of 31 Stars on the North-side without the *Zodiac*; where the Moon passing from South to North, and again from the North to South, goes through this *Ecliptick-Line*, being the same the Sun passes through every year, and the Moon every Month in the year; for when she takes her Course from South to North, the place where she passes through the *Ecliptick-Line* is call'd the *Dragon's Head*, as the place of the said Line through which she passes in her return from North to South is call'd the *Dragon's Tail*; hence it is, that (according

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to *Rogervius*) these Pagans say that there is an Antipathy betwixt Sun and Moon, and *Ragou* and *Ketou*, and when they see an Eclipse of the Sun or Moon, that they are fighting with *Ragou* and *Ketou*, or that they are devour'd by them.

The inferior Gods employ part of the *Ambrosia* they had got in restoring their

Great God to Health, and removing the *Manly Members* from his Body, instead whereof he got as many Eyes. *Baldass.*

The before-mentioned Poison taken out of the Mount *Maham*, being so virulent, that whatever it touch'd was consum'd to Ashes, was given to *Ixora* in the presence of *Paramesceri* his Spouse,

*The Removal of the Mount Meeperwat.*



Baldau.

who dreading the Effects thereof, clapt her Hand to his Throat to prevent him from swallowing it, and laying the other Hand upon his Mouth for fear he should spue it out again and set the World on fire, mingling at the same time her Prayers (*Nila candamre accerem*) with her Endeavours, the Poison forc'd its way through *Ixora's* Ear, and was in an instant transform'd into a Devil, call'd *Canda Carna Pixaxo*. The Prints of *Paramefceri's* Finger left three black spots on *Ixora's* Throat, whence he got the Surname of *Nili Candaon*, i. e. *Black Throat*, or *Black Head*.

Different Relation of the Benjans and Gentives of the second Transformation.

The *Benjans* and *Gentives* give a different Relation of this second Transformation. They say that the Sea being swoln with Pride, broke out in these words; *Who is it that can compare with the Riches contain'd in my Azure Marble Vaults? Here it is the Moon has fix'd her Habitation; the Water of Tamarith, which renders those that drink it immortal, is inclosed in my Bosom. The Elephant with his seven Trunks, and the seven-headed Horse dwell in the Depths, which produce black, white and red Coral in vast quantity. The Great God of Heaven being exasperated at this Vanity, commanded the Giant and the four-headed God Bramma to go to the River*

*Siam Boerwesty*, near which lies the Golden Mount *Aceperwat* seated in the Center of the Earth, and 40000 Leagues high, and to remove the said Mount into the Sea, by winding the Serpent *Signage* about it, and thereby force the Sea to cast out her Treasure, which had render'd her so vainglorious. This being put in Execution accordingly, the Sea call out the following fourteen things. 1. The Mony call'd *Leefemy*. 2. The most precious Jewel *Confenchmany*, or the Carbuncle, which carries a Lustre like the Full-Moon. 3. The Tree *Paertfatig*. 4. The Vessel *Silxeren*, with the Water of *Sora*. 5. *Doflor Dannewanter*. 6. *Indemademæn*. 7. The white Cow of Plenty call'd *Camdoga*. 8. The immortal Water call'd *Amarith*. 9. The Elephant with seven Trunks, *Hiera Wanneffy*. 10. The beauteous Female Dancer, *Remba*. 11. The seven-headed Horse *Exmoghora*. 12. The Bow *Demok*. 13. The Horn *Chiank*. And, 14. The Poison *Sakar*. This done, the Sea began to abate of its Pride, the Mount and Serpent had their peculiar places assign'd them, and the Treasures of the Sea were distributed to different Places and Persons. Thus far of the second Transformation, containing 2500 years of the first term of Time.

## CHAP. II.

*Vistnum transform'd into a Hog: Waras his Altar. Some Reflections upon the Fables of the Pagans. Vistnum's fourth Transformation into half a Man, and half a Lion.*

The third Transformation.

A Certain *Adiren*, named *Renniaczem*, was of such vast length, that taking up the Earth he roll'd it together like an Anchor-Cable, and carried it upon his Shoulders to the infernal places call'd *Padalas*, whilst *Vistnum* was asleep in his Bed. He no sooner heard of the Presumption of this *Adiren*, but he assum'd the shape of a Hog, and digging with his Snout through the Earth, till he came to the *Padalas*, kill'd the Robber, and taking the Earth upon his Tusks, fix'd it in its former place. Hence it is, that in the *Pagode* call'd *Adi Warraba*, in the City of *Trimotram*, not far from *Sinzi*, there is to be seen the Head of a Hog, which the *Brahmans* say was the Product of the Earth, and is reverenc'd as the true Idol of *Vistnum* in memory of this Transformation.

The *Benjans* and *Gentives* of *Indostan* and *Suratte* give us the following account

of it. During the first term of Time, say they, the World was so over-burden'd with Sin, that the Serpent of 1000 Heads unable to bear the weight thereof any longer, withdrew her self from underneath it, whereby the World, together with Men and Beasts, were cast into and perish'd in the depth of the Sea. *Bramma* addressing himself to the Great God, desir'd him to retrieve the World out of the Abyss of the Sea, which he willingly granted. Whereupon *Vistnum* assum'd the shape of a Boar's Head, with Tusks as big as an Elephant's Trunk, white all over his Body, with four Arms and Hands, having in one Hand a great Sword call'd *Godda*, and in the other a Book, as likewise a Horn and round *Tjicker*. Thus transform'd, he threw himself into the Sea, being at first no bigger than a Man's Finger, but increas'd before he reach'd the bottom to such a degree, that in case

case the Earth had been plac'd on the surface of the Water, and he stood upon it, his Head would have touch'd the Stars. Coming to the bottom of the Sea, he kill'd the dreadful Giant *Hirnak*, whose Blood ting'd the whole Sea with red. *Vishnum* having trampled him under his Feet, lifted with his Tusks the Earth out of the Sea, and placing the Tortoise upon

the Water, and the Serpent with a thousand Heads upon the Tortoise, he retir'd to his Residence, and *Bramma* with one word created a new Generation of Men. This Transformation comprehends 2700 years, in the first Period of time.

This Story seems to intimate, that these Pagans have heard something of the Deluge, considering especially that

*Baldwin.*



*Saldous.* the Benjans do live nearer to the Borders of Persia and Armenia than the rest of the Indians; there being also mention made of the Giants, Gen. 6. 4. and it is very probable, that the antient Pagans were not quite ignorant of the History of the Deluge, which they afterwards ushered into the World, under divers peculiar Deluges, as for instance the *Diluvium Ogygium*, which happen'd in Attica, and *Deucalion's Deluge* in Thessaly; and the *Prometheus* of the antient Pagans, is by most Criticks taken for the same with Noah.

But we come to the fourth Transformation; yet before we enter upon the Particulars thereof, we must add something more relating to the third Transformation. The Earth being restored to its former Station, *Vishnum* upon an exact view found it something inclining to the South, which *Vishnum* not being able to remedy, he address'd himself to a certain Saint of very low Stature, nam'd

\* l.a.c. 19. *Rixi Agassia* (Rogerius \* calls him *Agassia*) who having laid his holy Book upon that part inclining to the South, put it into a just Equilibrium.

*Vishnum* walking with this *Agassia* near the Seaside, the Sea asked *Vishnum*, Who it was that walk'd with him? *Vishnum* replied, He is a Saint who is going to restore the Earth to its true Balance. Whereupon the Sea, scorning his low Stature (he being not above the height of a joint of a Finger) wetted him with its Waves; which Affront being highly resent'd by *Agassia*, he took some of the Seawater in his hand, and beginning to drink, did not desist till he had drunk up the whole Sea: *Demetas* and *Rixis* seeing the Sea thus exhausted, interceded with *Agassia* not to rob the World of so singular a Benefit, and prevail'd upon him so far, that he pisset out again all the Water he had drunken before; and this is the reason their Philosophers alledg for the Saltness of the Sea.

*Agassia* after having restored the balance of the Earth, took his leave of *Vishnum*, who to prevent the like for the future, order'd the Great Serpent to wind herself about the seven Worlds and seven Seas; and for more Securities sake, appointed 8 Guardians to watch over it, call'd in the Malabar by the following Names: 1. *Indra* the King of the Celestial Spirits. 2. *Vanni* the God of Fire. 3. *Padurpati* King of the evil Spirits. 4. *Nirurdi* King of the infernal Spirits. 5. *Varuma* the God of the Sea. 6. *Maril* the God of the Winds. 7. *Cubera* the

God of Riches, called otherwise *Bassironnem*. 8. *Ixananam* or *Ixora* himself; hence it is that you see frequently eight Stones placed at the Entrance of, and about their Pagodes.

The fourth Transformation into half a Lion and half a Man was occasioned thus: During the first Period of Time, a certain Gyant *Hirrenkessop* (as the Benjans call him, but the Malabars *Keniauxen*) having been forced to abscond for 12 years on the account of *Bramma*, afterwards made the following Request to him: *Majest Potent Bramma, grant me the Favour to make me a great Monarch upon Earth, and bestow this further Blessing upon me, that I may not be killed either by Day or by Night, either within or without my House, either by Heaven, Earth, Sun or Moon, by Thunder, Lightning, Stars or Comets, neither by Clouds, Winds, Hail, Snow or Rains, or Birds, Beasts, Men, Devils, Fishes or Water; not by Serpents, Adders, Poison, Sword, Arrows or any other Weapons.* *Bramma* having granted the Gyant's request, he soon made himself Master of the whole Earth, and overcome with Pride at his Success, issued out a Mandate, that no body should be adored but himself, under the forfeiture of the Lives of such as should contravene it. Things continuing in this State for some Years, the *Brahmans* began to murmur, that they should be oblig'd to adore any terrestrial Power, tho never so great, to the prejudice of the celestial Spirits; they resolv'd therefore to make their Supplications to *Vishnum*, imploring him to deliver them from the Oppressions of this Tyrant, who gave them for answer, That the Giant should have shortly a Son born, who should be their Deliverer, and till then they must have Patience.

Within 10 Months after *Naackseu*, the Giants Wife, brought forth a Son nam'd *Prellade*, who when he was five years old was put to a Schoolmaster; being one time sent for by his Father, his Master instruct'd him how to pronounce his Father's Name in short writing, which was *Irenia*, but instead thereof the Boy said *Ary*, being the abbreviated Name of *Vishnum*. The Master astonish'd put his Hand upon his Mouth, bidding him to forbear, for fear of being the occasion of his own Death; but the more he forbid him, the more the Boy persisted in saying *Ary, Ary*, instead of *Irenia*.

The Schoolmaster not knowing what to do, brought him to his Father, telling him, That his Son would not pronounce his Name, which he had taken so much pains to teach him. The Father asking him the reason,

reason, the Boy answered, *Your Name is not the true Name, but the other is the Truth it self.* His Father asking further, *What is Truth?* The Son answered, *Vishnum who fills the 14 Worlds is the Truth.* *What Benefit,* said the Father, *do you receive from Vishnum?* *And what Benefit,* replied the Son, *shall I receive by yours?* The Giant told him, *Whoever repeats my*

*Name, shall be blessed with Riches, Honour, Dignities and Life.* *How,* says the Son, *can you give Life and Riches?* *Yes I can,* replied the Giant, *and will convince you immediately, it being in my Power to take away your Life.* That will scarce happen, answered the Son, according to your Providence and Discretion. *What is Providence and Discretion?* asked the Giant.

*Baldau.*

*The Idol of Vishnum transformed into half a Man & half a Lyon.*





*Baldew.* That is the Eternal Divine Name of Vistnum, replied the Son, the Creator of the 14 Worlds. The Father asking him, Where is this Name to be found? The Son answered, In every thing both in Heaven and Earth, every thing being filled with Vistnum. What, replied the Father, and is Vistnum also in this Pillar? Yes, replied the Son, and likewise in you and me. The Giant not longer able to contain himself, told him, Boy, because thou insistest thus upon the Name of Vistnum, I will beat your Brains out with this Stick; but if thou wilt pronounce my Name, thou shalt neither die, neither be beaten. That won't be, says the Boy, for your Names sake, because God has ordered it otherwise. But I will spoil that Ordinance, replied the Giant, and with that struck with his golden Staff at the Boy, who, hiding himself behind the Pillar, implor'd the Name of Vistnum. The Giant turning again with more Fury than ever against the Son, struck with such Violence that the Pillar burst and produced a Monster, half a Man, half a Lion, an Hermaphrodite, with Breasts both above and below, breathing Fire and Flames out of its Nostrils.

The Benjans say, that the Giant did erect a red hot Pillar to tie his Son to,

telling him at the same time, Let us see who can deliver you out of my Hands. The Son then invoking the assistance of Vistnum, the Pillar burst, and forth came the Monster. All the Standers by were amazed at this Spectacle, and the Giant himself trembled for fear. Vistnum resolving to revenge his own Quarrel, and at the same time not to break the Promise made by Bramma to the Giant, laid hold of the Giant, and hurrying him under Ground directly under the Threshold of his own House, and keeping him there till Sunset, tore his Body in pieces, thereby fulfilling Bramma's Promise, that he should not be killed within nor without his House, neither in Heaven nor upon Earth, neither by Beasts, Birds, Sword, Wind, Rain, Hail. The Giant's Son succeeding his Father in the Empire, ruled with great applause for many succeeding years.

Thus ended the fourth Transformation of the first Period of time, called Kortefinge by the Benjans, comprehending in all 1728000 years; for tho all these Transformations were transacted within the time of 7700 years and three days, the rest, viz. 1720000 years, 360 days, must be supposed to have been the Intervals of these Transactions.

### CHAP. III.

*The fifth Transformation of Vistnum into a Brahman. Great Plenty under Mavalv. The Request of the transformed Vistnum. Prassaram's Altar and Birth. He kills Reneca his Mother. Raja Inder's Cow of Plenty. Prassaram's great Actions.*

W Hilst Mavalv (called Belragie by the Benjans and Gentives) ruled the World, the Inhabitants thereof were so plentifully provided with every thing by his Bounty, that Poverty was a thing unknown among human Race. Vistnum perceiving that as the case then stood, there were no different degrees, nor any dependance in the World either on God or Man, resolved to divest Mavalv (by Fraud) of the Government of the World.

With this Intention Vistnum assumed the Shape of a Brahman, and appearing in a Mendicant Posture before Mavalv, he asked him, who he was, and upon what Errand he came? The pretended Brahman replied, Having heard of your Charity I am come to crave some Alms. Mavalv answer'd, I who have granted the Requests

of many Kings and Princes, will not deny thee, let it be what it will, whether Kingdoms, Money, Honours, or whatever else you can ask. The Brahman replied, my aim is not at such mighty things, but after all, for fear of Denial, I beg of you to promise me, without exception to grant my Request. Mavalv answering that he would, the Brahman begged him to confirm it with an Oath.

Mavalv being just upon the point of confirming it by Oath, the Planet Venus (who stood just by) told him, And is it customary to swear to the giving of Alms? which Mavalv being not in the least moved at, swore to the Brahman, who told him, I am not covetous of Kingdoms or Provinces, my Desire is confined to three Foot of Ground, where I may erect a Hut, where to lay up my Books, Umbrella and Drinking-Cup;

*Cup; I beg you therefore to pour some of your Water upon the Ground. For it is a custom among these Pagans, that whenever they dispose of or sell any thing, they confirm their Promise or Bargain, by pouring some Water upon the Ground, part whereof the Buyer catches with his Hands and drinks, in confirmation of the Bargain; just as Jacob desired Joseph to*

*lay his Hand under his Hips, when he was going to make him his Promise upon Oath, Gen. 47. 29. & 24. 2. where the Hips (according to some Interpreters) are taken pro partibus generationis, in quibus circumcisionis signum dabatur.*

*Maundy told him, Ask a Kingdom and I will grant it. The Brahman replied, Were I a King, I must punish Criminals,*

*Baldew.*

*The Figure of Maundy giving away the World to the disguised Vishnum.*



*which*

*Baldem.* which I could not do without trespassing the Ruins of the Order of the Brahmins; wherefore I desire no more than three Foot of Ground. *Maval* replied, that will not be enough to build you a House upon. I want no House, said the *Brahman*, having neither Wife nor Children, I desire only three Foot of Ground, which you can't refuse without being perjured. *Maval* telling the *Brahman* that he never broke his Promise, and ordering *Venus* to bring him some Water, she desired him not to pour the Water upon the *Brahman*, whom she looked upon as an Impostor. *Maval* replied, Of what consequence can three Foot of Ground be? Take heed, answered *Venus*, for this is *Vishnum* himself, who is come in disguise to deceive you. *Maval* returned, I have not sinned against *Vishnum*, and therefore have no reason to fear him. Notwithstanding which *Venus* continued to persuade him by many Arguments, not to trust him: But *Maval* persisting in his Resolution, told her, Let come on it what will, if it should cost me my Life, I will not break my Oath. Then taking the Vessel with the Water, he bid the *Brahman* to hold up his Hands, which *Venus* perceiving, she held *Maval's* Arms, desiring him not to pour out the Water; but *Maval* pushing back her Hand, bid the *Brahman* a second time to hold up his Hands. *Venus* then changing her Shape, stopp'd the Pipe of the Vessel, which *Maval* endeavouring to loosen with a Twig, he hurt *Venus's* one Eye, whence she got the Name of *Chueren*. Then Water coming out of the Spout of the Vessel, the *Brahman* did drink. This done, *Maval* order'd him to measure the three Foot of ground where he pleased. *Vishnum* having by this time reassumed his own Shape, he covered the whole Earth with one of his Feet, and with the other the Paradise called *Sargalogam*. Whilst *Vishnum* was extending his Foot, *Bramma* poured Water upon it, which produced the River *Ganges*, so highly celebrated among the *Indians* and other Pagans. *Vishnum* having thus measured two Foot, *Maval* told him, he might also take the third, which he did by measuring the inferiour Region, called *Pada-las*, and thus became Master of the whole World.

*Vishnum*  
Master of  
the World.

The *Gentives* add, that this *Brahman* (whom they call *Vanam*, i. e. a black Dwarf, and *Rogierius* calls him *Barmasari*, i. e. a young *Brahman*, by the Name of *Wamara* \*) set his Left Foot upon *Maval's* Breast or Head, and thus kick'd him thro the Ground into the infernal Re-

gion, whereof he made him King. But *Maval's* Wife upbraiding *Vishnum* with Ingratitude, he carried her to her Husband, and as a Reward of his Piety bestowed upon him the Government of the place of Darkness, *Vishnum* himself remaining with him nine days to guard the Entrance thereof. *Rogierius* calls this *Maval* a Devil, named *Belli*, and says, that whilst the Waters of the *Ganges* were flowing from above over *Isora's* Head, and risen out of the Hip of a Saint, 60000 Men were brought to life. This Fable had questionless its Origin from the want of Knowledge of the true source of the River *Ganges*, for which reason they generally stile it the Heavenly River.

*Maval* being not satisfy'd with his present Station, made his Complaint to *Vishnum*, who told him, that in regard he had been a charitable Person, a Man of Truth and without Sin, he would constitute him King of the Paradise. *Maval* making a deep Reverence (called by them *Sambaja*) returned for answer, It is not my ambition to reign, being only affected with the Hardships of my former Subjects, who have no body now to provide them with Necessaries, as I used to do. *Vishnum* replied, The poor shall serve the rich, and be maintained by them; so that he that will work, shall want for nothing. I will also constitute you the Doorkeeper of the Paradise, so that no body shall enter there without thy Knowledge. But replied *Maval*, how shall I then be able to judg at such a distance, how you deal with Mankind upon Earth? I will, answered *Vishnum*, assign you a certain Place in Heaven, from whence you may overlook the Earth; and so made him Doorkeeper of the Paradise.

Accordingly *Vishnum* distinguished <sup>3 sorts of</sup> Mankind into three sorts, Rich, Poor and Middle-sized, which were to have a Reciprocal Dependence on one another, That such as had lived piously and done Acts of Charity should be received after their Death, and live in Plenty and Splendor; but such as did otherwise, should after their Decease be transform'd again into Slaves and Drudges, to do Penance for their former Sins, till by their good Works they should merit Paradise, which they were not to enter however without *Maval's* Consent. He also constituted a Feast (called *Ona* by the *Malabari*) to be celebrated yearly in *August*, when they spend several days together in feasting and other sorts of Di-

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\* 1. 2. c. 19. *Wamara* \*) set his Left Foot upon *Maval's* Breast or Head, and thus kick'd him thro the Ground into the infernal Re-

Diversions, and appear in all their best Apparel.

the sixth  
transfor-  
mation.

The sixth Transformation happened thus : After the appearing of *Hanuman* mentioned in the 5th Chap. Part 1. one *Bramani* and *Bramani* being joined in Wedlock, did for a considerable time lead a pious and contented Life near the River *Bewa* ; but the Woman being barren (a thing much despised among the *Benjans*) they resolved to retire into some Desert, there to implore God's Assistance. Having thus for some time led a Vagabond Life, they came to a certain *Pagode* built in a Forest, near which stood a very fine Tree, under the Shade whereof they reposed themselves for some time, and sent forth their Prayers upon their bended Knees. After some time finding their Prayers ineffectual, the Woman told her Husband, that they ought to leave this shady Place, and in lieu thereof to expose themselves to the Injuries of the Sun, Rains and Storms, to try whether perhaps by this Humiliation and Penance, God might be prevailed upon to bless them with Children. They persevered in this Austerity and continual Prayers for some longer time, but in vain ; the Woman growing beyond all Patience, told her Husband, that being quite weary of Life, she desired him to fast with her, till thereby they could put a Period to their miserable Life. Accordingly having spent nine days without eating or drinking, *Vishnum* appear'd to them in the Shape of a Child, asking them, what was the occasion of their Mortification and fervent Prayers. The Woman answered, All our Prayers are directed to *Vishnum*, to bless me with such a handsome Child as thee. *Vishnum* replied, And do you instead of Gold and Silver desire Children, who commonly prove the Toils of Life ? *Bramani* answered, all the Riches and Pleasures of this World are not so valuable to me, as a Son of my own, so well shap'd as thy self. *Vishnum* replied, Your Prayers are heard, and as you have three several times mortify'd your Bodies, so three Sons shall be born thee successively ; and so he vanished.

Being both exhausted with Fasting, they died soon after ; but the Soul of *Bramani* was infused into the Body of the new-born *Reneca*, and that of *Bramani* into the Body of the new-born *Bramani*, surnamed *Siamdicbemi*, who being come to their riper Years, were join'd together in Marriage ; *Reneca's* Sister

being at the same time married to the Great Raja *Sesraarsum*, who had 1000 Arms.

Baldau.

*Siamdicbemi* retir'd with *Reneca* to a Solitude, near the River *Ganges*, where they built a Hut of Straw, with an Intention to live upon the Fruits of the Earth, and pass their time in praying to *Vishnum*.

It was not long before *Reneca* (pursuant to the Promise made by *Vishnum*) brought forth a beautiful Son, unto whom she gave the Name of *Prassaram*, who being carefully educated under the Tuition of his Father, did in his 12th year interpret the most abstruse Characters that could be laid before him. His Mother having received a certain Cloth from *Vishnum*, which keeping Water as well as any Earthen Vessel, *Reneca* going to fetch Water one time out of the River *Ganges*, she happen'd to see the great Raja *Sesraarsum* with his Spouse (her Sister) a hunting near the River side. *Reneca* asked one of his Attendants, who it was, and being answered, that it was Raja *Sesraarsum* with his Queen, she advanced towards them ; but finding that her Sister took no notice of her, she sat down in a very melancholy Posture upon the Bank of the *Gange*, complaining of the vast difference there was betwixt her Sister and her.

Prassaram  
the Son of  
Reneca.

Alas, said she, she is a Queen, and I a poor Brahman's Wife ; she is possessed of Riches, Honour and Plenty, and I know nothing but Want and Misery.

She was then a going to fill her Cloth with Water, but found it, to her great Astonishment, leaky ; and being afraid to return home, staid abroad till after Sunset. *Siamdicbemi* surpriz'd at her long stay, look'd out at the Doors, and finding her sitting in a melancholy Posture, ask'd her whether she had brought no Water ; but she answering, she had not, and giving him the reason for it, he told her, that he was certain she had uttered some Expressions contrary to his Zeal and Piety ; and being exasperated to the highest degree, commanded his Son *Prassaram* to cut off his Mother's Head with an Ax. *Prassaram* would have excused himself, but finding his Father resolute, he was forced to obey, and cut off his Mother's Neck. The Father being highly taken with the Obedience of his Son, told him, that he should ask him what he pleased, and it should be granted him. Then, said the Son, resuscitate my Mother from the Dead ; the Father then taking some of the sanctified Wa-

Reneca  
killed.

3 sorts of  
People.

*Baldau.*  
*And reviv-*  
*ed.* Water of the *Ganges*, besprinkled the Body with it, and muttering out certain Prayers, restored it to Life again.

*Reneca* could not forbear to make her Complaints concerning the harsh usage of her Husband, occasion'd only by some Weaknesses and Reflections upon her Sister's good Fortune, representing to him her Piety, Fidelity and Obedience she

had shown upon all Occasions. These Reasons were so prevailing with the Husband, that he received her into his Arms, and banished all Revenge from his Thoughts.

*Prassaram* (tho not above 12 years of Age) being by this time advanced so far in the Knowledge of the Law, that he was past his Father's teaching, was ad-

*Prassaram*  
goes to Ra-  
ja Indec.



vifed

Raja Sef-  
crarium  
visits the  
Brahman.

The Cow of  
Plenty.

Raja plen-  
tifully en-  
tertained.



vifed by him to apply himfelf to *Raja Inder*, King of the bleffed Souls, for his further Accomplifhment, which the Son did accordingly; fofoon as the Son had left him, he refolv'd to pay his Devotions to *Vifnum* for 12 years fucceffively, fitting crofs-leg'd without Intermillion upon the Ground (a thing much prafticed among thefe Pagans) Thus 1659. I faw a certain *Jogy*, or Mendicant, at *Columbo*, whole Arms were grown together over his Head, by fitting in that Pofture.

Soon after it happen'd, that the before-mention'd King *Raja Sefbraarum*, coming, to give a Vifit to his Brother-in-law with a great Retinue, he was fo faft afleep, that all the noife of the Hounds, Horns and Drums could not awaken him: his Wife *Reneca* therefore having roused her Husband, by fprinkling fome warm Water upon his Head, he arofe; when *Raja* faluting the *Brahman*, told him, that the Fame of his Piety had induced him and his Retinue to come to fup, and to take a Nights Lodging with him.

The *Brahman Siamdichemi*, being much concern'd how to provide for fo many 1000 Perfons, at laft confider'd of the white Cow, called *Camdoga*, belonging to *Raja Inder*, which furnifhes thofe that have her in their poffeffion with every thing they wifh for. Having therefore defired *Inder* to fend him the faid Cow, he granted his Request; and the Cow being fent down, the *Brahman* defired *Raja* and his Attendants to fit down at Supper, which was ferved with fuch Variety and Plenty, that *Raja*, who was come upon no other account than to ridicule his Brother in Law's Poverty, flood amazed thereat; and further to try his Ability, ask'd him, to prefent him with fome Jewels; which the *Brahman* having prefented him with (much beyond what could be expected) *Raja* ask'd him for fome Clothes and Money for his People, which being likewife brought him by his Brother-in-law, he refolv'd alfo to ftay the next day; and being ferved at Table with the fame Plenty as before, he ftayed alfo the third day; when meeting with the fame Entertainment, he was amazed to find out whence all this Plenty of Provilions, Clothes and Riches could come in a place, where he expected fo little, efpecially fince he obferv'd that all was brought out of the *Brahman's* Hut, which was not big enough to hold half the quantity. This made him order fome of his Spies to take particular notice, whether there was not a Vault underground, from

whence thefe things were brought. The Spies watching all Opportunities to fatisfy their Mafter's Curiofity, found at laft that a fender white Cow did bring forth all thefe things (which fhe threw out of her Stomach) whereof immediate notice was given to *Raja*.

The next Morning as he was taking his Leave from the *Brahman*, being ask'd by him, whether he was defirous of any thing elfe, he told him, that he wanted nothing more, but only the white Cow he had feen in his Hut; the *Brahman* replied, that being not his own, he was not in his difpofal. And, faid *Raja*, will you deny me fo fmall a Request, after you have heap'd fo many Obligations upon me before? What I did before, faid the *Brahman*, was in my own Power, but this is not. How, replied *Raja*, don't you know that it is in my Power to take her againft your Will? and then calling to fome of his Followers, he commanded them to fetch the white Cow out of the Hut. The *Brahman* feeing this beloved white Cow thus fnatched from him, told her at parting, Dear *Camdoga*, muft I thus leave you, how can I anfwer this to *Raja Inder* your Mafter? revenge thyfelf at once both of thine and mine Enemies. The Cow *Camdoga* no fooner heard thefe Words, but affuming a fhape three times bigger than her own, fhe laid about her with her Horns to that degree, that fhe kill'd and trod under Foot feveral thoufand of *Raja's* People; which done, fhe flew like Lightning up into the Air to her own Mafter. *Raja* exasperated at the Slaughter of his Men, and burning with Revenge, returned to the Hut of the *Brahman*, where they kill'd and left him wallowing in his Blood. The unfortunate *Reneca*, unwilling to outlive her Husband, fet fire to the Hut, and burnt herfelf with his dead Carcafe.

*Camdoga* in the mean while meeting with *Praffaram* not far from her Mafter's Houfe, told him what had happen'd, who declar'd he would revenge the fame 21 times upon all the *Ketteris* (a wicked Generation) and thus making the beft of his way with his *Perzy*, Bow and Arrow, he penetrated into the middle of *Raja's* Troops, and kill'd him with all his *Praffaram* Guards; thence travelling through the World, he kill'd all the *Ketteris* he met with, but could not do it fo effectually, but that fome efcap'd his Fury, who multiplying by degrees, he was forc'd to renew his Revenge againft them, which he did 21 times, till they were quite rooted out from the face of the Earth.

S f f f f

By

Raja Sefbraarum vifits the Brahman.

The Cow of Plenty.

Raja plentifully entertained.

Baldau.

Raja's People defeated by the white Cow.

Siamdichemi murdered.

Reneca burns her felf with his Corps, whence the Custom of burning the Dead.

Prassaram revenges their Deaths.

*Baldew.* By this time *Vishnum* remembering his Promise made to *Prassaram's* Parents, viz. that they were to be blest with three Sons, he commanded *Bramba* (the God with four Heads) to send down from Heaven the Souls of *Siamdicbemi* and *Reneca*, and to convey them into the Bodies of *Ragia d'Afferat*, and his Wife *Couzila* (slain among the *Ketteriis*) unto whom he had made a Promise of exalting their Posterity.

*Bramba* finding by the Celestial Records, that their time was expir'd (for these Pagans believe that nothing is done without Divine Providence, and that the Fate of Men is written in *Bramba's* Hand) infused the Soul of *Reneca* into the Body of *Couzila*, and the Spirit of *Siamdicbemi* into that of *Ragia*, which brought

*The Story of Ram.*

*Prassaram endeavours to kill Ram.*

forth a Son named *Ram*: This *Ram* having marry'd *Sytha*, and making his publick Entry into the City (according to the Custom of the *Benjans*) was met by *Prassaram*, who being inform'd that he was descended of the Race of the *Ketteriis*, did let fly at him, which *Ram* perceiving did the same from his Elephant on which he was mounted; but their Arrows hitting against one another in the Air did no mischief, except that all the strength of *Prassaram's* Arrow being lodg'd in that of *Ram*, he was thereby bereav'd of all his Advantage, being no more than a common *Brabman* for ever after, whereas *Ram* encreas'd every day in Power.

*The Malabars account of this Transformation.*

The *Malabars* say that this Transformation was made by *Vishnum* in the shape of *Siri Parexi Rama*. For the *Rixi* living in the Deserts, being no longer able to endure the Oppressions from the Neighbouring Kings, offer'd their Sacrifices to *Vishnum*, desiring his Assistance against them. A certain famous *Rixi* named *Para Jara*, sacrificing one day to *Vishnum*, he appear'd in the shape of a Child, and assisted at the Ceremony of the Sacrifice; which done, *Parexi Rama* took up an Ax

and kill'd 44 Kings, who used to infest of their Territories. *Siri Parexi Rama* being afterwards desirous to erect certain Temples, and not finding sufficient room for that purpose (because the Sea then touch'd the Mount *Gatte*) he offer'd his Sacrifice, when a Sieve appearing to him (such as they use to cleanse the Rice with) he found that as often as he did shake it, the Sea retreated backwards from the Shore; but whilst he was doing it a third time, *Varrinem* the God of the Sea, having transform'd himself into *Pisnires* (call'd by them *Carreas*) gnaw'd the Sieve in pieces. However *Siri Rama* built 108 Temples, and erected as many Stones near them, from *Mangalor* to the Cape *Comorin*, much reverenc'd to this day by the *Indians*.

In the mean while the Fishermen of that Coast making their Complaints to *Parexi Rama*, that by this means they had been bereav'd of their Subsistence, he constituted them his Guards of the Temples he had built, with a sufficient allowance for their Maintenance; so that these Fishermen being thus become *Brabmans*, they used always to wear a Thred of a Fishing-Net about their Necks whilst they were performing their Sacrifices, and introduc'd that Custom among the Pagans, for a new-married Couple to go a fishing with a Linen Cloth instead of a Net.

*Parexi Rama* being one time employ'd *The Origin of the Brahman.* in his Solitude in sacrificing to the Gods, *Siri Rama* (or *Vishnum*) appear'd in the shape of a Man; which *Parexi Rama* taking notice of, his Jealousy was rais'd to such a height, that he would needs enter into a single Combat with him; but being prevented by the *Rixii*, they discover'd themselves to one another, and entering into a strict Friendship, *Parexi Rama* presented his Bow to *Siri Rama*, who return'd to the *Atik-Sea*.

#### C H A P. IV.

*The seventh Transformation of Vishnum into Rama. His Birth. He gains his Bride Sytha by shooting. Beauty of Lekeman. His meeting with Soutpenekhia. Rawan takes away Sytha; performs Wonders. Ram and Lekeman go in quest of Sytha. Hanuman's great Actions in Ceylon.*

**I** Xora being reverenc'd by all the World, but especially by one *Rawan*, (call'd *Rawana* by *Rogerius*, who makes him a

Son of the *Brabman Kassopa*) who for 300 years offer'd him 100 Flowers every day; *Xora* having one time a mind to try

*The Story of Rama. Siri Rama is famous in the Indies, that Kings and Princes point it up in their Arms and Palaces.*

*How Ram got his Bride Sytha.*

The Story try his Sincerity, took away one of the Flowers, and afterwards charged him with want of Duty; *Rawan* ignorant of the Deceit, counted his Flowers, and finding no more than 99, would have torn out one of his Eyes to complete the number of 100. But *Ixora* stopping his Hand, told him, that having now had a sufficient proof of his Integrity, he should ask what he pleased and he would be sure to grant it: *Rawan* then asked a share with *Ixora* in the Government of the World; which being granted him by *Ixora*, *Rawan* nevertheless continued his daily Devotions, and being ask'd the reason by *Ixora*, he told him, that he would not desist from his Prayers, till he had given him 10 Heads and 20 Arms, which being likewise granted by *Ixora*, he fix'd his Residence in the Country of *Lanka*, in the famous Isle of *Ceylon*, call'd by others *Sanka*, who also say that he built seven Palaces there of Gold, Silver, Steel, Iron, and other Metals.

Having thus rul'd for some thousand years over all the Neighbouring Kings, he became so proud, as to force his Subjects to worship him instead of *Ixora*; which they were forced to do for 25 years, till being quite tir'd out of all Patience by his Tyranny, they emplor'd *Ixora* to deliver them from *Rawan*, that so they might recover their former freedom of adoring him.

About that time there liv'd a certain *Ragie* named *Dasserat*, or *Desservatha*, or *Decxareda*. This King having three Wives, one of them named *Cousila*, after some time brought forth a Son named *Ram* by the *Brabman* *Wissivoe*, who encreased daily in Wisdom and Understanding, beyond what could be expected from his tender years. His second Wife *Keggy* (call'd *Kaisha* by the *Malabars*) brought forth another Son named *Barrat*; and *Somettery*, or *Somittra*, the third Wife, *Lekeman* and *Setteroukan*. The *Malabars* say, that these four Sons were born from these three Women by the means of four Pills.

*Vishnum* being thus brought into the World in the shape of a *Ram*, was educated by the *Brabmans* in all manner of Wisdom and Knowledge. There happen'd to live at that time a certain *Ragie* named *Sannek*, in the Country of *Sian-nak*, who having fix'd a prodigious strong Bow in a certain Enclosure made for that purpose, issued his Proclamation, to encourage all such as would venture to draw and break the said Bow, offering his Daughter *Sytha* with a great Portion

as a Reward to him who should accomplish it. This being likewise come to the Ears of the *Brabmans*, *Ram* solicited his Tutor to let him try his Strength, which the Master not without some Reluctancy having consented to, he went along with him under the Notion of his Servant, and coming to *Rag. Sannek's* Court heard him offer the same Reward to any one that could manage and break the Bow, telling them, that he who would enter the List should take the Vessel with *Betel*, which was offer'd by his own hand.

Immediately after he saw the before-mentioned *Rawan* with 10 Heads take the *Betel*, and boasting of his Strength, told them that no body but him should pretend to *Sytha*: then drawing the Bow with his utmost Strength, he let slip the Sinew, which striking his Thumb off he fell into a Sound. Divers other *Ragies* try'd to mange the same Bow, but finding their Strength fail them were forced to desist.

The *Betel* being next brought to the *Brabmans*, among whom stood *Ram*, he at last obtain'd leave from his Master to accept of the *Betel*, which he did accordingly, and entering the List, found a tall Mast or Poll fix'd in the Center of the Court, on the top whereof was a Fish, and at the bottom a Cistern with Water, wherein plainly appear'd the shade of the Fish. *Ram* then drew the Bow with such violence, that he not only shot the Fish into several parts, but also broke the Bow to pieces.

The Bride rejoic'd at his Success, presented him with a whole Dish full of Jewels, as did all the rest there present proportionable to their Abilities: His Parents being also sent for to partake of the Honours done to their Son, they came with their other three Sons, who married the three Daughters of *Raja Sannek*, viz. *Barrat* married *Onnemela*, *Lekeman* *Sekhy*, and *Setteroukan* *Lila*.

*Ram* then desir'd to return to his Native Country; which being granted, not without great reluctance, he went back with his Father, Mother and three Brothers, with their Wives, where his Father deliver'd up the Kingdom to him; but having receiv'd a Wound in his Thumb, which prov'd very painful to him, it was healed at last by his Wife, in acknowledgment of which Benefit he told her, that he would grant her whatever she would ask: She then desir'd her Husband to send his three Sons, *Ram*, *Lekeman* (call'd otherwife *Laafmana*, s f s s s s 2 and

*Balchous*.  
The *Malabars* say, that he was a going to sacrifice, and invited the *Brabmans* to oppose the Demons, that sometimes used to disturb those Ceremonies.

How *Ram* got his Bride *Sytha*.

*Baldau.*

*Ram travels along the Ganges.*

*Rawan's Sister in love with Lekeman.*

*He cuts off her Nose and Ears.*

and *Setrugna*) and *Setseroonkan* for 12 years into Foreign Countries, and to surrender the Kingdom to her Son *Barrat* (call'd *Baratba* and *Pareda* by the *Malabars*); *Barrat* on the other hand was unwilling to accept of this Offer, notwithstanding which *Ram* departed with his Family and two Brothers to the Village of *Saratperry* 12 Cos from *Afoni*, but leaving a pair of his Slippers behind, *Barrat* who still refus'd to encroach upon his eldest Brother's Right, us'd to sacrifice Flowers, Sandal-wood and Saffron to them in his absence.

*Ram* in the mean while travelling along the River *Ganges* to *Poushewattivan*, where after a month's stay, whilst the Brothers were busy in erecting the Huts, *Lekeman* us'd to go every day to gather Fruit for their Subsistence; he being a very handsome Person, and got upon a Tree to gather some Fruits, was esp'y'd by a certain Woman named *Souppennehia* (and *Churpanag* by the *Malabars*) the Sister of *Rawan*, and Widow of one *Vivali* (kill'd in *Rawan's* Service) who being come to wash her self in the *Ganges*, told him, That she looking upon him as the handsomest Person in the World, she must be miserable for ever unless he would vouchsafe to love her, which if he refus'd, she would turn her Love into Hatred, when he must prepare to engage with her in single Combat. *Lekeman* reply'd, That his Love being fix'd in another place, he could not oblige her, and that to fight with her would not turn to his Honour. O unfortunate Man! cry'd she, how little best thou acquainted with my Strength! if I can't enjoy thee, I will have thy Life before I part from this place. *Lekeman* then considering whom he had to do with, told her, that tho he was willing, it was not in his power, she being of the Family of the *Rachet*, and he of the Tribe of the *Bram-Kettrijs*; but that if she would go to his Brother *Ram's* Hut, which was not far thence, and obtain his Consent, he would not be backward to gratify her desire. She no sooner came to *Ram's* Hut, but he knew her at first sight, and looking upon this as a fit opportunity to revenge the Affront he had receiv'd of *Rawan*, he gave her a Letter directed to his Brother *Lekeman*, wherein he order'd him to cut off those Parts in which her Strength was lodg'd. Thus she left *Ram* well satisfied, hastening to her pretended Bridegroom, whom she found busy in gathering of Fruit, and delivering the Letter to him, bid him read his Brother's Consent. But *Lekeman* understanding his Brother's intention, ran towards her, and

under pretence of taking her up in his Arms, cut off her Nose and Ears, wherein her Strength was lodg'd.

Thus mortified she went away, threatening Revenge to the two Brothers, and making the best of her way to her Brother *Rawan's* Palace; but lighting by chance upon an Uncle's House of hers named *Char*, who commanded 10000 Horse, she stop'd there, and being ask'd how she came so defac'd, she told them that some Robbers near the *Ganges* had treated her in this manner.

The youngest of her Uncles order'd immediately 300 Horse to be in readiness to march with him to the *Ganges*, where they attack'd *Ram's* Habitation with such fury, that *Lekeman* was put under no small Consternation; but *Ram* defended his Habitation so courageously, that he kill'd most of the Horse-men with his Bow call'd *Dienmoekbaanne*, with their Leader. *Char* had no sooner receiv'd Intelligence of this Defeat, but putting himself at the head of the remaining 9700 Horse, he march'd to the same place, but with no better success, being slain by *Ram* with all his Forces.

*Souppennehia* having been an Eye-witness of this Defeat at a distance, made all the haste could to come to her Brother *Rawan*, who having ask'd her the reason, she told him, that meeting with a very beauteous Woman near the River *Ganges*, she endeavour'd to persuade her to come along with her, with an intention to present her to him; but being overtaken by her Husband and his Brother, they had so mortify'd her in that manner as they now saw her. *Rawan* highly exasperated at this usage, bid her to shew him the place where it happen'd, which she did accordingly, and at the same time gave him an account of what had happen'd to her Uncle and the 10000 Horse-men.

*Rawan* thus fore-warn'd, assum'd the shape of a Stag with two Heads, and so did feed near *Ram's* Hut, the better to surprise him with the first opportunity; but being esp'y'd by *Syba* *Ram's* Wife, she was so much taken with his bright Skin, that she desir'd her Husband to shoot him, and to make her a Vest of his Skin. *Ram* told her that the same could not be done without danger; but the persisting in her Intreaties, he consented, yet under Condition, that she and his Brother *Lekeman* should not pass three certain Circles he made with Chalk cross the Hut. He no sooner got into the field, but the two-headed Stag fet up his heels, and being pursued

10000  
Horse-men  
kill'd by  
Ram.

*Rawan transform'd into a Stag.*

Is shot by  
Ram.



Baldus.

Is shot by Ram, pursued by Ram for a Cow was shot with an Arrow in the Breast.

Rawan's Ghost at the same time entering into the Body of a Fakir, he went straightways to Ram's Hut, and with a doleful Voice cry'd out to Lakshman to succour

his Brother, who was in danger of perishing by his Enemies Hands. Sytha Thunder-struck at this Voice, beg'd Lakshman to succour her Husband, who told her, that he believ'd this Voice to be fictitious, as not questioning that his Brother,



*Baldew.* ther, who had so lately slain 10000 Men, could be in a condition to cope with one. But *Sytha* imploring his Assistance with a flood of Tears, he went accordingly.

In the mean time the *Fakier* endow'd with *Rawan's* Spirit, having assum'd the Shape of a Beggar, came to beg some Alms of *Sytha*, who excus'd the matter, yet at last was prevail'd upon to give him some Fruit that were left the day before; but as she was extending Arm towards the Beggar, he catch'd hold of her Hand, and pulling her over the Circle (under pretence of bringing her to the place where her Husband was engag'd) he carried her to the Country of *Lanka* in the Isle of *Ceylon*.

He carries  
away Sy-  
tha.

As he was carrying her along he met with the Giant *Siettank*, of the Tribe of the *Raches*, who beg'd some Victuals of him in a threatening tone. *Rawan* having no Provisions to give him, took up a Stone, which he rubbing against his Thigh, made a large hole, the Blood whereof turn'd the Stone into Meat, which he gave the Giant, who had no sooner eat it, but it turn'd to a Stone again in his Stomach, and oppress'd him to such a degree that he was not able to stir or move.

Then *Rawan* pursuing his Journey came to the Mountain *Resmokperwat*, where he met with the Apes with Bears Heads, call'd *Hanuman*, *Suckerige*, *Anget* and *Siamboemt*; and *Sytha* dropping her Ring, the same was taken up by *Hanuman*.

Places her  
in a Gar-  
den in  
Ceylon.

*Rawan* coming into *Ceylon*, and not daring to bring *Sytha* into his House, plac'd her in a Garden under a certain Tree call'd *Sysem*, and having appointed her a Guard of twelve Giants, he daily made his Courtship to her, but she refused all his Offers.

In the mean time *Ram* returning home-wards, and meeting with his Brother *Lekeman* by the way, they both came to the Hut, but to their great surprize found *Sytha* gone. *Ram* in a most violent Rage upbraided his Brother with leaving the Hut, but having understood the reason they resolv'd to go in quest of *Sytha*.

Ram and  
Lekeman  
go in quest  
of Sytha.

As they were passing through a very long subterraneous Passage, they met with a certain Giant at his Devotion, who being surpriz'd to see them, *Ram* told him, that the desire of finding out his Spouse had brought him through this dangerous place, asking him, whether he had not heard any thing of her: He answer'd, that he had seen a Giant flying through the Air, holding a Woman upon his Hand. *Ram* further enquiring what way

they were gone, he answer'd, towards the Country of *Dekendesa*.

*Ram* verily believing this to be *Sytha*, blest'd the Giant, and pursuing his Journey to the Mount *Resmokperwat*, met with the before-mention'd Apes with Bears Heads, where *Hanuman* prostrating himself at his Feet, ask'd him, What brought him to this remote part of the World? *Ram* answer'd, To look after his Spouse.

*Hanuman* reply'd, I saw a Giant pass through the Air with a Woman sitting upon his Hand, who drop'd this Earring. *Ram* infinitely joyc'd at the sight thereof (knowing it to be his Wife's) ask'd him, what way they had taken?

*Hanuman* reply'd, To the Country of *Lanka* in the Isle of *Ceylon*; and at the same time offering his Service for the recovery of his Spouse, he entreated the Ape *Suckerige* to assist him in this Enterprize; promising him, that in case they succeeded, *Ram* should restore to him his Wife and his Estate in the Valley of *Kieckenda*, taken from him by his Brother *Bael*: But *Suckerige* remember'd his Brother's Strength, how he had worsted the Giant *Rawan*, and held his Head two Months under his Arms (before the Government of the World was committed to him by *Vishnum*) besides several other Giants told him, that *Ram* being only of a middle Stature, was not likely to conquer him.

*Hanuman* however persisting in his Persuasions, and extolling the Power of *Ram*, *Suckerige* asked a Token, viz. that he should shoot his Arrow thro some of the Branches of the Trees, whilst they were agitated by the Wind. *Lekeman* having understood his Request, spoke to his Brother *Ram*, who bidding them shut their Eyes, he shot at once with his Arrow thro seven Trees, and at the same time order'd *Suckerige* to challenge his Brother *Bael* in his Name; which being done accordingly, *Bael* appear'd, and in a scornful Tone told *Ram*, that he would cut off his Head at one Stroke; whereat *Ram* being exasperated to the highest degree, he drew his Bow, sent his Arrow through his Body, and restor'd the Valley of *Kieckenda* to *Suckerige*, and with it his Wife.

*Ram* having now taken a Resolution to stay with his Brother in the Mountain, sent *Hanuman*, *Anget*, *Suckerige* and *Sucking*, Chieftains of the Apes, into the Valley of *Quicxinta* (as the *Malabars* call it) not far from the Valley of *Kieckenda*, in quest of his Spouse. *Hanuman* being ready to depart with his Company, gave him his

\* Ring

*Hanuman*  
has into  
Ceylon.

has from  
Sytha.

*Ram* kill'd  
*Bael*.

Ring as a token to shew to his Spouse *Sytha*: Accordingly they set out on their Journey, taking two different Roads, two and two together; but not meeting with *Sytha*, they met at a certain place near the Sea-side full of Despair at their ill success. However *Hanuman* bid them have a good Heart, telling them, that *Ceylon* lying opposite to them cross the Seas, he would according to the Power granted him by *Vishnum* fly over the Sea into *Ceylon*, where *Rawan* kept his Residence.

*Hanuman* being at last in disguise, arriv'd in the Isle of *Ceylon*, met with ten Female Giants that were appointed her Guard by *Rawan* in the Air: These refusing him Passage, he assum'd the shape of a Fly, and thus escaping their Hands, advanced to the Shore of *Ceylon*; but being there met by a huge Giant who stop'd his Passage, was forc'd to resume his own Body of an Ape, and so to engage the Giant, who seeing him to fight so courageously, commended his Bravery, telling him, that he should succeed in what he desir'd. *Hanuman* answering, that he came only to look for his Master *Ram's* Wife: The Giant reply'd, *She is kept by the most Potent Rawan in a Garden under a Sysem-Tree.*

*Hanuman* then pursuing his Journey, and being extremely tir'd, did fall into a sound upon the Sea-shore; where having slept 18 hours, and forgotten the Name of the place assign'd him by the Giant, he transform'd himself into a Cat, and running through all the Houses and Corners of *Ceylon*, but without success, at last happen'd to light upon the top of *Rawan's* House, from whence espying the Tree where *Sytha* was kept, he advanced towards it; but whilst he was in doubt whether it were *Sytha* or not, he saw *Rawan* coming towards her, and renewing his Courtship, offering all his Territories and Treasures in case she would consent to be his Wife; but *Sytha* reply'd, that being *Ram's* alone, she would never encourage his Addresses, threatening to consume him by Fire if he persisted in his Demands.

*Rawan* was no sooner gone, but *Hanuman* dropt the Ring given him by *Ram* into *Sytha's* Lap, who burst out into Tears, imagining that *Ram* had been kill'd by some of the Giants; but *Hanuman* throwing himself at her Feet, told her that *Ram* was in good health, and had sent him to look after her. *Sytha* still questioning the truth, *Hanuman* told her that the Ring was given him as a

token to her, yet not with an intention to bring her to him, but only to learn News of her. Then haste away, reply'd she, and desire *Ram* to deliver me out of the hands of the Tyrant *Rawan*.

*Hanuman* went his way, but considering with himself, he would not forsake *Lanka* without leaving behind him some Remembrances of his having been there, he return'd to *Sytha*, asking her leave to gather some Fruits, which she deny'd, telling him, that he would be unfortunate in his Enterprize, if he fed upon any other Fruit but what he found upon the ground: Well, said *Hanuman*, and so laying hold of the next Fruit-Tree, and tearing it up by the root he eat the Fruit, the same he did to most of the other Trees in the Garden, except that where *Sytha* was plac'd. The Gardiner seeing the next Morning what havoc *Hanuman* had made, told his Master what happen'd, who being incensed to the highest degree, order'd 10000 Giants to kill this Ape. *Hanuman* seeing them advancing against him, laid hold of one of the biggest Trees, and made such havoc among these Giants, that scarce one of them escap'd.

*Rawan* no sooner heard of this Defeat, but he sent 25000 more to revenge the Quarrel of their Conrades; but these having undergone the same fate, he sent his youngest Son at the head of 12000 of the choicest Giants, who put *Hanuman* so hard to it, that they made him reel several times; but his Strength being continually renew'd by *Ram's* care, he at first slew *Rawan's* youngest Son, and at last the whole Army.

*Mandory* *Rawan's* Spouse did all that lay in her power to persuade her Husband to deliver up *Sytha* to *Ram*, for fear of losing his whole Estate; but *Rawan* was so far from hearkening to her Counsel, that he issued a Proclamation, that he who thought himself the strongest Man in the Isle of *Ceylon* should engage with the Ape: But there being no body who durst compare for Strength with *Rawan's* eldest Son, named *Inderfiet*, (who formerly had vanquish'd *Raja Inder*) he order'd him, that whenever he was a going to shoot his Arrow, he should utter certain words taught him by *Bramma*, which had that effect as to turn the Arrow into a Serpent, and to entangle his Adversary.

*Inderfiet* thus bold with hopes, advanc'd at the head of his Giants against *Hanuman*, who laid so bravely about him, that he made the Giants shrink, which *Inderfiet*

Baldew.

Hanuman's  
Allions at  
Ceylon.

Great  
Slaughter  
of the Gi-  
ants.

†

per-

Baldow.

Inderjiet  
makes use  
of a be-  
witched  
Arrow.

perceiving, let fly his Arrow against *Hanuman*, which being in an instant transform'd into a Serpent, was torn to pieces by *Hanuman*; which *Inderjiet* seeing, he flew like Lightning thro the Air to the holy *Bramma*, upbraided him with Deceitfulness, and threatening him with no less than the loss of his Life, unless he shew'd him the right way of vanquishing his Enemy.

*Bramma* being put to such a nonplus, hastened to *Hanuman*, and calling himself at his Feet beg'd of him not to oppose *Inderjiet's* Arrow, as wanting not means to protect himself against his Attempts by divers other ways. *Hanuman* taking Compassion of *Bramma* granted his Request, who then told *Inderjiet*, that by his Charms he had so order'd the matter as to render his Arrow more effectual than before. *Inderjiet* encourag'd by his Promise, sent forth his Arrow against *Hanuman* a second time, which turning into a Serpent stuck so close to his Limbs, that the Giants had sufficient opportunity to exercise their Weapons upon him, tho he receiv'd no more harm by it than if he had been touch'd with a Feather. However they carried him before the ten headed *Rawan*, who ask'd him by what means he was become invulnerable: *Hanuman* reply'd, By *Ram's* Blessing, whose Wife thou hast carried away, which if thou dost not restore forthwith, thy whole Country shall be laid desolate.

This Story  
seems to  
have some  
relation to  
that of  
Samson.

*Rawan* exasperated at this Answer, commanded 10000 Giants to kill him, but finding their Endeavours prove unsuccessful, he ask'd *Hanuman* by what means he might be bereav'd of his Strength: He reply'd, If you dip my Tail in Oil, wrap it in Cotton, and then set it on fire, all my Strength will vanish in an instant. *Rawan* believing the matter, put it in Execution, notwithstanding which *Hanuman* pull'd the Serpent to pieces like a piece of Thred, kill'd most of the Giants, and set fire to the Houses. This done, he took his leave of *Sytha*, who gave him one of her Bracelets as a token, to shew *Ram* that he had seen her, charging him at the same time not to look back till he had past the Seas, else he would be in great danger. *Hanuman* strictly observ'd this Rule till he came to the Sea-shore, when approaching on a sudden to a great Flame, he look'd back, and the Flame reaching his Tail, he was glad to run into the Sea to extinguish the Fire.

Then taking his course through the Air, he pass'd the Seas, and meeting with

†

his Comrades, told them what had happen'd, who thence made the best of their way to the Mountain *Rasmohpaw*; and having shew'd *Sytha's* Bracelets to *Ram*, who immediately order'd *Suckery*, Lord of the Valley of *Kiechenda*, to summon all the Apes under his Jurisdiction to arm against *Rawan*, he accordingly appear'd under their 18 Kings, each whereof appear'd at the head of 20000 Apes, amounting in all to 360000 Apes.

*Ram* and his Brother *Lekeman* march'd at the head of this powerful Army to the Sea-side directly opposite to the Isle of *Ceylon*, where *Ram* having spent three days in fasting and praying, to open a Passage for his Forces through the Sea, but in vain, he drew his Bow threatening the Sea to reduce it into such narrow Bounds, that where then was nothing to be seen but Water, the Terrestrial Creatures should sport upon the pleasant Sands without danger. The Waves of the Sea thereupon humbling themselves before *Ram*, told him, that to open him a Passage through the depth could not be done without a total Destruction of a vast number of Fishes, but that there was in his Army a certain Ape call'd *Siehem*, endow'd with such a Quality by his Master the holy *Narfy*, that whatever Stone he should only touch, would swim on the surface of the Water like Wood. Accordingly *Ram* order'd a vast quantity of Stones to be brought from the neighbouring Mountains, which being only touch'd by *Siehem*, and then thrown into the Sea, did swim upon the Surface thereof, and making a Bridge of 100 Leagues in length, afforded an easy Passage for his whole Army.

A Stone  
Bridge of  
a hundred  
Leagues  
cross the  
Sea.

The Inhabitants of *Lanka* or *Ceylon* being soon alarm'd by the noise of their Drums, and other Warlike Instruments, *Rawan's* Wife intreated her Husband to take a view of that prodigious Army from the top of his House, whom *Ram* no sooner spy'd at a distance, but with his Arrow he shot off his ten Crowns from his ten Heads. His Wife laying hold of this opportunity, exhorted him once more to deliver up *Sytha* to *Ram*, who, says she, can with the same Arrow which took off your ten Crowns, also take off your ten Heads.

But *Rawan* persisting in his Resolution not to part with *Sytha*, *Ram* told his Brother *Lekeman*, that to leave nothing unattempted to reduce *Rawan* to Reason, they would dispatch the Ape *Anget* to him to demand *Sytha*, and in case of refusal, to tell him now, that they were

Rawan's  
Brother  
comes over  
to Ram.

Rawan's  
Obstinacy

were come to destroy all with Fire and Sword.

*Rawan* being advertis'd of his arrival, call'd together all his Giants, (among whom was his Brother *Debrichbern*) and having caus'd 10 Statues to be made with 10 Heads like himself, he took his place in the midst of them: *Anget* coming boldly into the Room, ask'd what Monsters these were, and which of them was *Rawan* himself? Whereat *Rawan* being highly exasperated, ask'd who it was that dares affront him thus, threatening to make him repent his boldness. *Anget* reply'd, Were I not here in the quality of an Ambassador, I would try my Strength with thee, being sent by *Ram* to let thee know, that he did not come with this Army to destroy thy Subjects, but to recover his Wife *Sytha*; which if thou refusest to do, he declares himself innocent of all the Effusion of Blood that shall ensue. But *Rawan* answering, that he was resolv'd not to deliver her; *Anget* brought this Answer to *Ram*.

*Rawan's*  
Brother  
comes over  
to *Ram*.

At the same time *Rawan's* Brother, with five of his chief Counsellors, finding him not in a capacity to cope with so powerful an Army, assum'd the shape of Apes, and throwing themselves at the Feet of *Ram*, crav'd his Mercy and Protection.

The Apes of *Ram's* Army taking them for Spies, handled them very roughly at first coming into the Camp; and *Hanuman* or *Hanneman* especially, would have dissuaded him from having the least concern with them, but were appeas'd by *Ram*, when he told them that he knew them to be Men of Honour and Probity.

By this time *Rawan* had arm'd 10000 of his boldest Giants to attack *Ram's* Camp; but these being soon defeated, he sent 18000 more, who having undergone the same fate, he sent 30000 more; and these also succeeding no better, he sent 50000 more, who were all routed like the rest.

Then *Rawan's* eldest Son entreating his Father to let him engage alone against the whole Camp of *Ram*, he could not consent to his Request; but having convinced his Father of the Advantages he had lately got by the Instructions of *Bramma*, he put him at the head of 10000 of his choicest Giants. With these Troops being advanc'd to *Ram's* Camp, he encourag'd them to fight bravely, whilst he soaring up into the Air did hide himself behind one of the Wheels of the Chariot of the Sun, till coming directly over

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*Ram's* Camp, he sent forth one of his Magical Arrows, which turning immediately into a Serpent, sent forth such a vast number of other Serpents among the Apes, that their Arms and Legs being quite entangled, they were knock'd down on all sides by the Giants.

*Saidaw.*

*Ram* not a little surpriz'd at this Disaster, ask'd *Rawan's* Brother what was best to be done; who told him, that if he would send for his wing'd *Garroude*, the Serpents would vanish in an instant. *Ram* following his Advice, *Garroude* no sooner appear'd but the Serpents vanish'd, and the Apes fought it out bravely with the Giants.

In the mean while *Ram* having advis'd with his Council how to attack *Inderfiet*, *Rawan's* eldest Son in the Air, and *Lekeman* having offer'd his Service, he got upon *Hanuman's* Back, who carrying him up into the Air, *Inderfiet* sent a shower of Arrows against him; but these being repuls'd by *Lekeman's* Shield, and *Inderfiet* seeing him advance towards him, threw away his Bow and Arrows, and laying hold likewise of his Sword and Buckler, a most furious Combat ensued, which remain'd dubious for some time, till *Lekeman* giving him a Blow on his Neck cut off his Head at one stroke, which dropt down before his Father's Feet. *Mandory* slain.

*Rawan's*  
eldest Son

his Mother burst out into a most violent Passion for the loss of her beloved Son, tearing her Hair and Breasts with her Nails, and upbraiding her Husband with Cruelty, Injustice and Lasciviousness, but to little purpose, *Rawan* persisting in her Resolution of not delivering *Sytha*.

Being resolv'd to make his utmost Efforts, he crav'd the Assistance of his Brother, a most famous Giant, nam'd *Coukeringb* (or *Kompacarna*, as *Rogierus* \* \* C. 3.

calls him after the *Malabars*) this Giant used to spend his whole Life in sleeping, except one day when he appear'd in his full Activity, and to spend his time in filling his Belly with Victuals for the whole succeeding year. It being then in the third Month of his sleep, *Rawan* call'd to him aloud, Brother *Coukeringb*, rouze, rouze, and come to my Assistance, or else we are lost! *Coukeringb* asking him half asleep, what was the matter? *Rawan* told him, that being attack'd by a vast Body of Apes under the Command of one *Ram*, who had kill'd two of his Sons, and no less than seven Generals, with 200000 Giants, he had no other means left to relieve himself and his Subjects from Destruction, but to implore his Aid. The Giant reply'd, Thou best

He seeks  
for Assistance  
by his Brother.

Ttttt unfor-

*Rawan's*  
Obstinacy.

A Stone  
Bride of  
a hundred  
Leagues  
cross the  
Sea.

*Ceylon*  
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*Haldeu.* unfortunate, *Rawan*, to have entangl'd thy self in an unjust War against an Army headed by the Divine *Ram*; I have foreseen it in my Sleep, that the same will turn to the Destruction of thy self and thy Country.

*Rawan* stood amaz'd, but full of Despair, told his Brother, That if it was his fate (written in his Forehead) to die by the hands of *Ram*, it was in vain to avoid it, desiring once more his Assistance. The Giant reply'd, My Life is at your Service, and so ordering his Chariot drawn by ten pair of Ases to be got ready, put himself at the head of *Rawan's* Army compos'd of Giants. *Ram* in the mean while understanding that the great Giant was coming against him, he appointed some thousand of Apes to throw upon him the tops of the Rocks, which they did accordingly, tho in vain, the Giant piercing the Mount that was thrown upon him with his Arrow, notwithstanding it had 100 Leagues in compass.

This made *Ram* ask *Bebickbem*, *Rawan's* Brother, by what means the Giant *Coukeeringh* might be vanquish'd. *Bebickbem* reply'd, You must retreat three Paces backwards; that can't be, answer'd *Ram*, because I am defend'd of the Race of the *Ketteris*, who dare not retreat under pain of Banishment. But there is no other Remedy, return'd *Bebickbem*; but the best Advice I can give you is, to descend from your Chariot, and let the same be carried three Paces backwards. This being approv'd by *Ram*, was done accordingly, so that whilst the Giant was making a most horrid slaughter among the Apes, he shot his Head off, which falling upon the ground shook the Earth as if a whole Mountain had tumbled down, a whole River of blood as black as Pitch gushing out of his Veins.

*The Giant Coukeeringh slain.*

Notwithstanding this the Trunk of his Body continued to make a great slaughter among the Apes; so that *Ram* being again oblig'd to have recourse to *Rawan's* Brother, he told him, that if he sent out a Party of Apes to get a blue Cloth died with Indigo, and therewith cover'd the Body, it would become immovable. In the mean while the Trunk of the Giant continued to make great havoc among the Apes, but to little purpose, they being reviv'd (by the Aspect of *Ram*) as fast as they were kill'd.

By this time the blue Cloth being brought was thrown upon the Trunk, which in an instant remain'd as unmovable as a Stone in the Field. *Rawan* seeing himself

thus reduc'd to despair, had recourse to the Goddess *Bowanni*, unto whom he offer'd a Sacrifice of fresh Butter, Sandalwood, Flowers and Spices, imploring her Aid against *Ram* with such fervency, that it is believ'd he would have obtain'd his Request, had not the Ape *Hanuman* defiled the Sacrifice by throwing one of the dead Carcases of the slain Giants upon the Altar, erected in a deep hole for this Sacrifice.

*Rawan* thus drove to the last extremity, put himself again at the head of his Forces, and like a desperate Person slew all the Apes he met in his way, forcing all the Hills before him the Apes threw in his way, till *Ram* drawing his Bow shot off nine of his Heads; and then calling to him aloud, *Rawan* said he, desist from Bloodshed, return me my *Sytha*, and I will heal thy Wounds, and restore thee thy Heads and Kingdom, without which thou wilt certainly lose all. But *Rawan* replying, that if Fate had so ordain'd it, he would rather lose his 10 Heads also than *Sytha*. *Ram* shot likewise his tenth Head off: But perceiving that the Headless Body laid still about him with its 24 Arms, he threw some Water upon it, and muttering out certain words, made it as immovable as a Stone.

*Rawan slain by Ram.*

*Mandory* was no sooner inform'd of her Husband's Death, but she threw her self at *Ram's* Feet, bewailing his Obstinacy, notwithstanding the many forebodes of his Fall, an unfortunate Raven and a doleful Owl having settl'd upon his House, with very dreadful Lamentations and Outcries, the fore-runners of his Misfortune. As I have, added she, been innocent of what has happen'd, so I hope you won't deny me my Protection: *Ram* bid her be satisfied, ordering her at the same time to pass seven times through the smoke of the Fire kept at *Tchie*, to purify her self, and renew her Virginity, which done he would marry her to her Husband's Brother *Bebickbem*, who accordingly was put into *Rawan's* place. Then *Ram* being carried in his *Rose Litter* to the Tree *Sysem*, where *Sytha* was kept a Prisoner, she embrac'd him, returning him a million of Thanks for her Deliverance. The next thing *Ram* did, was to give his Apes slain in the late Engagement; and so march'd back over the same Bridge that had carried him into *Ceylon*. Being come to the opposite Shore, he order'd the Stones to be carried to the place whence they had been taken, and marching to the Valley of *Kickenda*, he would there have taken his leave of *Suckery*; but he refusing

*His Wife married to his Brother.*

*Ram married again with Sytha.*



refusing to part with him thus, would needs accompany him with all his Forces as far as the Village of *Baratpoeri*, where *Ram* was receiv'd by his Father, Mother and Brother, with great Demonstrations of Joy, the sweet-scented Rose-Water, Saffron, Betel, and other Perfumes, being lavishly bestow'd upon him and all those that had attended him home.

*Ram* having bestow'd his Blessing upon *Suckery* he return'd home, but *Hanuman* staid with him. He reign'd in Peace 11 years after his return, and begat two Sons, *Lan* and *Chus*. Then taking his opportunity when he had sent *Hanuman* out of the way, he ascended into Heaven with the Inhabitants of the Earth, except his two Sons.

The *Malabars* say, that *Ram* being jealous of *Sytha*, would have murder'd her, had she not cleared her self by the Fire and a solemn Oath. Another time being again seiz'd with a Jealousy, be-

cause she had *Raman's* Picture drawn upon a piece of Board, she purg'd her self by putting her Hand into a Vessel fill'd with Serpents.

They further add, That her Husband being become extreme jealous, caus'd her to be thrown before the Elephants, and afterwards before the Tygers, but she escaped without the least harm. They say, that when *Hanuman* saw *Ram* ascend into Heaven, he cry'd aloud to him, O Divine *Ram*! what have I done, that you will leave me behind! *Ram* answer'd, *Hanuman*, be not dissatisfied, thou shalt never die, and many Pagodes shall be erected to thy Memory. Farewel.

Thus ended the second Period of Time, which, according to the Computation of the *Benjans*, contains a Million and 296000, whereof *Ram* reign'd 2000. This second Period is call'd *Trisagom* by the *Malabars*, and *Tretanike* by the *Benjans*.

## CHAP. V.

*The eighth Altar. The Parents, Birth and Education of Kifna. His miraculous Deliverance. Ragia Kans endeavours to murder him. Kifna turns a Shepherd, and flies with his Company to Goggel.*

*The eighth  
Year for  
mation for  
mable.*

AS the eighth Transformation of *Vishnum* is accounted of the greatest moment above the rest; for, say the Pagans, in all the others *Vishnum* appear'd in the World with some part of his Divinity, but in this he carried along with him the whole Substance of it, so that he left his place vacant in Heaven: This Transformation happen'd with the beginning of the third Period of Time; and, according to the relation of the *Benjans*, was thus.

One *Ragia Kans* living in the City of *Mottera*, 25 *Cos* from *Agra*, upon the River *Siemmena*, had a young Sister named *Deuki*. About 3 *Cos* higher up the same River liv'd a certain *Brabman* named *Wassendew* in the City of *Goggel*. The said *Deuki* being arriv'd to a marriageable Age, her Brother *Ragia Kans* look'd out for a Husband for her; but meeting with none for his purpose in that City, he sent to the City of *Goggel*, where his Messenger hearing of the Worth and Piety of *Wassendew*, the same was at his Recommendation married to him when he was only 19, and she no more than 12 years of Age.

The said *Ragia* having understood that

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there was among his Subjects a certain *Brabman*, named *Narret* all skill'd in *Chiromancy* (a thing in high esteem among the Pagans \*) he sent for him, desiring him to look into his Sister's Hands, and to foretel, without dissembling the matter, what good or bad Fortune was like to befall her. The *Brabman* having view'd her Hand, told the King, that according to the Lines of her Hand she was to bring forth six Sons, and one Daughter, the youngest of whom will not only take away thy Kingdom, but also thy Life.

The King being not a little surpriz'd at this Prophecy, order'd the said *Deuki* and her Husband to be imprison'd in a strong Castle, and that all the Children begotten upon her Body should be kill'd immediately. Accordingly the Midwife brought the new-born Babes to her Brother, who beat out the Brains of six of them (viz. five Sons and one Daughter) against a Stone. Afterwards understanding that she was with Child with the seventh, he enclosed her in a Room with Iron Doors, and appointed her a Guard of 100 Soldiers, with strict Orders that the Child as soon as it was born should be brought to him. Upon this

\* See Vof-  
sius l. 2.  
Idol. c. 47.  
Sc. Pucer.  
de Divin.

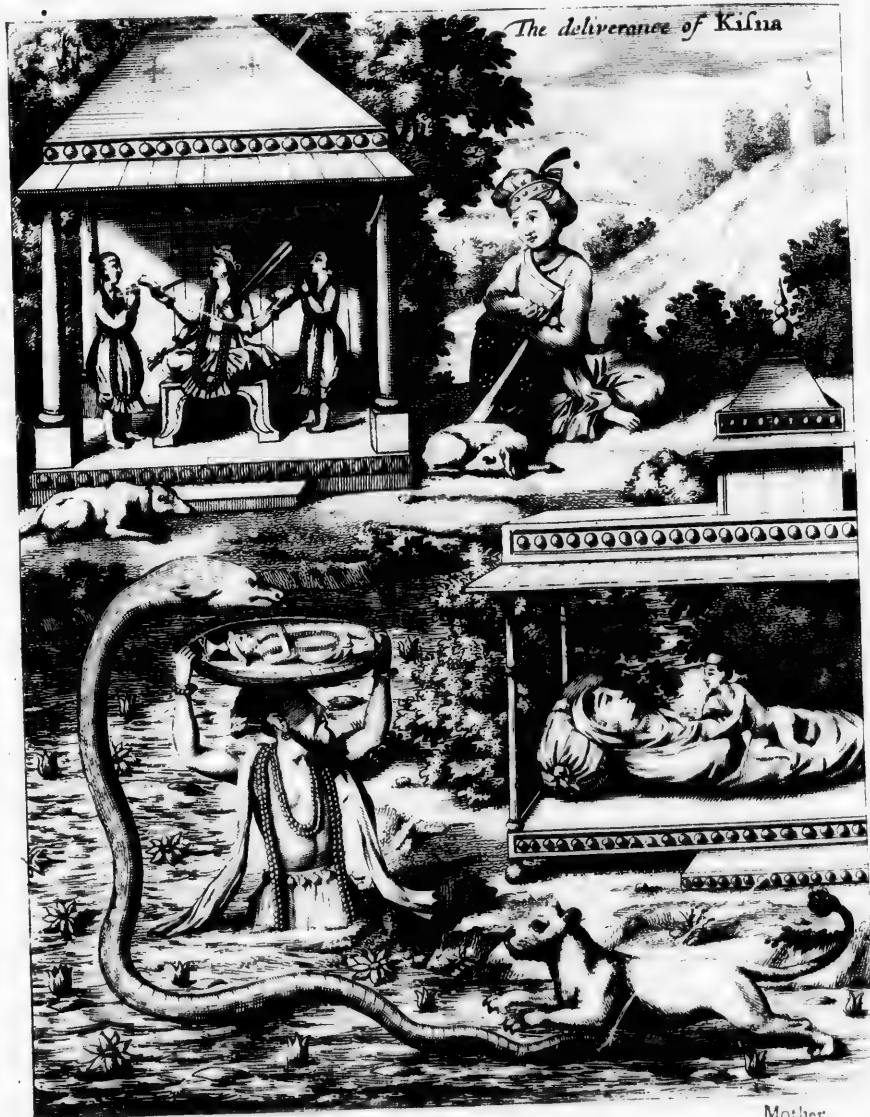
T t t t t 2 occa-

*Baldass.* occasion I can't but observe, that this as well as the ensuing part of the Story of *Kisna* seems to have a near relation to the History of the Birth of our Saviour, his flight into *Egypt*, the Murder of the innocent Children by *Herod*, Christ's Miracles and Ascension, &c.

\* The 8th day of the decreasing Moon.

The time of her Reckoning being expir'd on the day \* *Aethen*, of the Month

*Souwanne*, this unfortunate Lady being overwhelm'd with Grief, she brought forth a Son about Midnight without the least Pain, whose Face was as bright as the Full Moon; but as she had occasion to rejoice at the Birth of so fine a Child, his Fate put her into incredible Affliction: But *Vishnum* (whose Divine Virtue was infused into this Child) comforted his



Mother,

Mother, telling her, that he would find means to escape the hands of his Uncle, and deliver her out of her Prison. Then speaking to his Father, Pray, says he, carry me to *Goggel* on the other side of the River *Siemmena* to the *Brahman Nen*, whose Wife being lately brought to Bed of a Daughter, exchange me for her, and leave the rest to my disposal.

*Wassendeuw* answer'd, how is it possible to remove thee out of a Chamber so closely guarded and kept, that not the least thing could pass in or out? *Kisna* (this was the Child's Name) reply'd, the Doors shall be open'd to thee, and the Guards so overcome with Sleep, that nothing shall stop thy free Passage; he had no sooner spoken these words but the seven Doors open'd themselves, so that *Wassendeuw* took the Child and carried him off without the least hinderance. But coming to the River *Siemmena* directly opposite to *Goggel*, *Kisna's* Father perceiving the Current to be very strong (it being in the midst of the rainy Season) and not knowing which way to pass it, *Kisna* commanded the Water to give way on both sides to his Father, who accordingly pass'd dry-footed cross the River, being all the way guarded by a Serpent that held her Head over the Child to serve it instead of an Umbrella. The *Benjans* call this Serpent *Sickenasy*. Coming to the *Brahman's* House, the Door open'd it self, and finding the *Brahman* and his Wife asleep, he exchange'd his Son for their Daughter, which he carried along with him to the Castle. In short, the Water afforded him once more a free Passage, and finding the Doors of the Castle open, and the Guards asleep, he lock'd them after him, and deliver'd the Girl to his Wife.

The Guards hearing the Child cry soon after, enter'd the Chamber, snatch'd it from the unfortunate Parents, and brought it to *Ragia Kans*, who finding it a Girl, upbraided the *Brahman* with want of Skill, yet for fear of the worst, was going to strike the Head against a Stone; but the Child slipping out of his hands flew up into the Air, and told him, *It was in vain to attempt to murder her, since he that was to take away his Head and his Kingdom, to revenge the Death of his five Brothers and a Sister, was safe at Goggel*. This said, it flew up high into the Air, where it was turn'd into Lightning by *Vistnum*, a thing never seen before in the World.

*Ragia Kans* not a little surpriz'd at this Accident, consulted all his Friends what he had best to do in this Emergency; but

none being able to advise him to any purpose, whilst he was very melancholy and ruminating upon the oddness of the thing, he understood that the pious *Brahman Nen* who liv'd at *Goggel*, had a most beautiful Son, which put it into his head, whether it might not perhaps be he who was to take Revenge of him for his Tyrannies. At last, to make sure work, he resolv'd to have the Child kill'd; but not thinking it safe to undertake so heinous a thing bare-fac'd (for fear of the common People) he made his Applications to his eldest Sister *Postena*, enjoying her as the tender'd his Life, to go with some Presents to this *Brahman's* House, and to endeavour to kill this Child, by anointing her Teats with Poison.

Accordingly coming with considerable Presents to the Child's Mother at *Goggel*, she with'd her much Joy, and taking the Child in her Lap, she gave ample Recommendations of its Beauty, and then kissing and playing with the Child, laid it to her Breast: But this Child being proof against all Poison, did suck away not only all her Milk, but likewise the Blood out of her Veins, till she dropt down dead upon the spot.

*Ragia* sorely afflicted with this News, releas'd his Sister *Deuki* and her Husband, asking his Sister's Pardon for his having pretended to thwart the immutable Decrees of Destiny, and desiring that all past things might be buried in Oblivion. However, as the Child at *Goggel* lay constantly in his Head, he advis'd with his *Vixier*, or Chief Minister, upon the matter: He told him, that there liv'd a certain Giant named *Sekasor* at *Mottora*, who had the Gift of transforming himself into a Cart and Oxen, by which means he might carry the Child into the Air and murder it. The King pursuant to his Advice, sent for the said *Sekasor*, who at his request crossing the River *Siemmena*, when he came near the City of *Goggel*, transform'd himself into a little neat Cart, drawn by two white Oxen with gilt Horns; and passing thus through the Streets of the City, at last stop'd near the *Brahman Nen* his Door. One of the neighbouring Women having just at that time *Kisna* in her Arms at the Door, set the Child upon the said Cart, which was no sooner done, but *Sekasor* flew with the Child up into the Air. The Mother amaz'd at this Spectacle, cry'd out aloud, *O Vistnum protect my Child!* Her Prayers were heard; for *Kisna*, when he saw himself high in the Air, assum'd the shape and strength of a Giant, and

Baldus.

gave

*Baldau.* gave such a Blow near the Giant's Heart, that he beat the Breath out of his Body; then reassuming his former shape of a Child, got upon his dead Carcase, and so fell down with it upon the ground. His Parents being Eye-witnesses of the Deliverance of their supposed Son, were so surpriz'd thereat, that looking upon him as something extraordinary sent them from Heaven, they sacrificed to the Gods, and gave abundance of Alms to the Poor.

*Ragia Kans* finding himself disappointed in his hopes, had recourse once more to his most trusty Counsellors: one of them told him, that there was a certain *Deyt*, or Giant, named *Turnavent*, who being endow'd with the Virtue of transforming himself into a Whirlwind, the King engag'd him on his side, in order to carry the Child into the Air. *Kisna*, who heard the Whirlwind rolling cross the River *Siemmena* towards the City of *Goggel*, being then in his Mother's Lap at the Door, roll'd down upon the ground; whence the Whirlwind snatching him up into the Air, his Parents stood amaz'd at so strange a Spectacle, imploring *Vishnum* for his Assistance.

*Kisna* being carried to a vast height by the Wind, assum'd the shape of a Man, and taking the Giant *Turnavent* by the Throat, turn'd his Neck round; and then reassuming his former shape, got upon the dead Carcase of the Giant, and fell down along with it upon the ground just before his Parents Door, to the great Amazement of the Inhabitants of *Goggel*, who could not but look upon this Accident as miraculous, or that had something of Divine in it.

*Kisna* in the mean while remaining upon the Giant's Back, cry'd most vehemently; his Mother laid him to her Breast, but he not ceasing to cry, she laid him in a hanging Cradle; notwithstanding which he continued crying, till his Mother having recounted to him the Story of *Ram* (as related before) he leap'd out of the Cradle, and taking the shape of *Ram* with his Bow and Arrow, he cry'd out, *Lekeman*, let us go after *Rawan* and deliver *Sytha*. His Mother being ready to prostrate her self at his Feet, he soon reasum'd his former shape, and encreased miraculously both in Strength and Wildom.

It happen'd one time that his Mother did bring upon the Table a Golden Dish with Rice Milk, and some Herbs dress'd after the way of the *Benjans*, which *Kisna* seeing, he told her he could not eat it

unless these things were all mix'd together, which she did accordingly: but *Kisna* tasting it, desir'd her to separate them again; his Mother answering him that it was not in human Power so to do, he laid his Hand over the Dish and separated them immediately, to the astonishment of his Parents.

His Father being a *Brabman* of the Cowherds, maintain'd his Family by breeding of Cattel, which, since the bringing of *Kisna* into the House, was encreased to 900000.

His Mother being one time busy in churning, he ask'd her for a little Butter: she gave him a little, but not thinking that enough, he ask'd for more, which she refusing, he took the opportunity whilst she was gone out of the way to take away some. His Mother returning ask'd *Kisna* what was become of the Butter? He answer'd, that the Cats and Rats had eat it. But the Mother not thus satisfied, look'd into *Kisna's* Mouth, where she had a view of the whole World with its Waters, Forests, Mountains, &c. enclos'd in a blue Circle. The Mother astonish'd at so strange a Spectacle, yet soon recover'd her self, when she saw *Kisna* return to his Childish Shape and Game again; so taking up a Twig, threaten'd to strike him, but he running out of the Town the pursu'd him, but not being able to overtake him, he stood still at last, when she gave him three or four Blows, urging him still to tell her what was become of the Butter; he persisted in his former story, that the Cats and Rats had eaten it. She took all the Ropes belonging to the 199000 Cows, endeavouring to tie them together in Knots; but notwithstanding all her Endeavours, the Knots would not tie, till *Kisna* finding her much out of humour at this Disappointment, he permitted the Ropes to be knotted, and himself to be ty'd with the Ropes; but his Mother finding him cry bitterly, she releas'd him soon after.

Another time his Mother being gone to milk the Cows, order'd him to hold a Stick in his hand to make the Cows stand still whilst she was a milking; but finding she had left her Brass Vessel, wherein she used to gather her Milk behind, and not daring to send *Kisna*, he told her he would soon find a way to fetch the Vessel without stirring from the place, and so extending one of his Arms so far as to reach the Vessel, he gave it to his Mother, and so reasum'd the shape of a Child.

In the mean while *Ragia Kans* being inform'd

inform'd that the Inhabitants of *Goggel* increas'd considerably in Riches (for *Kisna's* sake) he order'd his Governor to load them with heavy Taxes; which being done accordingly with the utmost Severity, they advis'd with *Kisna* whether they had not best remove with their Cattel to the fertile Valleys of the Mountain of *Perwet*. *Kisna* approving their Proposition, perswaded his Parents to do the same, so that they transported all their Moveables and Cattel to the most fertile Vallies about the Mount *Perwet*, or

*Ooden Perwet*, near the River *Siemmena*; here they fix'd their Habitations in a certain Village call'd *Brindawink*, seated in the midst of most pleasant Pasturages, planted with Trees, and so abounding in Grass, that those vast Herds of Cattel were not able to consume it. *Kisna* was so well pleas'd with the place, that he clad himself after their fashion, with a Garland of Peacocks Feathers upon his Woolen Cap, and a Flute to play away the rest of the Cowherds.

*Baldæus.*

## CHAP. VI.

*Further Designs of Ragia Kans against Kisna by the means of certain Giants, Raja Inder and Bramha. Kisna produces a Pearl-Tree, and is made a King of the Cowherds.*

**R**agia *Kans* highly exasperated at this removal of his Subjects, summon'd a certain Giant nam'd *Bacassar*, who having the virtue of transforming himself into a Hern, he sent him to carry away *Kisna*, which he did accordingly; and having carry'd him up into the Air, endeavour'd to swallow him, but *Kisna* transforming himself into a fiery Flame burnt the Hern to Ashes, and he return'd to his Parents without receiving the least harm. The News thereof having soon reach'd the Ears of *Ragia Kans*, he sent another Giant nam'd *Wickeraak*, who transforming himself into the shape of a Boy, came to *Kisna* as he was looking after the Cattel in the field, and engag'd in a wrestling Match among the other Boys, not questioning by this means but to draw *Kisna* into the Game, and so make an end of him: But *Kisna* (who was not ignorant of his Design) challeng'd him, and as they were wrestling gave him such a kick upon his Breast, that he tumbld down dead upon the spot.

*Ragia Kans* finding himself once more disappointed in his Aim, sent the dreadful Giant *Agasor*, whose Entrails were all Fire. This Giant having laid himself close to the Cowherds Huts, open'd his dreadful Jaws, so that the uppermost reach'd up to the Skies, his Teeth representing like Coco-trees, and his Throat like the Entrance of the Huts. *Kisna* knowing the Deceit, drove his Cattel to his own Stables, but the rest went straitways with their Cattel into the Giant's Throat; which the Giant no sooner perceiv'd, but he shut his Teeth, so that the

poor Wretches finding themselves in the midst of Fire and Flames, apply'd themselves to *Kisna*, who was got among them on purpose to make himself an Instrument of their Deliverance: he bid them not to despair, and then extending himself with all his might, made the Giant to burst in pieces, and thus open'd a Passage for the rest to escape the Flames.

This miraculous Deliverance being soon spread all over the neighbouring Country, *Ragia Kans* entreated the Giant *Dawanneel* (who had the power of transforming himself into a Flame) to destroy *Kisna*: Accordingly he came to the place where *Kisna* and his Companions were feeding the Cattel, and setting all (not excepting even the Trees and Grass) into a light Flame, the Cowherds fled to *Kisna* (who was at some distance) for help, which he promis'd them in an instant, and so advancing towards the Giant, took and held him round the middle, till he forc'd him to swallow all the Fire again.

*Ragia Kans* almost reduc'd to despair, had recourse to the Giant *Kasep*, who having assum'd the shape of an Afs of a prodigious bigness, advanc'd towards the Cowherds with a dreadful Countenance; who being terrified at so dreadful an Aspect, left *Kisna* alone, who was so far from being surpriz'd at this monstrous sight, that he laid by his Pipe, and advancing towards the Afs, who came open-mouth'd upon him, endeavour'd to take him by one of his hindermost heels, but the Afs gave him so terrible a kick with

\*

his



*Baldæus.* his Foot, that he threw him 8 or 10 yards high into the Air. *Kisna* finding himself thus roughly handled, thought fit to assume the shape of a Giant, and so taking the Afs by the hinder Leg, did swing him three or four times about his Head, and then throwing him against the ground squeeze'd the Breath out of his Body.

The God *Bramha* being not ignorant of what had pass'd, and curious to know whether *Kisna* was not endow'd with some Divine Virtue, took his opportunity, and carried off all the Cattel belonging to *Kisna* and the other Cowherds; who running to *Kisna* and imploring his Assistance, he bid them shut their Eyes, which they had no sooner done, but he produc'd the same number of Cattel they had lost. *Bramha* came about a year after and brought back all the Cattel, asking his Pardon for what was past. *Kisna* told *Bramha* that he had better keep within his own bounds; and causing the Cattel he had produc'd to vanish immediately, he kept them brought back by *Bramha*.

Another time, all the Cattel just after they had been drinking about Noon out of the River *Siemmena*, fell dead on a sudden upon the ground: *Kisna* surpriz'd at this Accident, and knowing that *Garroude* having lately dislodg'd the monstrous Serpent *Kallinaegh* from her Dam call'd *Rammene Drepek*, he shrewdly suspected that she had taken to this River, and infected the same with her Venom: Then getting upon a Palm-tree, he assum'd his white and black Skin, and two more Arms and Hands; and sending for *Garroude*, order'd him to go to *Bramha*, and to demand of him the things taken out of the Sea in the times of *Couram*, and left in his Custody till his return. *Garroude* hastening to *Bramha*, brought back to *Kisna* the *Cbianko*, or Horn, the beautiful Woman *Lekfemy*, and the Jewel *Consenkmany*. This done, he took the Horn in one hand, a piece of Iron in the second, another Weapon in the third, and a Flower in the fourth hand. Thus equipp'd, he leapt into the River in the presence of his Companions, and diving to the bottom, met with the Wife of some of the Attendants belonging to the Serpent *Kallinaegh*, who ask'd him what had brought him thither, fore-warning him to retreat in time, before he should be seen by the Serpent, which questionless would devour him in an instant. *Kisna* reply'd, that being come on purpose to find out the Serpent, he desir'd

he might be shew'd him; which they refusing to do, he turn'd his Eyes on all sides, and at last espying the Serpent he awaken'd him out of his sleep, bidding him to leave this River unless he would pay for it with Death. The Serpent *Kallinaegh* swelling with Rage flew upon *Kisna*, and beat him backwards; but he recovering himself, squeeze'd the Serpent's Head to that degree, that not knowing what to do he twist'd himself about his Body: but *Kisna* encreas'd the bulk of Body in such a manner, that the Serpent ready to burst, was forc'd to let go his hold, being ready to drop down dead for want of Strength. *Kisna* then got on the top of his Neck, and putting an Awl through his Nostrils, rid upon him as if he had been on horse-back. The Wife and Attendants of the Serpent finding him quite out of breath, intreated *Kisna* to spare his Life, promising to quit the River immediately. But *Kallinaegh* not willing to consent to what they had offer'd, still endeavour'd to get rid of *Kisna*; but finding all his Endeavours in vain, and that *Kisna's* Body increas'd every minute in weight, he was glad to approve of what had been offer'd by his Wife. *Kisna* having pardon'd his Offence, told him, that he would double his Strength (because he had been engag'd against a God) and that *Garroude* should not any more disturb him in his Den, provided he would leave this River, and for the future never hurt either Men or Beasts.

The Serpent with his Wife and Attendants having paid their Reverence three times to *Kisna*, left the River *Siemmena*; and *Kisna* arising on a sudden above the surface of the Water, reassum'd his own shape, and coming ashore blew his Horn, by the sound whereof all the Cattel were in an instant restor'd to Life.

All these Miracles wrought by *Kisna* had such an influence upon the Cowherds, that they consult'd all possible means to pay him due Reverence. One among the rest told him, You know that *Raja Inder*, the King of Heavens and the blessed Souls, keeps an annual Feast in the Mountain of *Ooden Perwet* with the Believers; and since we have no less Obligations to *Kisna*, let us make also a Feast to his Honour, and invite him to the said Mountain. This being approv'd of by a general Consent, they prepar'd a most splendid Feast, which they celebrated with such demonstrations of Joy, that the Noise thereof coming to *Inder's* Ears, and

*Kisna produces a Pearl-tree.*

*Makes sport with the Women.*

and looking upon it with a jealous Eye, call'd together the Rains (disposed in twelve peculiar places) ordering them to pour down their Waters upon the Fields and Cottages of these Cowherds: They were ready to obey, and pour'd forth such prodigious showers of Rain, that the Fields being all laid under Water, Men and Beasts were upon the point of being drown'd. The Cowherds highly surpriz'd at the oddness of the thing (it being in the dry *Mousson*) had once more recourse to *Kisna*, who order'd them to get up to the top of the Mount *Ooden Perwet* till the Rains ceased; and they had no sooner obey'd his Orders, but he took the whole Mountain, with Cattel, Men and all upon his little Finger, and lifted them up seven times higher than the Waters could rise.

The Rains finding their Endeavours frustrated, return'd to *Inder*, and told him, that they had pour'd down their Waters seven days and nights without intermission, but in vain, there being a certain Person in those parts who could lift the whole Mountain with his little Finger into the Air. *Raja Inder* then perceiving his Error, came to *Kisna* to make his Excuse, and dismounting from his Elephant, beg'd forgiveness for having attempted any thing against him, pleading his ignorance, and as a token of his Repentance, presented him with the *Cam-doga*, or Cow of Plenty, which *Kisna* was pleas'd to accept of, and pardon'd his fault.

*Kisna produces a Pearl-tree.*

Not long after *Kisna* coming home one day, found his Mother busy in putting some Pearls on a String; he ask'd her from what Tree she had gather'd them; but she answering, that she never knew Pearls to grow on Trees, but only in Oyster-shells, *Kisna* took one of the biggest, which he had no sooner put into the ground, but they saw a Pearl-Tree sprout forth full of the most exquisite Pearls. The Mother standing amaz'd, and ready to worship him, he caus'd the Tree to vanish immediately.

*Makes sport with the Women.*

Soon after some of the Cowherds and their Wives as they were walking in the Forest, agreed to wash themselves in the River; *Kisna* espying them at a distance, secretly got all their Clothes, and getting upon an adjacent Palm-tree, had his sport to see them coming naked out of the Water without being able to find their Clothes: They were not a little surpriz'd at first, but looking up and seeing *Kisna* in the Palm-tree, they desir'd him to restore their Clothes, which he told

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them (to try the Modesty of the Women) he would, provided they would come underneath the Tree; but they excusing the matter, he threw the Women their Clothes.

*Baldau.*

At a certain time *Kisna* taking a walk with the other Cowherds, they chose him their King, and every one had his place assign'd him under the new King. There liv'd among them a certain charitable *Brahman*, whose Wife (without the knowledge of her Husband) paid her daily Devotions to *Kisna*, who sent two of his Messengers to let her know, that being dispos'd to make merry at her House with some of his Companions, he should provide something for their Entertainment. The Messengers meeting with the *Brahman* told him the Message, who told them, that he knew nothing of *Kisna*, neither would he make any Entertainment for him. With this Answer they return'd to *Kisna*, who chiding them for their mistake, bid them speak to the Woman; which being done accordingly, she no sooner heard the Name of *Kisna*, but making a low Reverence, to work she went, and having dress'd five or six good Dishes with a handsom Desert, she carried them her self to *Kisna*, begging him to accept of what she was unworthy to offer, which he did, and gave her his Blessing; that as long as she liv'd she should want for nothing, and that after her Decease her Soul should not transigrate \* into another Body; but that being purified by him, she should go directly to Heaven.

\* These Pagans look upon it as a singular Blessing when their Souls are not to enter into other Bodies.

*Kisna* with his Companions having feasted plentifully upon what the *Brahman's* Wife had brought them, as they were returning home met with some Milkmaids, unto whom *Kisna* told, that they must not pass by without paying Toll to him, who was King of the Place. The Maids not thinking he had been in earnest went on their ways; but *Kisna* with his Stick breaking their Milk Vessels, one of them was so exasperated thereat, that she made Complaint thereof to his Mother, who calling him to an account for this Outrage, he deny'd the matter; but his Mother believing the contrary told him, that he had broken the Peace, and that if it should come to *Ragia's* Ear, he might be punish'd for it: He reply'd, I did not know I had done them any wrong; but as for *Ragia Kan's* Anger I don't fear it, tho he knew it to morrow.

It happen'd not long after, that in a certain Moonshiny Night in the Month *Alfour* (in which begins the New Year)

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*Kisna*

*Baldew.* Kifna with some of his Companions were diverting themselves with their Pipes in an adjacent Wood; and Kifna especially play'd so charmingly upon his Flute, that the Women in the Village being awaken'd by the sound of this Harmony, came running into the Wood to partake of their Divertisements. Kifna ask'd them whether they were not afraid to come into the Wood at that time of night? They answer'd, That their Ears and Hearts had been so touch'd with his melodious Har-

mony, that they were not able to stay at home: So Kifna gave them a Tune or two, which so surpriz'd them, that most of them stood amaz'd, gazing all the while at his Beauty, whilst others pass their time in dancing. This they continued till midnight, when having bestow'd his Blessing upon the Women he sent them home, he and his Companions passing their time in the same Jollities all night till break of day.

## C H A P. VII.

*A further account of the Designs of Ragia Kans, who is kill'd at last by Kifna. New Decrees against Kifna, which prove ineffectual. His other Miracles.*

**R**agia Kans being more and more alarm'd at these Miracles, sent for his chief Minister named Panjewello, and his two chief Generals nam'd Siannoor and Mofik, to consult with them how to rid his hands of Kifna: Panjewello told him, that all clandestine means having prov'd to no purpose hitherto, he knew no other way than to engage the strongest of all the Giants (named Keby) against him.

Ragia approving his Advice, sent accordingly the said Giant, who meeting with Kifna, ask'd him where he was going? Where I please, reply'd Kifna: Ho ho, answer'd the Giant Keby, I will take care of that, and so was going to lay his great Paws upon him; but Kifna taking him by the Throat, did not let go his hold till he had squeez'd the Breath out of his Body; which done, Kifna put his Hand into his Throat, and pulling his Heart out, first laid it upon his Mouth, and afterwards threw it to the Ravens.

Ragia Kans being now put to the last shift, a certain Brahman named Naret, advis'd the King to invite Kifna with his Followers to a Feast, and so to have him kill'd at Table. Ragia approving his Counsel, sent Messengers to invite them accordingly, but they were so far from granting their request, that they desir'd Kifna's Parents not to let him go, who with Tears in their Eyes beg'd him to stay at home; but Kifna refusing to hearken to their Advice, order'd his Chariot to be got ready, and taking his Father, his eldest Brother and Mother along with him, went forward to Goggel upon the River Siemmensa opposite to Mottera.

†

Here it was that Akeror one of the King's Messengers, bathing himself in the River, and diving three times successively (after the manner of the Benjamins) saw Kifna under Water seated upon his Throne; which Apparition being seen by him again in the same state above Water, he could not forbear to break out into these words: *O holy Kifna! thou beest truly God in human Shape, because thou appearest both under and above Water; a sign thou beest present in all places, a Quality belonging only to the Gods! Pardon me for having invited thee to this Feast.* Kifna told him he was sensible it was not his fault, and din'd with him the same day in a Garden Akeror had just near the Bank of the River.

After Dinner they pass'd the River, but had not gone far before they met the King's Washerwoman with a pack of Clothes on his Back; some of the Company of Kifna having a mind to divert themselves, push'd one another against the Washerwoman, who giving them foul Language, Kifna bid his Companions to thresh him handsomely, which they did.

Ragia Kans exasperated to the highest degree at this usage of his Servant, resolv'd to declare open Enmity against Kifna. Not long after Kifna meeting upon the Road a Barber, he presented him (according to the Custom of that Country) a Looking-glass to look in, and pair'd his Nails; the Barbers in the Eastern Countries always pairing the Nails on the Hands and Toes after they have shav'd the Beard. Kifna gave him his Blessing, telling him, that his Soul should directly go to God without being transplanted into another Body.

As

Kifna breaks the strong Arrow of Mortera.

Kills 10 Courtiers.

As they were entering the City they were met by a Gardiner's Wife, who used to serve *Ragia Kans* with Flowers: This Woman prostrating her self at *Kisna's* Feet, said, *O Divine Man! having never seen anything so beautiful as thy self, I offer to thee these Flowers design'd for Ragia Kans, thinking my self much more oblig'd to your Divinity than his Majesty, entreating thee not to despise my Cottage, but to take up thy Lodging there for this night.* Then presenting *Kisna* with a Garland of Flowers, he took up his Lodgings in the House, being welcom'd by the Husband in the most devout manner in the World, who declar'd himself unworthy of receiving so great a Guest, and serv'd *Kisna* and his Company at Table, who at parting bestow'd his Blessing upon him, viz. That they should never want, and their Souls go directly to Heaven.

Being advanc'd a little further, they met a poor Cripple or lame Woman, having a Vessel fill'd with Spices, sweet-scented Oils, Sandel-wood, Saffron, Civet and other Perfumes. *Kisna* making a halt, she made a certain sign with her Finger on his Forehead, casting the rest upon his Head. *Kisna* asking her what it was she would ask him? The Woman reply'd, Nothing but the use of my Limbs. *Kisna* then setting his Foot upon hers, and taking her by the hand, raised her from the ground, and not only restor'd her Limbs, but also renew'd her Age, so that instead of a wrinkly tawny Skin, she got a fresh and fair one in an instant. At her request *Kisna* and his Company lodg'd the following night in her House.

*Kisna breaks the strong Arrow of Mortera.*

*Kills 10 Courtiers.*

The next following day *Kisna* and his Company walking through the Streets of *Mottera*, they were shew'd the strong Bow, which none of the Giants had been able to manage; but *Kisna* broke the String of it at the first pull. Thence they walk'd towards the Court, where the Courtiers were expecting the coming of the King: these seeing a whole Troop of Country Fellows, would not allow them Entrance into the Court; but pushing *Kisna* back roughly, he struck 10 of 'em (among whom were two Colonels) down to the ground, so that they expir'd at his Feet, and their Souls were convey'd immediately to Heaven, a Favour he bestow'd upon the Souls of all such as were slain by his hands.

*Ragia Kans* being inform'd of all these Transactions, and almost reduc'd to despair, order'd a Turret to be erected upon the Back of an Elephant, furnish'd

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with two warlike Engines, to be manag'd by as many Men. He order'd the Guide of the Elephant, that as soon as he saw *Kisna* coming to the Castle, he should send out the Elephant to trample him under feet, or else endeavour to kill him by the means of the Engines.

*Baldew.*

The following day *Kisna* going towards the Court, the Guides set loose the Elephant upon him; but *Kisna* not only stop't him in his full Career, but also putting his Foot against his Trunk, pull'd out both of his Teeth; afterwards seizing him by the Tail, swung him three or four times round his Head, and then dash'd his Head against the Stones. *Ragia* now finding himself reduc'd to the last extremity, and enrag'd with Anger, address'd himself to his two renown'd Generals *Kansjandoor* and *Moslick*, telling them that since they had eaten his Bread so many years, it was now time to shew their Fidelity and Bravery, and to deliver him from his mortal Enemy.

*Kills an Elephant.*

Accordingly they having sent a Challenge to *Kisna*, he appear'd at the appointed time and place, where a most fierce Combat ensu'd, which remain'd dubious for three hours, till at last *Kisna* threw them (one after another) with such a prodigious force to the ground, that the Blood, and with it their Souls gush'd out of their Mouths.

*Kills two Generals.*

During the Combat *Ragia Kans* happening to look over the Wall of the Castle, no sooner saw *Kisna*, but he thought he heard a Voice telling him, that he was the Person who should at once take away his Life and his Crown. He was scarce return'd into his Apartment, when News being brought him of the death of his two Generals, he commanded every one to betake themselves to their Arms, to fight against *Kisna*, offering a great Reward to any that could deliver him up into his hands either dead or alive. Accordingly the whole City rose up in Arms, and engag'd *Kisna* without the Castle Gates, but were not able to conquer this invincible Hero.

*Runs a whole Body of Men.*

For *Ragia Kans* having in the mean while order'd *Kisna's* Parents to be whipt with *Siamboken*, or bra's Scourges, in his presence; *Kisna* (according to his Omniscency) being not ignorant of the matter, leap'd over the Wall into the Palace, where finding *Ragia Kans* sitting upon his Throne, he got hold of his Head, and press'd it to the ground till he broke his Neck, and to consummate the matter, gave him three or four terrible Blows which beat out his Brains.

*Kills Ragia Kans.*

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The

*Baldau.*

The next thing he did, was to send his eldest Brother to deliver their Parents from their Captivity, who finding the Guards fled, brought them to *Kisna*, where they receiv'd one another with mutual Embraces; *Kisna* declaring his Sorrow for their Sufferings upon his account, and these declaring themselves amply rewarded with the sight of his Person. *Kisna* having put *Ongefeen Ragia Kan's* Father in his stead, return'd with his Parents, Brothers and Companions to their usual Habitations, where he put himself under the Tuition of a certain learned *Brahman*, having chosen a certain poor Scholar named *Sedammia* for his Attendant at School to carry his Books and Writings.

*Kisna under the Tuition of a Brahman.*

There liv'd at that time at *Mottera* a certain Merchant, a Relation of *Kisna's* Mother, whose Daughter call'd *Contabe* married to *Ragia Dandou*, King of *Efenapour*, had brought forth five Sons; the First-born whereof his Father had obtain'd by his Prayers to *Inder* the King of the Celestial Spirits, the second from *Bramma*, the third from the Wind, and the two last from the famous Hero *Effenocomaer*.

The five Brothers did at a certain time undertake a Journey with their Mother to *Mottera*, to visit their Grandfather, where they contracted something of Acquaintance with *Kisna*, and frequently revered him. About the same time the Women of *Goggel*, and of the Village inhabited by the Cowherds, were very earnest in their Solicitations for *Kisna's* return, without which they said they neither could nor would eat or drink.

*Jerasanda resolves to revenge Ragia Kams Death.*

In the mean while the five Brothers having receiv'd the unwelcome News of their Father's Illness, were forc'd to return to *Efenapour*; and the fatal Exit of *Ragia Kans* and so many of his Giants being come to the Ears of *Jerasjanda* his Brother-in-law, he resolv'd to revenge the fame to the utmost of his Power. Accordingly having gather'd a Body of 95000 chosen Horle, he laid Siege to *Mottera*; but *Kisna* having by his frequent Sallies quite ruin'd his Army, took him Prisoner at last, but knowing that he had by his constant Prayers obtain'd from *Bramma* that he should live 100 years and at last be kill'd by one *Rhijm*, he releas'd his Prisoner, who having soon gather'd another Army, besieg'd *Mottera* a second time, and was worsted again as before by *Kisna*. The same he continued to do sixteen times, till

all his People being slain in the Wars, he pass'd thro' all the Corners of the World to raise new Forces; and meeting with the famous Giant *Sialinder*, he put him at the head of his Forces, and so forc'd the Siege of *Mottera* a 17th time.

*Le sixteen times worsted by Kisna.*

The situation of *Kisna's* House was such as to be plainly discover'd in the Camp, as from thence he had a full Prospect of their Army. *Kisna* having posted his Brother at the Entrance of his House, he happen'd to be seen by the Enemy's General, who mistaking him for *Kisna*, advanced towards the House: *Kisna* who saw him coming at a distance, considering with himself, that in case he should fall by his hands, his Soul must go straitways to Heaven (a favour he thought him unworthy of) run out of the back-door, making the best of his way to a Cave of a certain *Brahman* about 4 Cos from *Mottera*; this Man had by his continued Prayers obtain'd from *Bramma*, that if any one should disturb him in his Devotions, the same should be consumed to Ashes. *Kisna* being not ignorant of this, and seeing his Adversary pursuing him, enter'd the said Cave, and throwing a piece of Cloth over the *Brahman's* Head shelter'd himself behind it. The Giant who follow'd his Footsteps, soon after enter'd the Cave, and finding the *Brahman* cover'd with a piece of Cloth, gave him two or three sound Boxes on the Ear, telling him, that he should take that as a Reward for his care in hiding *Kisna* in his Cave. Retreat, Retreat, said the *Brahman*, before I uncover my Face, unless thou wilt be consumed by Fire. Then taking away the Cloth, the Giant was immediately in a Flame, and burnt to Ashes. *Kisna* return'd to *Mottera*, and having routed *Ragia Kans* Brother's Forces, he took him Prisoner; but in respect of *Bramma's* Promise, dismiss'd him soon after.

*Kisna* in the mean while considering that *Jerasjanda* was to live 100 years, and that consequently he would not lay aside his Designs against *Mottera*, it happen'd that *Wissucbre* the Son of *Bramma* being come from Heaven to give *Kisna* a Visit, and asking him what it was he would request of him? He answer'd, Build me a City in all respects like that of *Mottera*; which he did accordingly the same night in an adjacent Island, being altogether like that of *Mottera*, except that this was of Gold instead of Stone. *Kisna* being inform'd thereof by *Wissucbre* himself, over-whelm'd the Inhab-

*Another Miracle of Kisna.*

\* A certain Secd.



Another  
Miracle of  
Kisna.

habitants of *Mottera* with so heavy a Sleep, that (unknown to them) he carried them with all their Cattel, and *Ragia Ongefeen* their King to this new City, unto which he gave the Name of *Davarca*, leaving *Sedamma* his old School-fellow and Attendant behind him in a certain Village, which since has got the Name *Sedammapoer*; which done, he return'd with his Brother to *Mottera*.

By this time the Giant *Sialinder* having gather'd a vast Army, sat down before *Mottera*; but *Kisna* and his Brother after having kill'd a great number of the Enemy, feigning a Retreat, were pursu'd by *Sialinder's* Forces, till coming to a high Mountain they vanish'd, and retir'd to the City *Davarca*; and *Sialinder* being thereby become Master of *Mottera*, settled his Residence there.

In the mean while *Kisna's* School-fellow being married was grown so poor, that he was forced to sell his Clothes to buy Victuals. Being almost reduc'd to despair, his Wife advis'd him to take a Journey to his old School-fellow *Kisna*, who she did not question would commiserate his Condition. How is this possible, reply'd the Husband, being quite naked and not fit to appear before any body? *Kisna*, answered the Wife, does not despise the poor, go and take a handful of *Kam* \* along with thee for a Present.

\* A certain  
Seed.

The Husband follow'd his Wife's Advice, and went to *Davarca*, who was no sooner entred the Street where *Kisna* liv'd, but being discover'd by him from a Window, he came out to meet and embrace him, and carrying him into his House order'd him to be wash'd and provided with new Clothes. *Kisna* ask'd him whether he had brought him any Presents. Being a poor Man, reply'd *Sedamma*, I had nothing to give but this,

which my Wife sent to thee, in hopes that the Gods would not refuse the meanest Present. *Kisna* receiv'd it kindly, and put it in a Corner of a Cottage belonging to one of his Neighbours; and at the same instant *Sedamma's* Cottage was turn'd into a spacious Palace: His Wife was much surpriz'd at this change, but imagining that it was done by *Kisna*, she search'd all the Corners of the House, and where-ever the turn'd her Face found such a vast quantity of Gold and Silver, and of *Ropias*, that she had sufficient wherewithal to provide her self with Servants, provisions and every thing in proportion to the Grandeur of her Palace. *Sedamma* being ignorant of what had happen'd, return'd full of Melancholy from *Kisna*, ruminating upon the Road whether he had not best leave his Wife and Children; but soon recollecting himself, that he ought not to lay the whole Burden upon his Wife's Shoulders, and despair of God's Mercy, he made the best of his way homeward: but approaching the Village, he was amaz'd to see the Change that had happen'd since his departure, which made him suspect he had mis'd his way; but finding by some undeniable Circumstances that he was in the right, he went into the Village, where finding instead of a Cottage of Straw a Royal Palace, he stood astonish'd, not knowing which way to turn, till being discover'd by his Wife out of a Window, she sent one of the Servants to desire him to enter; which he did, and being kindly receiv'd by his Wife and Children, he ask'd the exact time of this sudden Change, which happening (as far as they could guess) precisely at the same time he presented the Seed, they paid their Devotions to *Kisna*, distributed Alms among the Poor, and liv'd in great plenty for a long time after.

Baldass.

## CHAP. VIII.

*A King's Daughter in love with Kisna, sends him word of it. Kisna delivers 16000 Royal Virgins, and cures the Leprosy.*

Sometime after *Ragia Bhiemeck* King of *Poerap* had a Son and Daughter born him, the first named *Rochemey*, the other *Rochemy*, who being grown up, the Father was very desirous to have his Daughter well match'd before his Death. Among others he consult'd with upon this matter, there was a certain *Brabman*

named *Naret*, much celebrated for his Wisdom and Learning, who being desir'd by the King to inspect his Daughter's Hands, and to foretel him by the Art of Chiromancy, who should be her Husband; *Naret* having taken a full view of the Lineaments of her Right-hand, told her, *Blessed Virgin! who best ordain'd*

*Baldew.* to be the Spouse of the holy Kifna. The Father rejoic'd thereat to the highest degree, told this good News to his Son, who being of a contrary Sentiment, reply'd that he would never suffer so beautiful a Creature to be married to a Country Clown.

*Rochemy design'd for Kifna.*

*He oppos'd to her Brother.*

It is to be observ'd, that the Soul of Sytha Ram's Spouse being transplanted into the Body of this Virgin, in order to be espoused to Kifna; this young Lady was not sensible thereof, for which reason she had resolv'd to think of no body else but Kifna: which her Brother being resolv'd to prevent, he sent to the Giant the King of *Mottera*, that in case he was inclin'd to marry his Sister he should come with all speed, his Father intending to marry her to Kifna. The Giant ravish'd at this joyful News, order'd a most magnificent Equipage of Elephants, Camels, Horses, Oxen and Chariots to be got ready, and attended with Trumpets, Hautboys, Kettledrums, and other Musical Instruments, and a numerous Retinue, set out from *Mottera*.

No sooner were they come within two days Journey to *Rochemy's* Father's Residence, when she, not knowing what to do in this Exigency, thought fit to give notice thereof to Kifna by a Letter, which she order'd one of her Servants to deliver to the first *Brachman* she met, in order to carry it to Kifna; the Contents whereof were as follows.

*Rochemy's Letter to Kifna.*

"**H**OLY Kifna! worthy to be belov'd of me and all the World: Being resolv'd to be no body's but only yours as long as I have Breath to draw, I thought fit to let you know, that my old Father likewise wishes nothing more than to see that happy day; but my Brother, who has more Ambition than Piety, having sent for the Giant of *Mottera* to marry me, and being come within two days Journey of our Residence, I desire you to provide against their Attempts, nothing being able to resist your Divine Power.

Your Highness's always devoted,

ROCHEMY.

The Servant having brought a *Brachman* to the Princess, she by a Present of a Golden Dish fill'd with *Ropias*, and a promise of more if he perform'd his Errand, engag'd him to undertake the Task: Accordingly he went full speed for 3 *Cos*, when being somewhat tir'd he sat down

under a shady Tree, to refresh himself with a draught of cool Water, and falling asleep, was carried by Kifna to *Davarca*. The *Brachman* awaking out of his sleep, and finding himself at *Davarca*, soon guess'd the truth, and going strait to Kifna's House, deliver'd the Letter at his Feet. Kifna had no sooner read the Letter, but assuming the shape of a Man with four Arms, and taking his Bow and Arrow, he got upon his Cow with the *Brachman*, and so set out on their Journey from *Davarca*.

In the mean time the Giant approaching to the Residence of his pretended Spouse, was met by her Brother, and conducted into the Palace; and Kifna arriving soon after near the City, rested himself under the shade of a Tree near a Pagode, whence he sent the *Brachman* to *Rochemy* to give notice of his arrival, who rewarded him with vast Presents for his Fidelity.

*Rochemy* knowing that her Brother was in the Evening to make a Cavalcade with her pretended Bridegroom through the City (according to the Custom of the *Benjans*) she resolv'd to lay hold of this opportunity to escape their hands: For this purpose she entreated her Father, that being now arrived to the Age of nine years, she might offer her Sacrifice to the Goddess *Rohani*. The Father having granted her Request, she took a Dish full of Pearls, and with two of her Attendants went towards the Pagode, whither her pretended Bridegroom and her Brother would needs accompany her, but staid without the Temple whilst she perform'd her Sacrifice; which done, she came out of the Temple near the Door, where she knew Kifna had plac'd himself, who no sooner saw her appear, but he took her up and carried her away.

At the Outcry of her Maids the pretended Bridegroom came with his whole Attendants to snatch her from him, but Kifna receiv'd them so courageously with his Bow and Arrows, that they were forced to retreat with the loss of several thousands of their best Men. *Rochemy's* Brother seeing the Bridegroom defeated, would nevertheless try his Strength with Kifna, and coming up with him was a going to cleave his Head with his Scymeter; but Kifna having disarm'd him threw him upon the ground, and after having given him some blows, ty'd him Neck and Heels together under his Cart, and so made his Entry into *Davarca*, where he was receiv'd with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy. *Rochemy's* Brother was

*Rochemy deliver'd by Kifna.*

*Kifna delivers an Elephant from a Crocodile.*

was releas'd at her request, and *Kisna* consummated his Marriage with great Pomp in the City of *Davarca*.

Sometime after it happen'd, that a very strong Elephant being seiz'd by a Crocodile in a certain Cistern or Pond where the Elephants us'd to drink, a furious Combat ensu'd, which put all the Elephants that were Spectators thereof into no small Confusion. At last seeing they were not able to assist their Companions, and press'd with Hunger, they went away, and left the poor Elephant in the lurch. He seeing himself thus destitute kept on struggling with the Crocodile, sending up at the same time his Prayers to *Vishnum* to deliver him from the Jaws of the Crocodile.

*Kisna delivers an Elephant from a Crocodile.*

But it being then the time of *Kisna's* appearing upon Earth, he heard his Prayers after 20 days, and sending for *Garroude* to carry him immediately to the Pond, he threw his Weapon at the Crocodile, and cutting off his Neck releas'd the Elephant, who kneeling before *Kisna*, he told him he should ask what he pleas'd, and it should be granted him. Nothing, reply'd the Elephant, but that I may go immediately to Heaven, being quite weary of this World. *Kisna* granting his Request, took him into his *Palankin*, or Litter, and carrying him to Heaven, order'd *Garroude* to convey him immediately back to *Davarca*.

About the same time one *Ragia Boetsaenpat* having two Wives named *Somuta* and *Surisa*, the first brought forth a Son named *Droe*, and the other one named *Raspoeter*; but *Surisa* being most belov'd by her Husband, *Somuta* when her Son *Droe* was about five years of Age, sent him very neatly dress'd to pay his Respect to his Father, who being extremely delighted with him, highly caress'd and set him in his Lap. *Surisa* having got notice thereof, sent immediately her Son to the King, whilst she remain'd at some distance to observe what pass'd. But the King being so much taken with *Droe*, that he scarce look'd at the other; *Surisa* enter'd the Room, and upbraiding him with Ingratitude, made him send away *Droe* and take her Son in his Lap.

*Droe* exasperated to the highest degree at this Affront, went away without making his Reverence; and making his Complaint to his Mother, told her, that he was resolv'd to retire into a Desert to spend his time in Prayers. The Mother did all she could to dissuade him from it, but in vain; for taking the next opportunity of his Mother's absence, he got

privately out of the House. He had scarce travell'd 2 *Cos* from the City, when being met by the Learned *Brahman Naret*, he ask'd him whither he was going? He answer'd, As young as I am, I have taken a Resolution to retire from the World, where I find there remains nothing but Malice and Envy: Then relating all that happen'd to him, he told him, that he was resolv'd to pass his days in the Desert.

Go on my Son, reply'd *Naret*, thou wilt be heard by *Kisna*: Then going forward, he came to a Forest, where seeing a *Mango-Tree*, he repos'd himself under its shade, and spent three days and nights in Tears, Prayers and Fasting. *Kisna* mov'd with Compassion at his tender Age, appear'd to him, asking what made him pray with so much Fervency? *Droe* prostrating himself at the feet of *Kisna* said, O Divine *Kisna*! my Request to thee is, "That the Affront given me by *Surisa* may turn upon their Heads, that she may be a Slave to my Mother, that I may succeed my Father in the Kingdom, and after my Death be plac'd in some pleasant place you shall choose for me.

*Kisna* answer'd, Thy Prayer is granted, go return to thy Parents, *Surisa* shall live a Slave to thy Mother, thou shalt succeed thy Father in the Throne, and after thy Death I will place thee in the Heavens in the form of a Star, that shall remain for ever in the Firmament, and serve the Mariners for a Guide. *Droe* having paid his Reverence to *Kisna*, return'd full of Joy to his Father's Palace. The old King, who had been almost distracted at his absence, receiv'd him with more than ordinary Satisfaction, and for ever after shew'd so much Affection to his Mother, that *Surisa* was in comparison of her no more than a Slave, and after some years surrender'd the Kingdom to him. He rul'd very fortunately for many years, and after his Death was plac'd among the Stars, being the same the *Benjans* call to this day *Droe Katara*, i. e. *Stella Polaris*, or the *North-Star*.

*Droe, or the North-Star.*

It happen'd some time after, that *Ragia Nerkaeur*, a most Potent Monarch, having conquer'd 16000 Kings, kept them close Prisoners with their Wives and Daughters; these offer'd their constant Prayers to *Kisna* for their delivery from this Oppression. *Kisna* considering that they having spent these three years in Prayer, it would be high time to deliver them, sent for *Garroude*, whom he order'd to carry him to *Nietskanda*, where he

was

*Baldens.*

was no sooner arriv'd, but he told the King *Nerkaseur*, that unless he releas'd the Royal Captives, he must pay for it with his Head. The King answering *Kisna* with Threats, they prepar'd both sides for a Combat: For *Kisna* having kill'd those that were sent against him, the King himself at the head of a strong Troop, attack'd *Kisna* with great fury, who kill'd every Man of them except the *Ragia*, who persisting in his Obstinacy, had at last his Head cut off by *Kisna*, who releas'd all the Prisoners in an instant, and among them 16000 Royal Virgins, who prostrating themselves at his feet, he gave them leave to return to their Parents, or where else they pleas'd: But they desir'd to stay with him, imploring his Protection, which being granted by *Kisna*, he carried them to *Devacca*, where he built a Seraglio for their Reception, wherein each Lady had her own Apartment.

*Kisna delivers  
16000  
Captives.*

In the Country of *Ammaramo* liv'd a certain zealous *Ragia* named *Amarich*, who having publish'd a general Fast by beat of Drum (according to the Custom of that Country) the same was observ'd with the utmost Strictness. It happen'd that the *Brabman Doerwassa* passing that way the same day, he was invited by the said King to stay there till the next day after the Fast-day.

The *Brabman* complying with the King's Request, he sent for some of his chief *Brabmans* to know the exact hour when they might begin to eat: These having consulted their Books, and told the King, that the just time would be two hours after Sun-rising; he invited the beforemention'd *Brabman* against that time to a Collation. But the *Brabman* missing the appointed hour, the King went to the River to wash himself; but finding after his return, that the *Brabman* was not come yet, he advis'd with

four of his *Brabmans* what was best to be done, who told him, that if he let slip this lucky hour all his Fasting would avail him nothing, advising him at the same time to take only a little Water and a Leaf of the Tully-Tree, till the *Brabman* should come.

This *Brabman Doerwassa* having a Prophetick Spirit, was not ignorant that the King had eaten something in his absence, and therefore went to the King, asking him why he had put such an Affront upon him? The *Ragia* was for excusing the matter, but to no purpose; for the *Brabman* going out of the doors gave him this Curse, That he might from head to foot be cover'd with Boils and the Leprosy; which being fulfill'd in an instant upon the unfortunate King, he pray'd to *Kisna* to deliver him from this Evil, but in vain, his Evil encreasing every day, so that at last being quite tir'd with Life, he resolv'd to put a Period to it by Fire. Every thing being got in readiness for this purpose, *Kisna* appear'd to him, asking what was his Request? He reply'd, to be freed from my Distemper. *Kisna* cur'd him not only of his Leprosy, but also turn'd the same into a Fiery Wheel, which following the *Brabman Doerwassa* where ever he went, put him into such a fright, that he offer'd his Prayers to *Ragia Inder* to deliver him of this Fire: but *Ragia Inder* telling him, that he must apply himself to him who was the Author thereof, he made his Applications to *Bramma*, from whom having receiv'd the same Answer, he implor'd the Assistance of *Kisna*, begging him to pardon his sudden Passion, and to deliver him from the Evil he had been pleas'd to lay upon him. *Kisna* chiding him for his unruly Passion, advis'd him to lay the same aside for the future, and then deliver'd him from the Plague of the Fiery Wheel.

*Kisna cures  
the Leprosy.*

*acrossing  
gains Dro-  
peti by  
shooting.*

*Camdoga's  
Curse.*

## CHAP. IX.

*The Origin and Qualifications of Droepeti. She binds up the Wound of Kisna. Sufferer forc'd out of his Kingdom. Droepeti exil'd with her Brothers, and fed by the Sun. They come to Court. Their further Transactions.*

IN the Country of *Estenapour* liv'd a certain *Ragia* named *Pandouw*, whose Wife was call'd *Droendy*: His Brother nam'd *Deuderaes* being blind, had a Wife call'd *Sendary*, and by her a hundred Sons, the eldest whereof was named *Derfende*.

In the Country of *Ransaan* liv'd at the same time a certain King nam'd *Droepet*, whose Daughter was reputed the most beautiful Woman that ever was seen. *Ragia Pandouw* happening to die left behind him five Sons, the eldest of which

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which succeeding him in the Throne, one of the other four was put to School to a certain *Brahman*, to be instructed in all matters relating to their Divinity. The Daughter of *Ragia Droepeti* being now come to a marriageable Age, her Father was not a little solicitous how to bestow his Daughter to the best advantage: For this purpose he sent his Messengers to invite the neighbouring Kings and the chiefest *Brahmans* to a great Feast, and caus'd a long 'Tall to be erected, with a strong Bow underneath, and a Fish on the top, in the same manner as we have mentioned before in the Story of *Ram*.

*Aerling* joins *Droepeti* by flouting.

*Kisna* appearing here among the rest, yet would not attempt the Bow, having promised his Assistance (upon this account) to a certain *Brahman* named *Aerling*, he manag'd the Bow with that dexterity, that he shot down the Fish, and receiv'd a fine Necklace of Pearl from the hands of his Bride.

*Candoga's* wife.

One time *Droepeti* seeing a Cow pass through the Fields with five Bulls following her, she stood amaz'd at the Novelty of the thing, as she thought; this coming to the Ears of *Candoga* the Cow of Plenty, she was so offended thereat, that she told her she would make her to be thus pursu'd by five Men. The King entertain'd his Guests with a splendid Feast, but the Bridegroom having made a Vow not to enjoy his Bride till after his return home, they came no sooner to his own House-door, but being met by his Mother, he told her that he had brought something along with him: Then, reply'd the Mother, your two Brothers must each have his share: That can't be, return'd *Aerling*, for it is a Woman. That signifies nothing, answer'd the Mother, what I have once said is impossible to be recall'd. *Aerling* full of Grief told his Brothers what had happen'd, who abominating the matter, communicated the same to *Droepeti*.

*Kisna's* Finger ty'd up with a piece of Golden Stuff.

It happen'd afterwards, that *Kisna* having invited the *Panspendans* with her Mother, and *Droepeti* to dine with him at *Davarca*, as they were walking after Dinner in the Field, *Kisna* had a mind to cut some Sugar-Reeds; but cutting his Finger, all the Standers-by call'd for some Linen Rags to tie it up: But *Droepeti* immediately tearing a piece of her Golden Brocado'd Gown, she ty'd it about his Finger. *Kisna* (according to his Omniscency) knowing how many Threds there were in the piece she had torn off, viz. 999. he told her that she

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should have as many Garments of Cloth of Gold as there were Threds in it. They then took their leave, and the *Kisna* knew well that *Droepeti* was still a Virgin, yet he took notice of it.

*Saidau.*

After their return home, one *Senhem*, Brother-in-law to *Droepeti*, began to be much out of humour, alledging, that *Sussuster* was not the rightful Heir of the Throne; for, said he, tho' *Deuteræus* by reason of his Blindness might be incapable of the Government, and therefore *Pandow* was put in his stead, yet after his Decease *Sussuster* his Son could not succeed him, the right of Inheritance of the Crown belonging to the eldest of the hundred Sons of *Deuteræus*, and consequently to *Derfiende* his eldest Son. This gave occasion to pitch upon some way to restore *Derfiende* to his right; and knowing that *Sussuster* was much addicted to play at Dice, they look'd upon this as the best means to encompass their Design: *Sussuster* having been for some time a Favourite of *Kisna*, grew so ambitious as to despise him at last. *Kisna* remembering this Affront, whilst he was playing with *Derfiende*, so order'd the matter that *Sussuster* lost all his ready Money, whereby being egg'd on more and more to recover his loss, he at last threw at all, and lost his Estate and Kingdom.

*Sussuster* and *Derfiende* play for the Crown.

It had happen'd some time before, that *Derfiende* being in *Sussuster's* Palace, look'd into *Droepeti's* her Apartment, which being pav'd with Glass (a thing he never had seen before) he took it for Water, and would not venture to go in. *Droepeti* perceiving his Error, told him, *How*, *Are the Sons like the Father? Is the whole Family blind?* which put *Derfiende* into such a rage, that he swore he would revenge it with the first opportunity.

*Derfiende* remembering his Oath, whilst they were at play purpos'd to set as much Money against *Droepeti* as he would desire; which being agreed to, *Derfiende* won that Stake likewise. Things being come to this pass, he propos'd to *Sussuster* that he would lay all he had got of him at one Stake, provided he would engage, that in case he did win it, he would choose a voluntary Exile for 12 years. *Sussuster* in hopes of better fortune, consenting to the Proposition, they threw the Dice, but Fortune frowning again upon *Sussuster*, *Derfiende* remain'd in Possession of all.

By this time *Derfiende* remembering the Affront *Droepeti* put upon him in her Apartment, order'd her to be stripp'd stark naked, and to expose her to the

*Droepeti* order'd to be stripp'd.

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view



*Baldem.* view of his Servants. The distressed *Droepeti* reduc'd to this extremity, implo'r'd *Kisna's* Assistance to relieve her from the shame she was likely to undergo, putting him in mind of his Bounty after she had torn her Garments for his sake. In the mean time the Servants being employ'd in undressing *Droepeti*, they had no sooner pull'd off one of her Garments, but another succeeded in an instant; which continuing thus 999 times, they were seiz'd with such an Astonishment, that they entreated *Derfende* to desist, lest *Kisna* should give him some severe proofs of his Anger; which had such an influence upon *Derfende*, that he dismiss'd her without any further harm.

*Is deliver'd by Kisna.*

*They go into Exile.*

The time of the appointed Exile now approaching, the five Brothers with their Mother *Sendary* and *Droepeti* left their Native Country; but beginning to want Provision upon the Road, *Droepeti* paid her Devotions to the Sun to supply their Wants. The Sun commiserating their Condition, fill'd them every morning a Vessel with Victuals, sufficient to feed 1000 Men. At last coming to a certain Village call'd *Widoenougan*, they lodg'd in the House of one *Widoenougarre*, where she left her Morher, who was grown so decrepit, that she was not able to follow them.

Thence wandring through vast Deserts without meeting either with Man or Beast, they at last came to a pleasant River, where whilst they were reposing themselves, they saw a certain famous and learned *Brabman* named *Derwasa*, walking along the Bank of it at the head of 1000 *Brabmans* his Followers; who being not ignorant (by his Skill) who they were, after the usual Salute immediately address'd himself to *Sussuster*, telling him, that he and his Company had a mind to take a Dinner with him, which *Sussuster* approving (trusting to the Bounty of the Sun, and the *Brabmans* Piety) he desir'd them to come, which they promised to do as soon as they had wash'd themselves in the River.

*Droepeti* understanding what had happen'd, had recourse to the Vessel, but finding it empty, knew not what to do, but advis'd them to have recourse to *Kisna's* Bounty: Accordingly they sent forth their joint and fervent Prayers to *Kisna*, but finding no relief, and the time of the *Brabmans* coming being near at hand, they resolv'd rather than to be expos'd to such Shame and Confusion as this, to make a large Wood Fire, and therein to put a Period to their miserable Life.

They went to work immediately, and having gather'd a sufficient quantity of Wood, *Droepeti* was shewing the rest the way, and these following to tread in her footsteps.

*Kisna* then seeing their Constancy stopt them, and asking what was their Grievance? *Sussuster* reply'd, O *Kisna*! who knowest every thing, thou canst not be ignorant of what has happen'd to us to day! *Kisna* answer'd, Let me see the Vessel that was presented you by the Sun; which being produc'd, *Kisna* view'd it on all sides, and finding a Grain of Rice on the brim he eat it, and by its multiplying Power gave it such a Virtue, that it not only satisfied him, but also the *Brabman* and his 1000 Followers, who thank'd *Naccod*, the youngest Brother of *Sussuster* (who was sent to bring them to Dinner) that tho they had not the least Appetite to eat since they had been washing in the River, yet they thank'd his Brother for his good Intentions.

This unfortunate Company having thus wander'd for nine years through the Deserts, at last resolv'd to try their fortune at the Court of King *Weraart*, of the Tribe of the *Ketterijs* in the Country of *Messedes*. *Sussuster* being the first that went to King *Weraart*, being demanded who he was? he ask'd the King whether he had not heard of the five Brothers *Panspendaons*? The King replying, he had; he told the King, that he had serv'd them as their Historian, and that if the King would receive him in the same Station, he would relate to him the Adventures of that King, how he had lost his Kingdom at Dice, &c. The King pleas'd with his Proposition, order'd him to stay at Court. The second Brother encourag'd by his Success, address'd himself likewise to the King, telling him that he had serv'd *Sussuster* in the quality of a Cook, who ordering him to dress a Dish of Meat, he did it accordingly, and pleas'd the King so well, that he made him his head Cook.

The third, who was an excellent Bowman, thought fit to lay his Bow and Arrows aside; and appearing in the Presence of the King without any Weapon, told him, that he had serv'd *Sussuster* in his Prosperity in the quality of a *Brabman*, but being now forced to bear his share in the Misfortunes of his Master, he came to shelter himself under his Royal Protection. The King being taken with his Discourse, receiv'd him into his Service. The fourth, after having paid his Reverence to the King, told him,

that

that he had been Gentleman of the Horse to *Suffuster*, in which Station he was receiv'd by the King. The fifth Brother not knowing what to say in his own behalf, told the King, that he had been Shepherd to him, in which Station he was likewise receiv'd by King *Weraart*.

*Droepeti* being now alone, made likewise her Applications to the King, alledging that having serv'd in the quality of a Maid of Honour in the Court of *Suffuster*, she hoped to be receiv'd among the Ladies of the Court, which was willingly granted her. Having thus continued two years in their respective Stations, they began to revive their hopes of seeing their Native Country again, there being but one year more to the end of their Exile.

But *Dorjiende* finding the time of their Exile near expiring, sent out certain famous Wrestlers to try their Skill with them. These passing through several Countries, had vanquish'd many of the *Ragias*, and in scorn carried their Pictures ty'd to their Knees: Coming at last to King *Weraart's* Court, they challeng'd and kill'd the King's Brother-in-law, and were for doing the same to the King, who rather than hazard his Person, offer'd them his Picture to be carried in Triumph upon their Knees. But *Suffuster* being inform'd of the matter, told him, that such a piece of Cowardice being unworthy of the Name of the *Ketteris*, he advis'd him to match him with his head Cook, whom, as he said, he had often seen wrestle stoutly at the Court of *Suffuster*. The King extremely pleas'd at this Proposition, ask'd the Cook, whether he durst engage with one of these famous Wrestlers; who having answer'd, Yes, and the appointed time being come, they went to it bravely, and held it for a considerable time with equal Advantage, till at last the Cook found means to twist his Arms back, and setting his Foot against his Rump, threw him backwards, and kill'd him upon the spot.

*Dorjiende* had no sooner heard this unwelcome News, but he sent his Uncle with 200000 Horse into King *Weraart's* Country, to drive away all the Cattel; which being done accordingly, and notice thereof given to King *Weraart*, he put himself at the head of 600000 Horse, and overtaking the Enemy in a great Plain, a bloody Battel ensued, but his Forces being routed he was taken Prisoner by the Enemy.

The Prince overwhelm'd with Tears, engag'd the Cook who had so lately obtain'd the Victory, to go in pursuit of the Enemy, who coming in sight of them cry'd aloud, Halt you Robbers, release the King, or this day shall be your last; they laugh'd at this madness, till seeing him lay about him with his Weapons amongst the hindermost, they turn'd their Arms against him; but the Cook assisted by *Kisna's* Strength, slew the whole Army, except one whom he sent to *Dorjiende* to carry him the News of this Defeat.

He had no sooner receiv'd these dismal Tidings, but he told him, certainly these are the *Panpendaons*, go and put thy self at the head of 6000 chosen Horse to revenge our Quarrel: Accordingly he enter'd King *Weraart's* Territories, making great havock among Men and Beasts, without the least opposition, *Weraart* not daring to oppose his Forces (that consisted only of 200 Horse) to so powerful an Enemy. *Suffuster* vex'd at his Cowardice, told him, that if he did not think fit to hazard his Person, he should give leave to the Prince and his Governour the *Brahman*, to go along with what Forces he had in quest of the Enemy; which the King not refusing, the Prince and the *Brahman* went after the Enemy in their Chariot; and finding them in Battel array ready to receive them, the Prince was so frighten'd thereat, that the *Brahman* was forc'd to tie him in the Chariot, and cover him with a Cloth: Then the *Brahman* attack'd the Enemy with such fury, that notwithstanding the inequality of their number, he slew them all (after a bloody Engagement) upon the spot, except their General, who being made a Prisoner, the *Brahman* gave him three or four sound boxes on the Ear, telling him, that he should go to his King to carry him the good News, but have a care how he ever came there again. The *Brahman* was so humble as to bestow both all the Honour of the Victory, and the Booty upon the Prince, who willing enough to accept of the fame, made his Entry in a triumphant manner into the City.

Not long after King *Weraart* playing at Tables with one of his Nobles, made his boast of the late Victory obtain'd by his Son, which *Suffuster* not able to brook, told the King, That what he boasted of did not belong to his Son, but to the *Brahman*. The King hearing him say these words, threw the Dice with such violence into the Tables, that one of them flew into

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or give the least Provisions, he return'd in a very melancholy Posture. His Wife bid him not despair, telling him, that *Kisna* knowing their Poverty, would accept the Will for the Deed; and so ordering him to go into the Garden to gather such Herbs as were there, and allow'd them to eat (for the *Brahmans* dare not eat all sorts of Herbs or Roots, as for instance, the Beets, because they are red, and resemble Blood) which being done, she dress'd them, and having awaken'd *Kisna*, offer'd it to him upon a *Pysang* Leaf; *Kisna* ask'd them, Have you nothing else? I suppos'd you would have made some Cakes: The Woman answer'd, that their Poverty being such as not to permit them to do it; *Kisna* bid her look backwards, where seeing in a Corner a fine Basket of Fruits and Sweetmeats, she prostrated her self at his Feet.

Thus feasting together, *Kisna* ask'd them after Dinner, what they request'd of him? The *Brahman* reply'd, "No-thing, but that I may serve and love thee with a sincere Heart, that I may never cease to pray to thee, and that when my Soul and Body must be parted, my Zeal for thee may nevertheless continue with me. *Kisna* reply'd, All this shall be granted thee, and because thou hast prefer'd Piety before Riches, you shall likewise have your full share of them. He had no sooner spoken these words, but the *Brahman's* Cottage was in an instant chang'd into a magnificent Structure; and *Kisna* presented them with as much Gold as was sufficient to maintain them in great plenty all their life-time.

*Kisna* after having once more imparted his Blessing to his Host, departed, taking his way towards the Castle of *Derfiende*, it being then just three hours before Sunset, the usual time for the Kings in the Eastern Countries to give Audience to their Subjects. *Kisna* was receiv'd with a great deal of Reverence by some of the Court; but the King looking upon him with an indifferent Eye, ask'd him, When he came into the City, and why he would not pay him a Visit before the poor *Brahman*? *Kisna* reply'd, Riches are of no value to me, the meanest Cottage of a Believer I prefer before the most sumptuous Palace of a King: And why then, said the King, would you come to Court? I did come, reply'd *Kisna*, in the Name of the *Panspendaons*, to demand thy Kingdom, their 12 years Exile being now expir'd. The King answer'd, I know them

not, neither will I deliver the Kingdom. *Kisna* told him, that if he would not, he should at least allot a Village for their Maintenance: I will not give them the breadth of a foot, answer'd *Derfiende*; then prepare your self, said *Kisna*, you must fight for it.

The *Panspendaons* hearing this Answer, prepar'd for a vigorous War; and having engag'd King *Weraart*, and the potent *Ragia Droepet* (*Droepet's* Father) in their Quarrel, with four other Kings, they attack'd *Derfiende*, who having drawn up his Horse in a great Plain, a fierce Battle ensu'd, which lasted 18 days, *Kisna* fighting in a Chariot drawn by Oxen.

In *Derfiende* his Army was a famous Warrior named *Caran*, who having (by his constant Prayers) obtain'd a prodigious Strength from *Kisna*, did perform Wonders in his Chariot: *Kisna* espying him at some distance, order'd *Erfsiende* (who sat with him in the same Chariot) to break the Wheel of *Caran's* Chariot, which being done accordingly by a strong Arrow, *Caran* came down out of his Chariot, but whilst he was busy in mending the Wheel, was by the same *Erfsiende* shot with an Arrow into the Breast: He drawing the Arrow out of the Wound, cry'd out to *Kisna*, And is this the Reward thou givest me for so many Offerings? *Kisna* answer'd, Have Patience; my Will is to deliver thee out of this troublesome World, and to allow thee a place in Heaven, whither I am going to meet all the Believers (my time upon Earth being almost expir'd) after I have purged the World of the wicked. *Caran* was no sooner slain, but the Victory declar'd against *Derfiende*, whose Forces were all slain upon the spot (as were King *Weraart*, and King *Droepet* on the other side) and among them *Derfiende* himself, with his 99 Brothers. Thus the *Panspendaons* being restor'd to the Kingdom, they pay'd their constant Devotions to *Kisna*, who from thence return'd to *Davareda*.

All this while *Droepeti* had liv'd without the knowledge of any Man; but Peace and Quietness being now restor'd in the Kingdom, the five Brothers were concerting all possible means how to enjoy *Droepeti*, without Incest. At last a certain *Brahman* named *Wissumna*, propos'd the following Expedient. The Year, said he, has 360 days, which divided into five equal parts, each amounts to two Months and 12 days: And it being your Mother's Will that the five Brothers should have an equal share in

*Baldews.*

*A Battel fought 18 days.*

*The Giant Caran kill'd.*

*Kisna goes to the Court of Derfiende.*

*Kisna sits a poor Brahman.*

*Sublime is his knowledge.*

*Is heard of him.*

*Derfiende refers to relieve the Kingdom.*

*He tells him and Riches.*

*Baldern.* *Droepeti*, *Suffijster* must cohabit with her the first two Months and 12 days; and the other four Brothers successively each his two Months and 12 days: But to wipe off the stain of Incest, *Droepeti* must after the Expiration of each respective term of two Months and 12 days purify her self three times by the Fire; whence it is evident, that the Pagans ascribed to the Fire a purifying Quality; from whom the *Jews* questionleis took that Doctrine, and the *Roman* Catholics their Purgatory. This being approv'd of by the joint Consent of the five Brothers, it was further agreed, That he who should transgress his limited time, should be banish'd for 12 years. But *Suffijster* willing to appease the Gods by Sacrifices, in consideration of the great Effusion of Blood occasion'd by his Restauration, consulted the *Goegys* (a certain Order of the *Brabmans*) who advis'd him to institute a solemn Feast, offer Sacrifices, be liberal to the Poor, and to maintain a certain number of learned *Brabmans*, to read and explain their holy Writings. *Suffijster* obey'd, and perform'd every thing with all imaginable exactness, ordering a Hole to be dig'd, which he fill'd with Sugar, Butter, Sandelwood, Milk, Rice and Betel, and offer'd Roses, Flowers, Spices, and other rich Incense.

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This done, he invited *Kisna* to a sumptuous Feast ; and asking him, what Acknowledgment he was able to pay him for the many Favours he had receiv'd at his hands, *Kisna* answer'd, Take a white Horse with black Ears and a yellow Tail, and fasten a Paper on his Head with the following Lines written in Golden Characters : " Whoever meets me and " lets me pass unmolested, shall worship " me and *Kisna*, who will reward their " Piety ; but whoever stops me, let him " prepare to fight. He further told him, that he should give him his Brother *Eysende* for his Companion, his intention being to purge the World of the wicked, during that short time he had to stay as yet upon Earth. The King obey'd, and having presented his Brother with a Chariot, and put him at the head of a good Body of Horse, he took his leave of *Kisna*, who went his way, the Horse leading the Van without a Guide.

This Horse pass'd through many Kingdoms, where every one that did read the Inscription, pay'd Reverence to *Kisna*: But coming into the Territories of *Sin*, who having receiv'd several signal Deliverances from *Kisna*, seiz'd upon the

Hiorfe, by that means to engage *Kijina* to come to his Court: Accordingly *Kijina* (who knew his Intention) visited him in his Court, where being revered and presented by the King, he gave him his Blessing, and so set forward again to the King of *Sudannewa*.

This King flopping the Horse wou-  
shipp'd *Kisna*, alleging, that he did not  
do it to engage with *Kisna*, but to try his  
Strength against *Erfjende*: *Kisna* accep-  
ting his Excuse, *Erfjende* drew his Bow  
and shot an Arrow into his Breast. The  
King lifting up his Eyes unto Heaven,  
and tearing the Arrow out of his Wound,  
cry'd, O *Kisna*! dost thou thus reward  
thy Adorers! My Soul must now trans-  
migrate into another Body. No, an-  
swer'd *Kisna*, thy Soul shall ascend to  
Heaven in an instant, and enjoy eternal  
Bliss.

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Hence he travell'd to the impious King *Amfalauf*, who stopping the Host, and bringing his Forces to fight against him, were all slain upon the spot. Next coming to King *Salkauf*, he follow'd the footsteps of *Amfalauf*, and had the same Fate. Afterwards they came to *Mottaw*, the Residence of the famous Giant *Ragat Jerasfingh*, who had been formerly defeated no less than 18 times by *Kisno*. This Giant having fortified *Mottaw* with high and strong Walls, drew out his Forces into the Field, himself being cover'd with a Cuirsas, or Armour, that was both Sword and Shot-proof. Both Armies engag'd one another with such fury, that the like had never been seen before, with such various Success, that it remain'd dubious who was likely to be the Vanquisher, the Night putting an end to the Battel for that time.

Come to  
and see  
how

*Kifna* being sensible that it would be a hard task to kill this Giant as long as he made use of this Armour, got with *Erfende* over the City Walls, having transform'd both himself and *Erfende* into the shape of two old and tall *Brabmans*. In this posture they seated themselves near the *Pagode*, where the Giant us'd to wash himself, who coming thither ask'd them, *What is it you two devout Men desire? ask and you shall have it, be it what it will.* *Kifna* reply'd That, *Kings* were apt to perform much more than they intended to promise. The Giant answer'd, that was never his Custom, desiring them to ask what they pleas'd, it should be granted: The dispos'd *Kifna* then ask'd the King to give him his Hand as a token of his Sincerity, which the King having done accordingly, *All that we ask of thee, said*

He leapt  
over the  
Wall of  
Motters.

*The Giant  
Jerafingh  
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he, is, that whenever thou engagest again against Kishna, thou shalt not put on thy shot-free Armour. The King (tho suspecting the matter) answer'd, Well, since I have given my word it shall be done, provided that he who engages in a single Combat with me shall bring no Bow and Arrow; but if he will fight with a *Gors*\*, or try his Skill with me in wrestling, I am ready to answer him.

\* A kind of Indian Weapon.

Kishna and *Ersiende* disappear'd without answering one word, and *Ersiende*'s Skill lying chiefly in his Bow, he engag'd *Ersiende*'s Brother (a famous Wrestler) in his stead. The Combat was so equal, that the night parting them they refer'd the whole Decision of the Quarrel till next day; being both equally tir'd with wrestling, they fought with the *Gors* the next day; they engag'd most furiously all the day, giving one another most terrible Blows, but with equal advantage, so that night approaching, they were forced to defer the final Decision till the third day: Then it was that the Giant exerting all his Force, gave such frequent and terrible Blows to *Rhijm Ersiende*'s Brother, that being ready to faint, he was knock'd down several times: But imploring Kishna's Assistance, he was endow'd with new Vigor, so that recovering his Strength, he attack'd the Giant *Jerasingh* afresh, and at last laying hold on his Legs, tore him asunder, with his Entrails hanging down upon the ground. Kishna's Forces seeing this Spectacle, attack'd his Army, and slew them all upon the spot.

The Giant *Jerasingh* kill'd.

Kishna in his return being met by *Sussister*, was entertain'd by him in a Garden without the City, *Ersiende* at the same time presenting him with a Garland of Flowers. Kishna being highly satisfied with him, said, *Desire what you think fit*. But *Ersiende* excusing himself, Kishna told him, *That his time upon Earth being near expir'd, he intended to grant him whatever request he could make*. Then, reply'd *Ersiende*, bestow one of your Wives upon me. Kishna answer'd, Take my Chariot and go to *Davarca*, visit all the Chambers of my *Seraglio*, and which of the Ladies thou findest without me, take her for thy own. *Ersiende* went instantly to the *Seraglio* at *Davarca*, and entering the first Chamber found Kishna talking with the Lady; then going to the second, he found him there likewise; and so in the third, fourth, and all the rest: Being struck with Amazement, he return'd to the Garden where he had left Kishna, and prostrating himself, said, O Kishna, thou best the true

God, and present every where, pardon my Errors! Kishna giving him his Blessing, told him, he should persevere in his Prayers, and so return'd to *Davarca*.

*Baldew.*

Kishna afterwards seeing the Cowherds multiply to 56 Karool (each Karool making 100 Lak, each whereof is 100000) or 56000000 living Souls, and that they had encreas'd as well in Iniquity as well as in Number, he was highly incens'd against them, declaring that he would root them out, not by his or other Mens hands, but their own.

*Vast Increase of the Cowherds.*

It happen'd that a great number of them being invited to a Feast where Kishna was also present, they were so full of wantonness, as to stamp upon the precious Flowers call'd *Mossou* and *Cassomba* (affording a most delicious Tincture for dying) with their Feet. Not contented thus, it being a Moonshiny Night, they contriv'd to ridicule the famous Prophet *Ruchi*, whom they saw sitting very thoughtfully under a Tree. For this purpose they put a Basket under a certain Man's Clothes, dress'd like a Woman, and carrying her to *Ruchi*, ask'd him, whether this Woman was to bring forth a Male or Female Child? He not minding them the first time, they pull'd him by the Arm, and ask'd him the same Question in a very rude manner a second time; when being as it were awaken'd out of his Pensiveness, he told them, he should bring forth an Iron Bar which should break all their Skulls. He had no sooner said these words, but the disguis'd Man was seiz'd with most intolerable Pains, which did not cease till he had brought forth an Iron Bar. Being amaz'd at so odd an Accident, they had recourse to Kishna, who order'd them to go to the Village of *Perwatpatang*, seated upon the River, where they should find a Stone, wherewith they must rub the Iron Bar till it was reduc'd to Powder, and then throw it into the River. They did as they were order'd, but no sooner had they thrown the Powder of the Iron into the Water, but the whole River was fill'd with Reeds or small Canes, as if it had been a Forest: They gave an account of it to Kishna, who told them it was well.

It happen'd upon another Festival, that the young Tribe being merry together, one of the Company took up one of these Reeds from the ground, and striking another over the Head in jest, he saw him drop down dead before his Feet: The Friends of the deceased taking up another such Reed, struck the other young Fellow over the Head, who

Baldens

wife falling down dead, his Friends did the same to them, and so one to another, till they were all kill'd, according to the Prediction of *Ruchi the Brahman*.

*Kisna* having now fulfill'd his Office in rooting out Wickedness among Man, sent for the *Paspendaons* and *Droepers*, and their Mother to *Davarca*, where he told them, that having selected them as well as his Wives from the rest, he would have them go to the Mount *Hemaansfel Perwet*, whence they should be taken up into Heaven. Accordingly they went with *Kisna's* 16000 Wives to the said Mount, the Peak whereof nobody could reach but *Sussijster*; however they were all together drawn up insensibly through the Air into Heaven.

*Kisna* knowing that his time was come to leave the Earth, he took a handful of Dust, and throwing it over the City, their Golden Streets and Houses were in an instant transmuted into Straw, Dirt, Wood and Stones; which done, he ascended strait to Heaven. The Pagans are unanimously of opinion, that in case the whole Sea was fill'd with Ink, and the Earth made of Paper, and all the Inhabitants of the Terrestrial Globe were only employ'd in writing, they would not be sufficient to give an exact account of all the Miracles wrought by *Kisna* in 100 years time, in the third Period of the World call'd *Duaperfinge*, containing 864000 Years.

*Kisna ascends to Heaven.*

The same is said of Christ, John. 21. 25.

## C H A P. XI.

*The ninth Appearance of Vishnum in the shape of Boudha or Bodhe. His tenth Transformation into a flying Horse, call'd Kallenkyn. The Origin and Actions of Bramma.*

The ninth Appearance.

THE *Benjans* tell us of *Bodhe*, that he has neither Father nor Mother, that he is invisible, but whenever he appears it is with four Arms: He spends his whole time in praying with a dejected Countenance to the Great God (call'd *Mahadeum* by the *Benjans*) and that after having continued 26430 years without performing any Miracles, his time is expir'd upon Earth, being the time we now live in, according to the Computation of the Pagans. For pursuant to the Computation of the *Benjans* at *Swatte*, there were in the year of Christ 1649, pass'd 4750 years, and consequently 21680 years to come.

What is said of this Idol concerning his being born without Father and Mother, and his Invisibility, seems to have some relation to what they may perhaps have heard of Christ, as his four Arms intimate his Power, a thing frequently attributed to the Pagan Gods; just as the ancient Poets made their Giants with a hundred Hands. The Jesuit *Kircher* attributes likewise four Heads (but erroneously) to this *Bodhe* (call'd *Bhavani* by others) and says, that by his four Arms they would represent the four Elements. What the said Jesuit relates of *Ramzander* the Son of *Bal*, who came from Heaven to deliver his People from the Oppression of the Giants and Tyrants, seems to be a Confirmation of

what we said before concerning some obscure Remnants of Knowledge among these Pagans of Christ.

The *Benjans* tell us, that *Kallenkyn* is a white wing'd Horse, standing upon three feet only in Heaven, holding one of the foremost Legs up without intermission. They say, that at the beginning of this Transformation the *Benjans* shall live piously and happily, but by degrees turn to all manner of Impiety and Wickedness for 40570 years: Then, say they, this Horse is to trample upon the Earth with his right fore Leg with such a force, that the Serpent *Signagie* being no longer able to bear the World, the *Tortoise* finding the whole Burden laid on her Back, will run to the Sea and drown the World, which is to be the Conclusion of the last Period of the World; after which the first is to begin again: For it is observable, that all the Eastern Pagans believe the Eternity of the World, allowing only some Changes from one time to another.

The Whiteness of this Horse intimates the Cleanness, its Wings the Activity and Agility, and the Horse it self the Strength of the God *Vishnum*; it being certain, that tho most of the Indian Pagans, and especially the *Malabars*, are black themselves, yet they have a peculiar esteem for the white Colour, as may be seen in the White Cow of Plenty, call'd

*Camdo-*

The tenth Transformation.



The Idol Bodhe.



*Camdaga*, and the famous White Elephant of the King of *Siam*, mention'd in the first Book. Thus *Virgil* describes *Turnus* his Horse to be white \*; and of the Strength, Activity and Excellency of a Horse there are many Passages to be found both in sacred and profane History. The Wings attributed to this Horse seem to be done in imitation of the

Vol III.

*Pegasus* of the antient Pagans, which was plac'd by them likewise among the Stars. What they say of the World's being cast into the Sea by the Tortoise, appears to have some relation to *Noah's Flood*: And it is observable, that according to the Doctrine of the *Malabars*, before the last Metamorphosis of things, there shall be such disorders in the World, that

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Kifina as-  
cends to  
Heaven.

The same  
is said of  
Christ,  
John 21. 25.

The tenth  
Transfor-  
mation.

Baleus.

The Idol of the Winged Horle.



the whole Race of Families and Tribes shall be confounded. They say there shall but two pious Kings be remaining upon Earth at that time, viz. the Kings of *Vappi*, and of *Asari*.

Thus much of the God *Ixora* and *Vistnum*; we must also say something of the third, viz. *Kramma*, who owes his Origin to *Quwclunga*. *Rogervius* deduces

his Origin from a Flower-pot, but the Commentator upon *Rogervius* had sufficiently shewn that *Tamara* is quite another thing. Tho this Opinion seems to agree in some respect with what Father *Kircher* says in the 9th Transformation of *Vistnum*, viz. that he was transform'd into *Lotum*, being a certain Product of the Sea, and the opinion of the Egyptians, of

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*The Creation of the World.*

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*The Origin of the World.*

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*Thales* and the *Stoicks*, who acknowledg'd the Water either the Principal or the Nourisher of every thing.

The Creation of the World.

The chief things attributed to *Bramma* by these Pagans are, that he has not only created the World, but also determines the Duration and Times of all created Matters: And as they also acknowledge him the Son of God, and the Supreme Governor of Angels, nay even ascribe to him a human Nature; so it is evident, that these Attributes must have their Origin from what they have heard (tho perhaps confusedly) of *Jesus Christ* the Son of God.

They represent it with four Heads, but say he lost one by *Ixora's* means to punish his Pride. Hence it is that the *Brahmans* now adays have no more than three Books of the *Vedam*, the fourth which treated of God being lost.

For the first of these Books treated of God, and of the Origin and Beginning of the Universe. The second, of those who have the Government and Management thereof. The third, of Morality and true Virtue. The fourth of the Ceremonials in their Temples, and Sacrifices. These four Books of the *Vedam* are by them call'd *Roggo Vedam*, *Jadura Vedam*, *Sama Vedam*, and *Tarawana Vedam*; and by the *Malabars*, *Icca*, *Iciyxa*, *Saman*, and *Adaravan*. The loss of this first Part is highly lamented by the *Brahmans*. They also attribute to him the Preservation of all created things; whence the modern *Brahmans* ascribe all the good or bad Fortune which befalls Mortals here upon Earth to the Direction of *Bramma*, who they say has also prefix'd every living Creature his time of Life and Drath.

They further say, that not only the several Worlds, but also the different Families and Tribes have their Origin from

The Origin of the 14 Worlds.

*Bramma*. The *Super-aereal* World they say came out of his Brains or Face; for these Pagans acknowledge certain *Celestial Orbs*, with *Aristotle*. The second World they say did come out of his Eyes; the third out of his Mouth, the fourth out of his left Ear, the fifth out of his Tongue and Gums; the sixth out of his Heart, the 7th out of his Belly, the 8th out of his Privy Parts, the 9th out of his left Thigh, the 10th out of his Knees, the 11th out of his Heels, the 12th out of the Toes of his right Foot, the 13th out of the Ball of his left Foot, and the 14th out of the Air that surrounded him.

The *Brahmans* say they are the Product of his Brains, and the *Nairos* or Soldiers, of his Feet; as the *Exastri* (a

sort of Kings) are out of his Arm, *Baldæus* which is the reason that they never make the same low Bows before their Kings as

their other Subjects, but have the Privilege of sitting down in their Preference. Unto these 14 Worlds as many divers sorts of People attribute their Origin: 1. Such as are endow'd with Wisdom. 2. Those that are provident in their Actions. 3. Those that are eloquent. 4. Such as are cunning and designing. 5. Drunkards and Gluttons. 6. The Generous and Brave. 7. The Idle and Lazy. 8. Whore-masters and voluptuous Persons. 9. Labourers, Artisans, and Handicrafts Men. 10. Peasants and Gardiners. 11. The *Parreas*, and other sorts of nasty People, who they say came out of the Heels of *Bramma*. 12. Thieves, Murderers and Robbers. 13. Those that oppress the Poor. 14. Those endow'd with peculiar Qualities, and an active Spirit. They further say, that they can judge by the Physiognomy of a Person, what part of *Bramma* he was come from. Of the Worlds and the seven Seas we shall say more presently.

The *Malabars* say, *Bramma* has two Wives, *Sarossody* and *Quiatry*, who are both barren. The first being his own Daughter, has given occasion to a Proverb among the *Malabars*, You must not do like *Bramma*. The Equipage, or rather Carriage of *Bramma* is a certain Bird, call'd *Annam* by the *Malabars*; for these Pagans attribute to every one of their Gods a certain Horse or Carriage call'd *Wabanam*, which carries them from place to place. They further say, that this Bird *Annam*, if Milk mix'd with Water be set before him, he will drink the Milk without touching the Water, an Emblem of such as know how to distinguish Good from Evil.

They relate many other fabulous things, as for instance, That *Bramma* after a Period of many Ages, is to die and be reviv'd; that he has certain Deputies or Assistants, the chief of whom is *Dewendra*, the Head of all the Governors of the seven Worlds which are beyond our World, met below the Heavens, or *Bramma's* Residence: In these Worlds (say they) the Believers live after their Death. They allow that some things of lesser moment, such as Herbs, Cucumbers, &c. have been created by others, but that all things of moment owe their Origin to *Bramma*, who lost one of his four Heads, because he had told a Lie to *Ixora*, and several such Absurdities more.





## CHAP. XII.

*Of the Creation, Quality and Division of the World, according to the Opinion of the Learned Heathens.*

7 Sols.

THE Benjans and Malabars constitute God the Creator of the Universe, for they frequently give God the Title of *Creator of Heaven and Earth*. We told you in the preceding Chapter, that they attribute the Creation of the World to *Bramma*; whereunto we will now add, that they say, the Power of creating the World was communicated to him by *Vishnum*. They believe with *Epicurus* and *Mesrodorus*, more than one World, of which before; besides which they make seven great Seas. 1. The *Water-Sea*. 2. The *Milk-Sea*. 3. The *Cream-Sea*. 4. The *Butter-Sea*. 5. The *Salt-Sea*. 6. The *Sugar-Sea*. 7. The *Wine-Sea*. The *Paradise* they place in the *Water-Sea*; the *Priests* and *Jogyes* belong to the *Milk-Sea*; the *Voluptuous* in the *Cream-Sea*; the *Fortunate* and *Blessed* in the *Butter-Sea*; the *Merciful* in the *Salt-Sea*; those who are *Liberal* in giving *Alms* in the *Sugar-Sea*, and those that live in great *Plenty* in the *Wine-Sea*.

Notwithstanding this general Opinion, the *Brahmans* maintain, that the World was produc'd from an Egg; of which opinion it seems were also the antient *Egyptians*, the *Thebeans*, *Orpheus*, *Plato*, and the *Persians*.

The *Malabars* look for the Origin of all things in the *Privy Member* of their God, which being too large, he could not enjoy his Wife *Chatti*, wherefore he was forced to cut it into 18 pieces, which turn'd into divers sorts of Arms; but the Blood which issued thence produc'd the Sun, Moon, and Stars; and some few drops falling upon the ground, the *Roses*, and other sorts of Flowers: But all living Creatures, both rational and irrational, were brought forth by *Ixora's* cohabiting with *Chatti*.

The *Brahmans* further are infected with a ridiculous Opinion, that the World is not round but flat; and that consequently the Terrestrial Globe is not enclos'd in, or surrounded by the Air, but limit its Extent by the Horizon that is obvious to our sight; for they maintain, that the Heavens are the uppermost half, and

the Earth the lowermost of the Egg-shell; whence it is that they consider the Heavens as immovable, and the Motion of the Sun, Moon and Stars (unto whom they attribute peculiar Souls) to be like the Fishes at Sea in the day from East to West, and in the night from the West (not below but along the edge of the Horizon) to the North, and so again to the East. If you object, that according to their Supposition, the Sun must never cease to shine: They answer, that to the North there is a vast ridge of Mountains call'd *Mabameru* or *Mercouma*, behind which the Sun, Moon and Stars withdraw from our sight. They add, that the World rests upon an Ox, who when he has a mind to ease himself, he throws the World from one of his Horns to the other, which occasions what we call Earthquakes.

They are also grossly mistaken in the Computation of the Extent of the Earth, which the *Brahmans* say, is from North to South 100000 *Joxenas*; whereas it is beyond all doubt, that the whole Circumference of the Globe amounts to no more than 5400 *Germ*. Miles, reckoning 15 of these Miles to a Degree, of which there are 360. They also constitute no less than five Elements, adding the Heavens to the rest; in which point they follow the footsteps of *Aristotle*, who calls the Heavens the first Element. These five Elements both the *Brahmans* and *Benjans* reverence like Gods, because, say they, they enter into the Composition of every thing upon Earth; whence they allot every one of them his peculiar *Wahanam*, or Horse. They have also invented no less than seven *Padallas*, as they call them, or subterranean places (not unlike the Purgatory and *Limbus Patrum* of our Modern *Roman Catholics*) which inferior Worlds are known among them by these following Names, *Adela*, *Bidela*, *Sudela*, *Taladelam*, *Sadelam*, *Mabadelam* and *Padelam*; and are inhabited by Men who receive no other Light but what certain Serpents carrying very bright Stones on their Heads afford them.

*Ridiculous Opinion of the Brahman concerning the Figure of the World.*

*The Pythagorean Transmigration of the Souls.*

*As also concerning its Magnitude.*

*The Building of their Pagodes.*



## C H A P. XIII.

*The Opinion of these Pagans concerning the Soul, and its Transmigration. The Form, Structure, Splendour and Revenues of their Pagodes or Temples. Of the Ceremony of washing of these Pagans.*

*The Pythagorean Transmigration of the Souls.*

THE modern *Brahmans*, in imitation of the ancient *Egyptians*, *Thracians*, *Druids* and *Germans*, believe, that the Souls were not such from Eternity, but created by God, and kept as part of his Essence, till after the Creation of the Earth, they were infus'd either into Men or Beasts. Concerning the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls (so generally receiv'd among the modern Pagans) we have had occasion to speak before in the Description of *Ceylon*; we will only add in this Place, that the *Malabars* say on this Head, They are of opinion, that this Transmigration of the Souls from one Body into another is inflicted by God as a Punishment for our Sins, which continues till they are either conveyed into Heaven or Hell; they say, there is a certain Judge, nam'd *Chitra Putta*, who judges of the Actions of Mankind when they lie upon their Deathbed, and determines according to their past Actions, whether the Soul of the deceas'd shall transmigrate into a Dog, Cat, Crow, Cow, King, Brahman, Serpent, &c. So that in case a Person in his Life-time has done a notorious Injustice to another, his Soul shall be transplanted into the Body of a Slave of the offended Party. The Reason why they abstain with so much Strictness from all sorts of Meat, is no other, than that they are afraid, as *Tertullian* expresses it, that in feeding upon a piece of Beef, they may eat a piece of their Father or Grandfather.

*The Building of their Pagodes.*

These Pagans have their *Pagodes* or Temples erected to the Honour of their Idols; in the choice of the Places, and manner of the Building, they follow rather their Instinct or pretended Inspiration, than any general Rule or Method. These *Pagodes* are on the Coast of *Malabar* most commonly built of Marble, and on the Coast of *Coromandel* of very large square Stone; such is the most celebrated *Pagode* at *Rammanakojel*, a vast Structure, and endow'd with vast Revenues, by the great conflux of Pilgrims that continually resort thither, of which I have been an eye-witness myself.

The *Pagodes* of the *Malabars* are generally cover'd with Copper, adorn'd

with Balls gilt on the top; within and without stand their Idols with many Heads and Arms, surrounded on all sides with Serpents. The *Pagode* is enclosed by a Brick-wall, for the Reception of the People, who don't enter the *Pagode*, but perform their Worship in the Court, as the *Jews* did in the Hall of *Solomon*. Hence it is that the Gates are well guarded, being commonly either of Marble or covered with Brass, with the Figures of Elephants, Tygres, Bears and Lyons upon them; and on the Frontispiece many dreadful Heads of Lions with Hogs Tusks, representing the Idol *Patagali*, *Ixora's* Daughter.

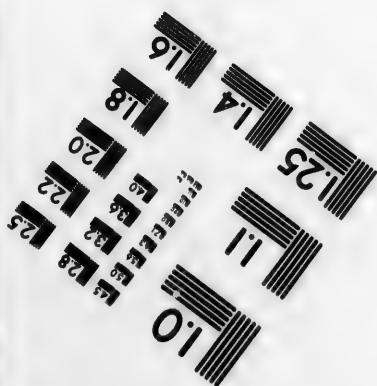
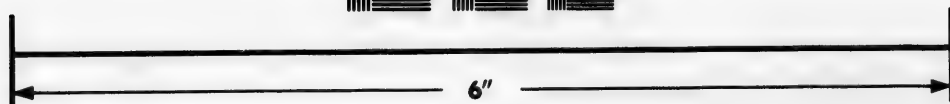
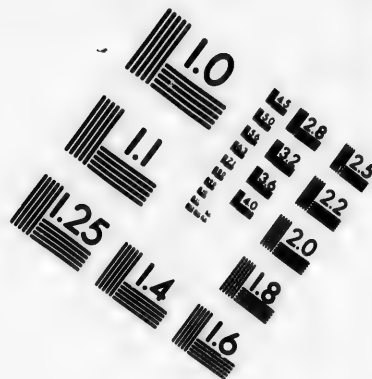
These *Pagodes* are not only maintain'd by the Presents that are constantly made, but have also a constant Revenue from the Customs of all Commodities bought or sold, an exact account whereof may be seen in *Rogerijs*, l. 2. c. 10. These Pagans have also a great Reverence for their *Pagodes*; whence it is that they will not enter a *Pagode* with their *Seripous* or Slippers: and they always have their Cisterns at the Entrance of the *Pagodes* to cleanse themselves before they enter; just as the same is practis'd among the modern *Mahometans* in their *Mosques*, and as the *Jews* had the *Brass Sea* belonging to the Temple for the *Levites* to wash themselves in. *Linscoten* mentions, that the *Pagan* Priests in *Calecut* besprinkle those that are entering the *Pagode* with Holy Water, like our *Roman Catholics*. The Pagans in *Coromandel* have abundance of small *Pagodes* on these Places, where they burn their dead, whereof I took particular notice at *Negapatan*; and in *Bantam* the richer sort maintain frequently small Chappels for their private use. Of the *Pagodes* in *Pegu*, see *Casp. Balbi*; of those of *Japan*, *Caron* and *Ameyda*; and of those of *China* *Ferdinand Pimbo*.

Their Custom of washing themselves daily, seems not only to be introduced for the cleansing and cooling of their Bodies, but chiefly for the purifying of 'em from their Sins; for as these Pagans make a Distinction betwixt *venial* and *mortal* Sins, they regulate their washing accordingly. The first they are clean-

*Their Revenues.*

*Reverence for their Pagodes.*

*Their Washing.*



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Baldens.

sed of by dipping the Head under Water, whereas to purify themselves of the others (*viz.* such as include the Loss of Life or Family, and fall under the Cognizance of the Civil Magistrates) they dive the whole Body under Water: Their Constitutions (being to them the same as our ten Commandments) are:

1. That those of an inferior Rank must not touch those of a superior Quality, and the greater the Difference the more is the Distance; whence the inferior People cry out in the Streets *Tintelas*, i. e. *don't make your self unclean*, and those of superior Rank *Popo, Give way*; for if any of the common sort happen to touch a Person of a high Rank, he becomes unclean, and must wash himself with Water.

2. Those that touch a dead Carcase, nay even any of the deceased Kindred, within fifteen days after, become unclean.

3. Those that touch a Woman in Childbed, or the Child;

4. Or a Woman that has her Monthly Times, till the fourth day.

5. All such as are become unclean, if they touch another he becomes so likewise.

6. If one that is unclean eats Rice before he has cleansed himself, he loses the Advantage of his Family, and commits a mortal Sin.

7. Persons of Quality commit a mortal Sin, if they eat Rice boil'd by one of an inferior Rank.

8. The same it is, if he lies with a Woman of a low extraction.

9. The *Brahmans*, tho all of the same Tribe, yet are not permitted to eat with one another; thus if any one touches with his Right Hand (wherewith he eats) his Neighbour, it is a venial Sin, because that Hand is unclean by touching the Rice; the same it is, if the Figleaf (which they use instead of a Twine thred) touches his that sits next to him: but if but one single Grain of Rice should happen to fall upon the Figleaf of the others, he must not eat it, without committing a mortal Sin.

10. Immediately after Dinner or Supper, they take away the Figleaves, and the least Grain of Rice that perhaps may be fallen upon the Ground, which is laid up together in a certain place, because all the Remnants are unclean. The Place where they have eaten, they purify with Cows Dung; and if the least Grain of Rice should be left behind, he that touches it, becomes unclean immediate-

Cowdung  
used for purifying.

ly on that part of his Body which touch'd it, which must be purify'd by Water. Thus if any body puts his Finger into the Mouth, nay if two Persons of a different Rank meet at a Cistern, if but one Drop of Water that has touch'd the Body of him that is of an inferior Degree, happens to fall upon him of a superior Rank, he becomes unclean, and is guilty of a venial Sin.

Their Ceremonies observ'd in washing are: First of all they fancy, that the Stone on the edge of the Cistern is *Bramma*, the Place where they wash is *Vishnum*, and the Cistern it self *Isora*. They enter the Cistern quite naked (their Privities being cover'd only with a Leaf) and write with their Fingers the Syllable *om* in the Water, and then with three Fingers cast up a little Water into the Air, intimating, that *Isora, Vishnum* and *Bramma* have bath'd themselves there; at the same time pronouncing these Words, *Tottum quencia bitten pava*, i. e. *By the touching of this Water I have cast away my Sin*. Then parting the Water with both their Hands, they dip their Hands in it, and thereby believe themselves cleansed from all their Sins committed by touching. Afterwards they cast some Water with both Hands towards the 8 parts of the World, as a Sacrifice to the eight Guardians thereof, say the *Siri Pagode*, wash their Faces three times successively, saying, *Purify me*; this done, they throw likewise some Water towards Heaven, as a Sacrifice to the Sun; and having wash'd their Hands and Feet, take a small Quantity of the Ashes of Cowdung in the left Hand, which being mix'd with a little Water, they say *Sudamaga*, i. e. *be clean*. Furthermore, as they suppose the Left Hand to be the Earth, and the Right the Heavens, and the inside of the Hand the Place of Propagation; they lay the Right Hand close upon the Left, saying, *Let this be the end of the World*; and as they believe that at the end of the World, *Ixoretta* is to be transformed into an Egg, they imagine that the Concavity betwixt their two Hands represents the said Egg, whence (after having paused a while) they take away the Right Hand, saying, *Heaven and Earth are separated*; and then write with the Forefinger of the Right Hand in the Ashes contain'd in the Left, the two Syllables *ja ra*, intimating the Contest betwixt the Fire and Air in the Egg, in carrying the Heavens to the top, and the Earth underneath. This done, they lay their Hands below the

Navel,

Why the  
Ashes of  
Cowdung is  
sacred with  
em.



Navel, on the upper orifice of the Stomach, upon the Breast, Front, Head, and Crown of the Head, and afterwards upon the inferior Parts of the Body; they likewise touch the Eyes, Ears, Feet and Heels with their Fingers, extending now and then their Hands, as if they were going to give something: they likewise shew their empty Hands to the eight *Guardians of the World*; and afterwards besmearing themselves with Ashes with three Fingers of the Right Hand (in honour of *Bramma*, *Vishnum* and *Ixora*) on the Breast, Front and Shoulders, they then reckon themselves clear and purified

of all their Sins. If you ask them, what makes them use all these Ceremonies, they give for answer, That they have two different Laws, viz. the *Carma* and *Nhana*, one whereof contains Instructions for the inward Service of God, the other for the exterior or Ceremonial part. They add, that *Parexi Rama*, when he made the Sea recede from the Coast of *Malabar*, did recommend in a most peculiar manner the observance of the *Carma* to the *Malabars*, whence *Malabar* to this day retains the Name of *Carma pumi*, i. e. the Country of *Carma*.

*Baldæus.*

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Of the Holy Ashes used in anointing themselves, and of their Festivals.*

THE Ashes of Cowdung are a thing in such request among the *Indian-Pagans*, that they with it besmear every Morning, their Front, Breast and Shoulders; every King maintains in his Court a certain Person, who every day early in the Morning exposes a good quantity of these Ashes upon a Fig-leaf in the Market-place, when every one that pleases comes and takes some part thereof for his use; of these Ashes they also offer daily Sacrifices to their Gods. The *Jogyes* attend constantly near the *Pagodes*, with a whole Bag full of these Ashes, which they distribute to the People, who in return give them some Alms. They always appear besmear'd with these Ashes, in which consists a great part of their Holiness, their God *Ixora* being also besmear'd with these Ashes; the reason whereof, as they relate it, is this.

We told you before, that *Ixora* or *Quiven*, having undertaken to keep *Quivenga*, the Ashes which settled within the Shell, render'd *Ixora* immortal. *Vishnum* being desirous to enjoy the same Prerogative, seiz'd upon a Cow, and carrying her to *Calaja*, *Ixora's* Residence, he snatch'd away some of these Ashes; which *Ixora* perceiving, he struck out several of her Teeth by a Blow he gave her, which falling upon the Earth, produc'd a kind of large Water Melons, call'd *Abobacus* by the *Portugueses*. However *Vishnum* keeping close behind his Cow, he gather'd the next Dung, and burnt it to Ashes; whence it is that to this day these Pagans have so great a Veneration for the Cowdung, that they believe

it purifies every thing upon Earth. The said Cow brought forth a Bull calf, unto which *Ixora* gave the Name of *Irixipaten*, and used him instead of a Horse. The *Malabar Women*, tho otherwise pretty cleanly, yet are so intoxicated to this Superstition, that they cleanse their Chambers and their Cisterns with Cowdung.

The *Samoryn* or King of *Calecut* washes himself every day before Dinner; and when he goes to the *Pagode*, the way from the Cistern to the *Pagode* is cover'd with Cowdung, upon which they strow Roses and other Flowers; besides that two Women each with a Pot of Cowdung mix'd with Water, walk just before him; and the Place where he dines is afterwards constantly cleansed with Cowdung. They relate farther of the Cow, that *Quenevady* and *Superbennia* did sit betwixt her Horns, the Sun and Moon in her Eyes, *Bramma's* two Wives in her Ears, *Ixora* in her Nose, *Vishnum* in her Tongue, in her Thighs the *Rixii*, the four Books of the *Vedam* in her four Legs; that her Milk is the true *Ambrosia* or *Amortam*, and her Piss the *Tirtam*, or the Water fit to purify themselves from their Sins: whence it is, that when they see a Cow ready to piss, they catch it with their Hands, drink a little of it, and with the rest wash their Faces. As these Pagan Kings claim the Patronage of Cows, so the *Samoryn* of *Calecut* is attended every Morning early by six Boys, all over besmear'd with fresh Cowdung, with Garlands of Flowers on their Heads; as soon as the *Samoryn* rises, they

How the King of Calecut purifies himself.

Why the Ashes of Cowdung is so valued with em.

pay

*Andeum.* pay him Reverence, who orders them immediately to give the Flowers to the Cows, which they do.

They have not the same regard for the Bulls and Oxen, tho they make a Bull the Father or Author of the Royal Family of the *Exastri*, from whence the Kings of *Cochin*, *Cranganor*, *Cananor*, and others are descended; they relate, that all the Males of this Family being extinct, a Woman of the same Tribe being begot with Child by a Bull, revived the said Family.

*Opinion of the Malabars of the Cowdung.*

The *Malabars* alledg the following reason for the Ashes of the Cow-dung; They say that the *Lingam* (i.e. *membrum virile*) of *Ixora*, before it was cut in pieces, being so long that it reach'd up to his Forehead, let fly some few Drops of Seed, which happening to light into his fiery eye in the Front, was burnt to Ashes immediately. Hence it is that in *Canara*, betwixt *Cananor* and *Mangalor*, there are to be found a certain Order of pretended holy religious Men, living constantly in the *Pagodes*. These appear in the Streets quite naked, and making a noise by the ringing of a Bell they carry along with them, the Women (without distinction of Age or Quality, even to the Queens) come running out to touch their Privy Members.

That the *Egyptians*, and after them the *Jews*, had a peculiar Veneration for Cows and Calves, is sufficiently evident from many Passages in the Scripture; and the Ashes of the Red Cow are mention'd, *Heb. 9. 13.* & *Numb. ch. 19.*

Besides this Purification, these Pagans have also their meritorious Acts of Piety; some of the *Jogis* carry Iron Collars about their Necks, walk constantly with Iron Fetters and Chains, and have Iron Nails with the Points inwards in their wooden Slippers or Sandels. Some have been known to ty themselves with Ropes to a Tree, till they expired in great Torments.

I saw 1657, one of these *Jogys* at *Columbo*, whose Arms were grown together over his Head, a Posture he had chosen out of Devotion. Others of this Order never sleep, but pray incessantly; of this kind are also to be found in *Japan* and *China*.

Another meritorious Act of the Pagans is the visiting their celebrated *Pagodes* and other holy Places (like the Pilgrimages of the Romanists) as the famous *Pagode Rammanakojel*, the *Adams Mountain* in *Ceylon*, and divers other Places at *Suratte*, *Davara*, *Mottera*, *Casi*, *Bengale*,

and *Ayotia*, 12 Leagues from *Casi*; for which reason it is, that the rich erect *Pagodes*, Jans (call'd *Anmalams*) and Cisterns for the Convenience of the travelling Men and Beasts.

The *Malabars* have a peculiar way to merit the forgiving of their Sins; there grows a certain Stone call'd *Talagamma* on one side of the Mount *Mahamere*, near a Riverside (which the *Jogys* always carry about them) somewhereof contain Gold, and are then called *Fernia Querpan*; one of these carry'd in a Vessel, and in another the five following things belonging to the Cow, viz. the Cream, Milk, Butter, Piss, and Dung mix'd together, call'd by them *Panchaviam* Wine, and afterwards put into the other Vessel, wherein lies the *Talagamma*, and given to any Person whilst he recites the *Vedamantiram* (a Prayer of five words) purchases Pardon for all Sins, destroys his Enemies, reconciles him to his Friends, and procures Riches. This Prayer is in high Veneration among the *Brahmans*, which they use constantly when they are sitting down to eat, but no body dares to say it in the Streets: The five Words are *Panesua*, *Apanesua*, *Vinesua*, *Udanesua*, and *Sumanesua*; the first signifies the Soul or Spirit, the second the Posteriors, where the Excrements are discharg'd; the third the Hearing; the fourth Seeing; the fifth the Smelling.

They have also their Festivals: one of their most remarkable Festivals of these Pagans, is celebrated in Honour of *Vishnum* or *Ixora*; tho the *Malabars* solemnize certain Festivals, as that in Honour of *Ixora's* Spouses, which are not regarded by other *Brahmans*, which beginning the 8th of *Jan.* continues for nine days, the Ceremonies may be seen in *Rogervius*, l. 2. c. 12. The Feasts celebrated in Honour of *Ixora* and *Vishnum*, are call'd *Trenaca* and *Panduga*. The *Gentives*, *Malabars*, and Inhabitants of *Coromandel* also solemnize a Feast to the Memory of the Nativity of *Vishnum*, and his Transformation into *Kishna* in *August*, when they adorn their Houses with all sorts of Greens, which seems to have some Resemblance to our Christmasts: They also use another Feast to the Honour of *Vishnum*, in remembrance of the 16000 Virgins; it begins the eighth day after the Full Moon in *Oct.* They have also a Feast in Honour of *Vishnum's* Spouse, call'd *Lasceni* by those of *Coromandel*; this is celebrated by the *Brahmans* Wives in *September*, for nine days, when they pray

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pray for the long Life of their Husbands, and to obtain Riches. They have also two other Feasts in July and November. They observe besides this certain days, as Sacred and Fortunate, as the First day of every Month, the day of the Solstice, when the Sun turns from the North to the South.

They pay every Morning their Reverence to the Sun, and having wash'd themselves three times, they threw the Water with their Hands upwards, to prevent (as they say) the evil Spirits from keeping the Sun betwixt the Mountains. The New Year they begin with the New Moon in April, as the modern Jews in the Month Abib. They call the New Years Feast *Samwatjaradi Panduga*, *Panduga* signifying as much as a Feast, and *Samwatjaram* a Year, as *Adi* is the first day of the Month; for they have twelve Months in the Year, viz. April call'd *Thefram*, May *Weiwicam*, June *Jestam*, July *Adadam*, August *Spawanam*, September *Badrapadam*, October *Ajnyam*, November *Carticam*, December *Margisaram*, January *Ponjam*, February *Magam*, March *Palgowam*. And because these 12 Months are not equivalent

to the Months of the Sun, they have every third Year a Leap-year, consisting of 13 Months, which we have only once every four Years.

Besides the Names of every Month, and of every day in the Week, the *Malabars* have a peculiar Name for each day in every Month. They have also peculiar Names for each Year, as far as sixty Years, unto which they add the Word *Samwatjaram*, signifying a Year, which however is often left out for Brevities sake; then they say *Prabawa* the First, *Pinawa* the Second, &c. *Tjaja* the sixtieth, meaning the *Samwatjaram* or Year. They compute by 60 years, just as the Greeks do by their *Olympiads*; they also name the Days of every Week (like the ancient Pagans) after the Planets; thus *Suria* signifies to them the Sun, and *Jendra* the Moon, whence they call *Suria Waram* the Sunday, and the Monday *Jendra Waram*.

They divide each day into 30 Hours, just as the *Gentives* divide their Day and Night into 60 Hours, some whereof they account fortunate, and some unfortunate. Of the Pagan Feasts you may consult *Cavalinus*, chap. 22.

Baldew.

## CHAP. XV.

Of the Fastdays of the Pagans, and their Origin. Their Marriages and solemn Oaths; Ceremonies used with their Sick and Dead.

AS the Pagans pray constantly thrice a day, viz. in the Morning, about Noon (when they repose themselves) and in the Evening, so they have their solemn Fastdays; one of these is call'd *Egadexi*, which Word (in their Learned Language, call'd *Samoscrad*, or *Hanscret*, as *Kircher* styles it, which is in the same esteem among the *Malabars*, as the *Latin* in *Europe*) signifies as much as eleven, or the eleventh, because it is kept the eleventh day after the full Moon, and again the eleventh day after the new Moon; so that they have two of these Fasts every Month, viz. one every 15 days, when they abstain from eating all the day long, or at least till four or five a Clock in the Afternoon, when they must not feed upon Flesh, or Fish, or Rice, but only upon Fruits, Pease, Beans, Milk, and such like, and not drink the least strong Liquor.

The Origin of this Fast-day is ridiculous enough. They tell you, that a

young Fellow much addicted to Venery, going one night very late to visit his Mistress, could not light on a Boat to ferry him over the River; however, being resolv'd not to depart, he staid there all night, and did fall asleep, without having eaten any thing all that day: Next morning early passing the River, as he was going to his Mistress's House, he met with a Camel just at Sun-rising, at which throwing a Stone it hit accidentally upon some Flowers, and cast them from the Stalks upon the ground, and so he came to his Mistress.

After some years happening to die, and being carried before *Chitrapuren*, he could not produce any good Works he had perform'd in his Life-time to intitle himself to the Paradise, except this his accidental fasting, and the throwing down of the Flowers at Sun-rising, which he interpreted as a Sacrifice intended for the Sun. *Chitrapuren* after a long hearing condemn'd him to the infernal Regions;

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gions;

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gions; yet in consideration of his fasting on the 11th day after the Full-Moon, having the favour granted him of abiding for some days in the Paradise, he was ask'd, what Paradise he would choose? He answer'd, The Woman's Paradise. Being convey'd thither accordingly, as he was in Bed the next night with one of the Ladies, he broke out into most dreadful Ejulations; and being ask'd by his Bedfellow the reason, he reply'd, *Because I have so short a time to stay in this Paradise.* The Woman who had taken a liking to him, told him, that he should rise early in the Morning, wash himself all over, and at the Gate watch the coming of the Servants of *Ixora*, who were then going into the Wood of *Rofes*, to gather Flowers for their Master; she bad him to crowd in among them, and having gather'd the most odoriferous Flowers he could find, offer them as a Present to *Ixora*. He follow'd the Woman's Advice, and having gather'd the most sweet-scented Flowers he could, offer'd them to *Ixora*, who extremely pleas'd with this Present, ask'd *Chitraputren* who this young Man was? he told him; he was a Person condemn'd to the infernal Punishments: But *Ixora* order'd him to remain in Paradise with the same Woman, and to gather Flowers for him. Now because this young Man got into Paradise by his fasting, the Pagans fast upon the before-mention'd 11th day

The second Fast.

They have another Fast call'd *Quiverasiri*, which deduces its Origin from *Quiven* (the same as *Ixora*) and *Rasiri*, i. e. the Night, signifying as much as a Night-fast, or *Quivens* night: It falls out in February, and being one of their establish'd Fasts, is kept with a great deal of strictness, they being forbid either to eat or drink, or to sleep all that night, which they spend in rehearsing the Fictions of their Gods, and walking round the Pagodes till Day-break, when they sacrifice to the Idol, and give Alms to the Poor; which done, the Fast is ended.

Its Origin.

The Origin of this Fast they ascribe to one *Beri*, a famous Hunter, who going one Evening abroad to shoot some Birds, got upon a certain Tree near a Cistern, call'd *Cuola*, the Leaves whereof smell as sweet as Flowers: Being very eager at the sport, he tarried upon the Tree all night, and to pass away his time without sleeping, he pull'd off constantly the Flowers of the Tree, which he throwing one after another upon the ground, one of them did fall upon *Quivelinga*, who happen'd just to lie under the Tree without *Beri's* knowledg, who

return'd to his own home the next Morning.

Some years after the said *Beri* happening to die, and being carried before *Chitraputren* the Judge of the dead, he found upon Examination, that having committed many Crimes in his Life-time by killing the wild Beasts, he was condemn'd to the infernal Regions. But as *Jewen* or *Jamma* the Chieftain of the Devils and his Company were hurrying him along, they were met by *Ixora*, who being inform'd of his fasting all the night long upon the Tree *Cuola*, and his offering of the Flowers to *Quivelinga*, he deliver'd him immediately out of the Devil's hands, and sent him into Paradise.

Some tell a different Story upon this head, viz. That *Beri* perceiving a Tyger under the Tree, was forced to remain upon the Tree all night without eating any Victuals: They also tell you the Dialogue betwixt *Beri* and the Tyger; *Beri* it seems told the Tyger, that whereas he was not able to fast above three days, he desir'd him to let him go unmolested to his House, where he would take leave of his Wife and return again. The Tyger reply'd, No; for, said he, if I let thee come down safely, thou wilt certainly kill me with thy Bow and Arrow, which thou didst leave under the Tree whilst thou wast climbing up to fetch a Pigeon thou hadst shot before. But *Beri* taking an Oath by *Ixora* that he would return, the Tyger let him pass. *Beri* being return'd home, told his Wife what had happen'd, and that he must return to the Tree where the Tyger staid for his coming: The Woman offer'd to go in his stead, and so did his Children to be devour'd by the Tyger, alledging, that without him they should be depriv'd of all Subsistence. But *Beri* not approving their choice, they went all together to the Tyger, unto whom *Beri* said, Pursuant to his Oath he was come to be devour'd by him: But the Woman entreating the Tyger to devour her in his stead, as not being able to subsist without him, and the Children making the same Petition to him, the Tyger was put to such a Nonplus, that he did not know what to choose; but whilst he was ruminating upon the matter, *Ixora* threw a Net over them, and so drew them all into Paradise.

The third Fast call'd *Tirinadira*, is The third kept only by the Women, having got its Name from the 27th day of the 9th Month; on which day *Canteven* the God of Love, being kill'd by *Ixora*, the Women were so griev'd thereat, that they *its Origin,* would

Why the God of Love was killed by Ixora.

The fourth Fast.

Why the  
God of  
Love was  
killed by  
Isora.

would not touch the least Eatables all that day; and ever since keep a Fast on the 27th of December in memory of this Disaster, being much about the same time we celebrate the Feast of our Saviour's Nativity. They say the reason why Isora kill'd this *Canteven*, or *Cupid*, was because the last was fallen in love with *Paramefceri*, Isora's Spouse, for which reason he burnt him to Ashes with his fiery Eye on the Forehead. But the *Brabmans* say that Isora being for a considerable time employ'd in holy matters, and thereby become forgetful of *Paramefceri*, she address herself to *Canteven*, to infuse into her Husband fresh Sentiments of Love; but she afterwards no sooner understood his Death, than she died for Grief: Being however brought to Life at the Foot of the Mount *Timana* (where she staid for sometime after to do Penance, and thence got the Name of the Daughter of the Mount *Timana*) Isora appear'd to her, promising to continue his Conjugal Love hereafter. *Paramefceri* took this Opportunity to desire Isora to revive *Cupid* from the Dead, with this addition, that he should remain immortal for ever after; whence they say, that *Cupid* reigns all over the World by the Strength of Imagination in both Sexes; by which they seem to intimate, that as the Inclination to Love ceases in old Persons, it is constantly reviv'd in the young ones, and so will continue as long as the World stands.

The fourth  
Fast.

They have another famous Fast, called *Masapafsa*, from the Word *Masa* (which in the high *Malabar* Tongue signifies a Mouth) and *Upada* a Fast, being the most sacred of all their Fasts, beginning with the last day of *October*.

Such as keep this Fast, having first wash'd and dress'd themselves very clean, repair to the Pagode of *Vistnum*; and the next day being the 19th of *Novemb.* after having chang'd their Clothes, go round the said Temple early in the Morning 101 times, and the most devoted 1001 times. The same they repeat every day during the whole *November* and *December*, muttering all the while by themselves the Words *Naraina* and *Aquanama*, Surnames belonging to *Vistnum*. All this while they must eat nothing but Milk and Figs, neither look upon a Woman, and think or speak of nothing but what relates unto *Vistnum*. The next following year they take the same course, beginning with the 1st day of *Decemb.* and continuing till the 10th of *Jan.* in all 40 Days. The third Year

they begin with the 1st of *Jan.* and continue the same Devotions till the 10th of *Feb.* and thus the same successively for nine years longer, till the Number of 12 years being compleated, they obtain a general Pardon for all their Trespases.

Baldus.

Concerning their Marriages, Polygamy and some other matters relating to this purpose, we have had occasion to say something already in the Description of *Ceylon*: we will now give an account of such things as were not mention'd, or at least not circumstantially in that Place. The first is, that the *Brabmans* are not only at liberty to marry as many Wives as they think fit (a Privilege they always enjoy'd, as may be seen out of their ancient Records, call'd *Poranes*) but also may choose their Wives out of four different Tribes, just as the *Levites* enjoy'd the Privilege of marrying in what Tribe they thought fit among the *Jews*.

Their Marriages.

As to their Marriage Ceremonies, some precede the Marriage it self, some are concomitant to it, and the rest follow it.

Marriage-Ceremonies.

The first thing they observe is, to consult an Astrologer about the Position of the Planets, and the Time or Hour, when it is fortunate for the Bride to be married; for which reason they also consult on what day of the Month, and under what Conjunction the Bridegroom is born. Next they apply themselves to a *Brabman* or Priest, who for four days successively before the Wedding, burns a little Rice and Butter mix'd with Eggs for a Sacrifice. The time of the solemn Promise or Engagement approaching, they light a large Waxcandle, and put some Rice upon the Table of *Quenevady*, the huge devouring Elephant before-mention'd. This done, the Bridegroom throws a Necklace or *Taly*, with some Gold fasten'd to it, about the Bride's Neck, as a Token that the Engagement is now made; whence the *Malabars* call Marriage *Quitba*, i. e. an *Obligation*. The Wife after the Death of her Husband, always breaks this Necklace, as a Token that the *Obligation* is dissolv'd, after which the Bride fasts 15 days.

After the Copulation is perform'd, they entertain their Friends at a feast; but the young Couple are not bedded till about eight or ten days after: for before they can actually cohabit, they must attend a fortunate Conjunction of the Planets; and before they enter the Bedchamber, perform their Prayers at the Door, in the Company of a Priest, who gives them his Blessing. The next fol-

The third  
Fast.  
The Origin.



Baldew.

following day, the new married Couple take a piece of Cloth, cut at one end, wherewith they go a fishing in a River; the first Fish they take, they touch on the Head with a great deal of Reverence, and according as they take more or less Fishes, they shall have few or more Children; if they catch nothing, the Woman is to prove barren.

As the chief reason why they marry so young among the *Brabmans*, is their Fondness of a Maidenhead, so on the other hand nothing is more despicable among them than a Maiden come to a full Age, which has introduc'd the Custom of begging Portions for Maidens that they may be married in time.

The *Indian* Kings that are not *Brabmans* never marry, but only keep certain Mistresses, whose Children don't inherit, nay can't as much as challenge the least Prerogative, in respect of their Nobility; so that here obtains the Axiom, *Fructus sequitur ventrem*. The Kings Sisters are generally marry'd to some other Sovereign Princes, who must fast 15 days before Marriage. The *Nairos* have likewise no settled Marriages, whence their Wives are stiled *Parascevi*, i.e. *Women for many*. The *Brabmans* take as much care to couple a Bull and a Cow together, as other People do in marrying their Children.

Their manner of taking an Oath.

These Pagans perform their solemn Oaths near a *Pagode*, and the *Brabmans* of *Coromandel* in the Presence of a Priest, near a holy Fire, just as the *Romans* use to do in the Presence of their Priests, the *Athenians* before the Altar, and the *Arcadians* during the Sacrifice. These Pagans being ready to take an Oath near the *Pagode*, they put three Fingers of the Right Hand, viz. the Thumb, the next, and the Middle Finger, into an Earthen Vessel fill'd with melted Butter; this done, they put a Leaf into the same Butter, which they tie close round their three Fingers: after three days the said Leaf is taken off in the Presence of the King or Prince of the Country; if his Fingers are not burnt, his Adversary suffers Punishment, but if he proves hurt, he is sure to be punish'd.

They have another way of taking an Oath, no less dangerous than the former; he that takes the Oath is oblig'd to swim cross the River betwixt *Cochin* and *Cranaganor*, which is full of Crocodiles; and if he that has taken the Oath escapes without hurt, he is supposed to have taken a just Oath.

In *Cannara* they have another way, for

they put some Adders and a Lemon into an Earthen Vessel; and if he that takes the Oath, takes the Citron out of the Vessel, without receiving any harm, he has truly sworn. The Inhabitants of *Formosa* when they take an Oath, break only a Straw to pieces.

Whenever any body falls sick, the Patient need not fear to be disturb'd with such Physick, Bleeding, Clysters, and such like, their chief Remedy consisting in Fasting, sometimes more than is convenient. They also send forth continual Prayers, to obtain a happy Transmigration of the Soul, and exhort the Patient to rehearse continually the Name of God, and when his Strength fails, his Friends repeat the same in his Presence; because the *Brabmans* are of opinion, that he who dies with the Name of God in his Mouth, goes directly to the Paradise: For the same reason they also distribute Alms to the Poor. If they give the Patient any Medicines, they are generally Laxatives of fresh Herbs, a little Milk *Cassia* (or Rice and Water boild together) a little Saffron, Ginger, or Leeks.

When the Patient is near expiring, they reiterate their Prayers, besprinkling them with Holy Water of the *River Ganges*; for they say, that the infernal Judg sends his Servants to torment them at that time, and that they send forth their Prayers to *Vishnum*, to send one of his Servants to deliver the dying Person out of their Clutches.

After their Decease they wash the Corps, afterwards shave his Beard, stop his Mouth with Betel and Lime, wrap him in a Shroud, and last of all close his Eyes. Of the burning of their Dead we have spoken before, in the Description of the Funeral Ceremony of the Prince of *Ceylon*, and *Rogerius* \* has given a more ample account of the whole matter. Some of these Pagans bury their Dead near their Habitations, and without the Cities (like the *Athenians* and *Romans*) and cover them with great Stones, for fear the *Jackalls* and other Wild Beasts, should dig them up and devour them.

They fast and shave their Heads for their deceas'd Friends; and if they be of Royal Extraction, all the Subjects are oblig'd to have their Heads shav'd. In *Malabar* the next Relations don't stir out of Doors for 15 days, sleep only on Mats upon the Ground, and don't assist at the usual Sacrifices. When I mention Fasting, I mean that they only eat a little Rice at Noon. After 7 days they send for

What Co-remembers they use with their Dead and Sick.

\* L. C. 10.

for the Barber, who having cleans'd the House with Milk and Cowpiss, and the Persons belonging to it, they gather up the Ashes of the deceas'd Person, after the Expiration of the 15 days; and having put the same into an Urn, they throw it with great Lamentations into the River, the Sea, or any other Water: This done, they purify the Place where the Corps was burnt, and plant there a Fig-tree. Afterwards changing their Clothes, and being cleans'd by repeated Washings, they put an end to the Mourning, except the next Heir, who continues in Mourning a whole Year, during which he abstains from Flesh, Fish, Eggs, Wine, nay even from their beloved *Betch*. No Person must touch his Head, neither must he cohabit with his Wife: Besides which, he is obliged to perform daily the following Ceremony; He takes a small quantity of boil'd Rice, made up in form of a little Ball, this he lays upon a Figleaf spread upon the Ground without the House-door, and taking part of another Figleaf, he bends it together, fancying all the while, that the Deceas'd is there present to eat the Riceball; then taking a little Rice mix'd with Butter in both his Hands, he turns his Face about, as if he were looking to put it into the Mouth of the deceas'd Person. This done, the Standers by clap their Hands together, a Signal to the Crows (of which there are vast Numbers in *Malabar*) to come to take the Ball of Rice, prepar'd for the de-

ceas'd Person; which if the Crows do, the Heir is at Liberty to go to his Dinner, but if they don't, it is look'd upon as an ill Omen, and the whole Ceremony consider'd as fruitless.

At the Conclusion of the Mourning, the Relations of the deceas'd are invited to a splendid Feast, where however they must not eat either Flesh, Fish or Eggs, and none but the richer sort are invited to partake of it. This they repeat once a Year, on the same day the deceas'd died, to the Memory of their Friend. I will not enlarge my self in this Place upon that most barbarous Custom of some of these Pagans, for the Wives to burn themselves alive with the dead Carcases of their Husbands, a thing still practis'd in the most populous City of *Pandi*; for when the Funeral Ceremony of *Vinepi Naigne*, the Prince of the Country, was solemniz'd with great Pomp, 300 of his Wives did precipitate themselves alive (under the Sound of Drums and Trumpets) into the same Hole fill'd with burning Oil, Butter, and other combustible Matter, which burn'd both his and their Bodies to Ashes. We conclude with a hearty Wish, that these poor Wretches, quite entangled in the Darknefs of Paganism, may thro his Mercy, and with the Assistance of such Magistrates as ought to keep a watchful eye over their Actions, be in time brought to the true Knowledge of the Gospel.

*Baldaw.*

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Cochin



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